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THE NEW

ANNUAL REGISTER,

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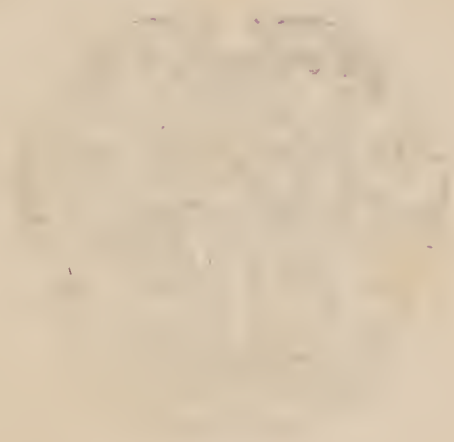
For the YEAR 1782.

TO WHICH IS PREFIXED,

A SHORT VIEW of the STATE of KNOWLEDGE, LITERATURE, and TASTE, in this Country, from the EARLIEST TIMES to the NORMAN CONQUEST.



LONDON,
Printed for G. ROBINSON, Pater-noſter-Row,
1783.



PREFACE.

AS we proceed in our Work, the Third Volume of which we have now the ſatisfaction of preſenting to the public, the events related in it become more and more deſerving of attention. The year 1782 not only diſplays a variety of military and naval tranſactions, among which the ſiege of Gibraltar ſhines with extraordinary luſtre, but exhibits a very important revolution in the national counſels, whence great conſequences reſulted. The removal of a miniſtry that had ſo long held the reins of power, and the appointment of thoſe men to all the chief departments of government, who had profeſſed the moſt oppoſite principles, and who had uniformly oppoſed the American war, were objects highly intereſting to the whole kingdom. The diviſion, indeed, that ſoon took place in the cabinet, threw a conſiderable damp upon the expectations of the people; but whatever other bad effects might proceed from it, the projected plan of pacification was not hereby prevented. Such meaſures were purſued as tended to put a ſtop to the extenſive and deſtructive conteſt in which we were engaged. The final reſult of theſe mea-

ſures, in the acknowledgment of the independence of the Thirteen United States of America, and in the eſtabliſhment of a general peace, will form part of the Hiſtory of 1783.

Perhaps it may be thought that the reſtoration of tranquillity with foreign nations will hereafter render the hiſtorical departments of our work leſs intereſting and entertaining than they have hitherto been. But this is a caſe which is not likely to happen. The internal ſtate of the Britiſh dominions affords reaſon to apprehend, that many things may occur to keep our minds in agitation, and even in alarm. No one can doubt of this, who ſeriouſly reflects on the parties into which we are divided, and particularly on the tendency there is in England, Scotland, and, above all, in Ireland, to demand important reforms in the conſtitution. Indeed, from the new ſentiments, principles, and views which are riſing up in the world, Europe itſelf ſeems to be approaching towards ſome general criſis. What will be the effect of the movements which are commencing in Ruſſia, Turkey, and the territories of the emperor of Germany, we are not able to ſay. Perhaps the time is not far diſtant, in which the expulſion of the Grand Signor from his European dominions may introduce a revolution

that

that ſhall give a totally different face of things to that part of the globe. In ſhort, there is no probability that either the Britiſh or Foreign Hiſtory will grow languid, from the want of events ſufficiently copious and intereſting to claim the public attention. It will be our buſineſs and duty to take care, that nothing be omitted by us, which merits the pen of the hiſtorian, and is calculated to excite the reflections of the philoſopher.

In a time of peace, the arts of peace, the progreſs of ſcience and literature, and of whatever contributes to the improvement of ſociety, will demand our particular notice. The ſpecimens we have already afforded of our regard to theſe things, will, we truſt, inſpire our readers with good hopes in reſpect to our future conduct.

It is neceſſary to mention an alteration which has been made in the introductory part of our undertaking. Upon mature reflection, it was thought adviſeable, inſtead of immediately proceeding to the conſideration of the object propoſed laſt year, to revert backward, and to give, in this and ſome ſucceeding Volumes, a conciſe view of the State of Knowledge, Literature, and Taſte, in Great Britain, from the earlieſt Times to the Death of Queen Anne. This

is in itſelf both a pleaſing, and inſtructive ſubject; and, when completed, will enable us to proſecute the remainder of our deſign with peculiar advantage.

We have only farther to add, with relation to the preſent volume, that we hope it will be apparent, from the various and intereſting articles of which it is compoſed, that we have not remitted in our diligent endeavours to render the work deſerving of the continuance of that approbation which it hath hitherto met with from the public.

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A

SHORT VIEW

OF THE

STATE OF KNOWLEDGE,

LITERATURE, AND TASTE,

IN THIS COUNTRY,

From the EARLIEST TIMES to the NORMAN CONQUEST.

IF we look back to the beginnings of nations, we ſhall find them to have been in a ſtate of ignorance and barbarity, and that they continued a long time in that condition. Nor, indeed, could it, from the nature of things, be otherwiſe; unleſs countries ſhould happen to be peopled by large colonies, from ſocieties that have already arrived to a conſiderable perfection of knowledge and government, which could not poſſibly be the caſe in early periods. The perſons who originally ſettled in theſe remoter parts of Europe, being rude and unpoliſhed themſelves, were able to carry nothing along with them but their own ſavage manners, and their own groſs conceptions.

The firſt inhabitants of an uncultivated region, are generally ſuch as the want of proviſions hath urged to ſeek for new dwellings, or ſuch as have been expelled from their poſſeſſions by powerful invaders; and their prime object is to ſecure a bare ſubſiſtence; ſo that they have neither inclination nor lei-

ſure to purſue any other concern. What they immediately apply to, is hunting; and while they remain few in number, this will be the only way of life in which they engage, a way of life, that leaves no room for mental improvements. The next ſtage is paſturage, which, conducted in the rambling manner of ancient times, affords little ſcope for the progreſs of knowlege. Then ſucceeds agriculture, which brings on a more civilized ſtate of ſociety, though very diſtan from conſiderable advancements. The laſt ſtep is regulated government, large cities, and extended commerce. Even theſe muſt have flouriſhed for a period; plenty and riches muſt have taken place; there muſt be a certain degree of ſecurity and liberty, and a variety of concurring circumſtances, before the arts and ſciences can arrive to any ſort of eminence and luſtre. We ſhall nor, therefore, be ſurpriſed to find that they are the work of many generations.

Though England might be peopled ſeveral centuries before the firſt accounts we have of it, yet the barbarous condition in which we perceive it to have been, is no more than what might rationally be expected. At the time when Cæſar invaded the iſland, even huſbandry does not ſeem to have been univerſally followed. Cattle conſtituted the chief wealth of numbers of the tribes that were ſettled in our country; and as to their towns, they were only woods ſurrounded with a ditch, and barricadoed with trees, where the inhabitants encloſed their wives, their children, their domeſtics, and their flocks, in order to preſerve them from the attacks of their enemies. The low ſtate of knowledge and refinement to which they had arrived, may be collected from the practice ſo confidently ſaid to have prevailed among them, of ſeveral brothers and friends having their wives in common. This practice, if it really exiſted, may be conſidered as a ſure teſt of their barbarity; for though the Britiſh lady, in her ſmart reply to the empreſs Julia, made as good a defence of it as could well be done, yet it is certain that no ſuch cuſtom would be allowed in any nation that had advanced to the leaſt degree of civilization.

Our anceſtors, however, do not appear to have been without ſome ſkill in war. For though, in this reſpect, they were greatly inferior to the Romans, yet they conduct-

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ed their oppoſition to Cæſar, in a manner that redounds highly to their credit, conſidering the amazing abilities of that general, and the excellent diſcipline of his army. The depravity of mankind has brought the wretched arts of mutual deſtruction much ſooner to perfection than thoſe which refine the ſoul, and are calculated to adorn, improve, and bleſs ſociety.

But the objects which moſt excite our attention, in a ſurvey of the ſtate of knowledge among us, before the conqueſt of the iſlands by the Romans, are the Druids. They have been highly ſpoken of by ſeveral writers; ſo that our conception of theſe men is attended with a peculiar veneration, and we are ready to look upon them as having been perſons of very extraordinary accompliſhments. This deception has been aſſiſted by our poets, who have ſpread a glory round them, and have painted them in a manner that diſpoſes us to regard them as almoſt divine. But if we reduce our ideas to the teſt of ſober reaſon, we ſhall not find much in the Druids, that was particularly excellent and valuable. They were the prieſts of the time, and, like other prieſts, had addreſs and ſubtilty enough to acquire a vaſt authority, and to keep the people in abſolute ſubjection. They were, likewiſe, magiſtrates as well as prieſts, and had the determination of civil cauſes; a circumſtance which was the natural effect, both of their ſuperior quality, and ſuperior knowledge; for what knowledge then prevailed, was principally confined to them. However, the remains we have of the Druids, do not give us a very high opinion of the progreſs they had made, though undoubtedly they went far beyond the reſt of their countrymen, and it is probable, that individuals among them might be men of great wiſdom.

They entertained the notion of tranſmigration, a notion which has ſpread from the fartheſt Eaſt to the remoteſt Weſt, and which has been ſo widely embraced, that a philoſophical perſon cannot help looking on this fact as a ſingular phænomon in the hiſtory of human nature, and imagining that either there is ſomething in it very natural to the uninlightened mind of man, or that it proceeded from an ancient and general tradition. This fact ſtrengthens the opinion advanced by ſome learned men, that the Druids much reſembled the

Perſian Magi, and that their knowledge was originally derived from the Eaſt. The beſt principles advanced by the Druids, were, that the Deity is one, and infinite, and that his worſhip ought not to be confined within walls; that all things derive their origin from heaven; that the ſoul is immortal; and that children ſhould be educated with the utmoſt care. But their prodigious veneration for the miſletoe, and the great effects they attributed to it; their opinion that the moon is a ſovereign remedy for diſeaſes, with others of their ſentiments and cuſtoms, ſhewed a ſtrong ſuperſtition; as their prohibiting an intercourſe with ſtrangers, if not merely a political law, teſtified a ſavageneſs of manners; and their allowance, nay command, of human ſacrifices, carries in it the evidence of the moſt ſhocking cruelty. In truth, they were little more than the barbarous prieſts of a barbarous and unlettered people. Their knowledge is ſaid to have reached to phyſics, to the mathematics, to aſtronomy, and to medicine; but as it was never committed to writing, it could not be very extenſive. Indeed, it chiefly conſiſted of the arcana of their doctrines and worſhip, and had a ſpecial relation to magic. Whatever their wiſdom was, if we may credit the teſtimony of Cæſar, it was found here in greater perfection than in Gaul; whence children were ſent into Britain, to be inſtructed in the diſcipline of the Druids. The ſame eminent author informs us, that it had its original in this country, but that is a circumſtance much diſputed.

There were, likewiſe, prieſts of an inferior order, called Bards, whoſe principal buſineſs was to celebrate the praiſes of the gods and departed heroes, in odes and verſes; and to ſing them to their harps, at their religious aſſemblies, public feſtivals, and private entertainments. Theſe men were, in fact, the heralds, the chronologers, and the hiſtorians, as well as the poets of the land; for they kept up the memory of illuſtrious tranſactions, and, by their compoſitions, which tradition handed down to poſterity, they tranſmitted from age to age the names and characters of patriots and warriors. It is remarkable that ſuch a ſet of perſons ſubſiſted in almoſt all nations. The divine Homer himſelf can be conſidered as no other than one of them; whoſe conſummate excellency of genius, together with a number of concurring circum-

circumſtances, contributed to preſerve his works from oblivion, and to raiſe him to the higheſt ſeat in the temple of fame. Bards have been found in many countries, and continued in Scotland and Ireland nearly to our own days. As to the ancient Britiſh ones, we have few remains of their productions; but we may venture to pronounce that many of them were truly valuable, as poetry is often an effort of mere genius and imagination, and does not require the advantage of cultivated times, to bring it to ſome degree of maturity. That of our anceſtors was, no doubt, very incorrect, and might not be formed according to the rules of modern criticiſm, and the refinements of modern wiſdom; but we may be certain there was often in it a noble ſublimity, ſimplicity, and pathos, and that it was highly figurative, which is always the caſe with regard to infant ſocieties, which have not acquired a variety of abſtract and general terms. The Erſe poems publiſhed under the name of Oſſian, whatever modern additions may have been made to them, have afforded an admirable ſpecimen of what might be the conceptions of our ancient bards. The remains, likewiſe, of Talieſin, and of other Welch poets, will farther aſſiſt us in forming a competent judgment upon the ſubject.

We are informed, alſo, that there was another order of perſons, called Eubates, who applied themſelves to the contemplation of the works of nature, and the ſtudy of philoſophy. What progreſs they made we are not told; but as true ſcience was then little known in any part of the world, and much leſs in ſo ignorant and uncivilized a country, we may be well aſſured their diſcoveries were not conſiderable. It ſhould ſeem probable that they were only a ſet of diviners, who pretended to foretel future events.

Such was the general ſtate of things till the iſland came under the dominion of the Cæſars, which may be conſidered as a new epocha in the hiſtory of the knowledge of ancient Britain. Whoever has a ſtrong regard to the cauſe of freedom, can ſcarcely avoid being filled with indignation, when he beholds the Romans ſpreading deſolation and ſlaughter around them; wantonly ſubduing the nations of the earth, and unjuſtly depriving them of their liberty.

We cannot help, however, admiring the ſecret diſpoſitions and wiſdom of Providence, which rendered that people, unknown to themſelves, the inſtrument of carrying on the divine purpoſes, in the moral government of the world. It was *their* ſole intention to obtain power, wealth, and renown, and to ſubject the world to their yoke. But all this time they were working the will of Heaven, poliſhing and adorning the places with arts, which they conquered by their arms, diffuſing knowledge in general, and paving the way for the Chriſtian knowledge in particular. During the warm conteſts that ſubſiſted between the Romans and the Britons, when the latter ſo glorioufly, ſo bravely, though ſo unſucceſfully, ſtruggled to maintain their independence, little progreſs could be made in literature. But when the country was peaceably ſettled into a province, then civility began to ſpread itſelf, the ſciences to be cultivated, and taſte to be refined. It was Agricola who completed our reduction; and Tacitus has informed us, that under the dominion of that excellent governor, the Britiſh nobles ſtudied the Roman learning, and valued themſelves on their magnificence and politeneſs; becoming pleaſed with what were, in fact, the badges of their ſlavery.

It is diſagreeable to reflect that the increaſing wiſdom of our anceſtors, ſhould be owing, in a good meaſure, to the loſs of their liberty: but then it ought to be conſidered that the liberty they were deprived of, was very different from the rational, noble, and improved freedom by which we are now ſo happily diſtinguiſhed. It was only a fierce barbarous kind of independence, that, perhaps was not ill exchanged for the ſuperior underſtanding, the civilized manners, and the ſocial enjoyments of the Roman government. However this may have been, we are told that the arts and ſciences flouriſhed here, as much as in other parts of the empire. But it muſt be remembered that, at the time we are ſpeaking of, taſte and literature were upon the decline in Rome itſelf; and, therefore, the ſtate of them in Britain, muſt partake of the corruption which began at the fountain. During this interval, there were, no doubt, ſchools of philoſophy, and ſeveral eminent men. But what ſchools were eſtabliſhed, what men were celebrated, we are not able to ſay; no traces of them being

being now to be found. The confuſions that ſucceeded, deſtroyed all the remains of learning, and left a blank in this period which cannot be filled up.

But there is one event belonging to this æra, which, beſides its own immenſe importance in other views, deſerves to be mentioned as a grand circumſtance in the hiſtory of knowledge; and that is, the propagation of Chriſtianity in the iſland. It is not neceſſary to our deſign, to make any enquiry concerning the perſon by whom the religion of Jeſus was firſt preached, or the exact time in which it was introduced. Suppoſing we reject all conjectures of its being promulged by the apoſtles, or their immediate diſciples, it is probable that it was very ſoon communicated to the Britons. It might be gaining ground, and ſpread greatly, before it received a civil eſtabliſhment, as we are informed of many martyrs, who witneſſed to the truth under the perſecution raiſed by the emperor Dioclesian. From the days of Conſtantine, the Goſpel would, no doubt, be much diffuſed, and generally embraced. Accordingly, we are aſſured, that three Britiſh biſhops aſſiſted at the council of Arles, A. D. 314, and ſubſcribed the acts of that council. We read, alſo, that ſome of them were preſent at the council of Ariminium, in 359.

Now ſo illuſtrious an event, as the propagation of Chriſtianity in this country, could not take place without bringing along with it a mighty change in the ſtate of knowledge. All thoſe who embraced our holy religion, were turned from groſs idolatry and abſurd ſuperſtitions, to the belief and worſhip of one God; obtained a clear acquaintance with their duty; and had their underſtandings enlarged with the perſuaſion and hopes of eternal life. Independently of the glorious ſpiritual conſequences derived from the revelation of Jeſus, the reception of it was a vaſt acceſſion of wiſdom; as it contributed, in other reſpects, to expand the minds, and ſoften the manners of our anceſtors. It would not, in thoſe ſimple times, when human reaſon was more imperfect than it now is, produce ſuch noble and extended views of things as we can at preſent attain; eſpecially, conſidering how ſoon errors and ſuperſtitions began to be mixed with the Goſpel. Nevertheleſs, it had not been corrupted ſo much

as it hereafter was; and, during the purer ages, it might greatly promote juſt and rational ſentiments in general.

What the particular ſtate of religious knowledge was, it isdifficult to aſcertain: but we find that doctrinal diſputes agitated men in thoſe days, as well as in ſucceeding periods. The notions of Arius are ſaid to have been embraced in this country; and it is an undoubted fact, that Pelagianiſm was very prevalent. It was ſo prevalent, as to occaſion ſharp controverſies; and ſome biſhops were ſent over from Gaul to recover the Britons to the oppoſite opinions, but without any laſting ſucceſs. About the time of theſe diſputes, Dubricius and others, by the direction of Germanus, biſhop of Auxerre, founded ſchools, which afterwards produced ſeveral conſiderable men.

If we look for perſons who were particularly eminent, during the period we have treated of, which takes in the deſertion of the iſland by the Romans, and reaches to the introduction of the Saxons, we ſhall meet with one only, whoſe name ſtill continues to be mentioned. This is Pelagius himſelf, who was a native of Britain, and ſome of whoſe works are ſtill extant. His fame chiefly ariſes from the figure he made in foreign parts; for he did not return to propagate his doctrines in his own country, but ſent hither his diſciple Agricola for that purpoſe. Pelagius has been held forth, in all ages, as an arch-heretic, and an object of the utmoſt deteſtation. For this, we apprehend, there is no ſufficient reaſon. Some of his principles might be erroneous and abſurd, but ſurely not enough ſo, to merit the reproaches with which his name hath been handed down to poſterity. However, he had addreſs enough almoſt to pervert the church of Rome itſelf; and would probably have effected his ſcheme, if the African clergy, who were rigid followers of St. Auſtin, had not exerted themſelves againſt him with the utmoſt zeal and aſſiduity. Celeſtinus, a Scotſman by birth, afterwards rendered himſelf very conſpicuous abroad, by propagating and defending the ſentiments of Pelagius.

Whatever the ſtate of knowledge might be, in this iſland, before the inttoduction of the Saxons, it certainly received a great change for the worſe, at that period. The repeated

invaſions of thoſe barbarians, the wars they raiſed, and the deſolations they occaſioned, ſpread a general confuſion, diſperſed the Britons to the remoteſt parts of the country, deſtroyed the monuments of learning, and left no room for the improvement and cultivation of the mind.

The few literary records we have, relate only to ſuch perſons as lived where the Saxons did not reach. The ſchools founded by Dubricius and Iltutus, in North Wales, produced ſeveral men whoſe names have been tranſmitted with honour to poſterity; though in fact, we are but little acquainted with their real attainments. Among theſe were Patrick and David, who exerted themſelves much in preaching the Goſpel, and whom the ſuperſtition of later ages hath advanced into tutelary ſaints, the firſt of Ireland, and the ſecond of Wales. Great things are ſaid concerning the State of Literature in Ireland, at and after the time of St. Patrick's flouriſhing in that country. The matter has probably been ſomewhat exaggerated; but it is certain that the Iriſh had then a conſiderable degree of learning among them; we mean of ſuch learning as the age afforded.

At this period, the monaſtery of Bangor, in North Wales, was particularly famous for the education of youth. A number of ſcholars were brought up in it, who made ſome figure in their days; and among the reſt, Gildas, who wrote a treatiſe upon the deſtruction of Britain, and from whom we principally derive our information concerning the ſtate of things, during the latter end of the fifth, and part of the ſixth century.

Likewiſe Columba, or Columbanus, a celebrated prieſt, founded, about the ſame time, two monaſteries, one in Ireland, and the other in Jona, a little iſland of the Hebrides, near Scotland, the latter of which became a very illuſtrious ſeminary, and produced, for many years, the moſt eminent divines of the age; the divines who chiefly contributed to the converſion of the Saxons, in the North of England.

To the Saxons let us now direct our view, and, with reſpect to knowledge, we ſhall find them in a diſmal ſituation. They were in the loweſt condition of ignorance, rudeneſs, and barbarity; their religious worſhip conſiſted of the groſſeſt ido-

idolatry; and they ſacrificed priſoners of war to the Gods. The firſt circumſtance of any note among them was the reception of the Goſpel, by Ethelbert, the king of Kent, and his ſubjects. His queen Bertha, who was niece to Chilperic, king of Paris, and a Chriſtian, had, together with Lindhard, a biſhop, as it is ſaid, of piety and learning, who attended her from France, prepared the way for this great event, by converting ſeveral perſons, and by producing a favourable diſpoſition in the mind of her huſband. But the grand work was carried on by Auſtin, and other monks, ſent by pope Gregory from Rome. One thing in this affair deſerves to be taken notice of, which is, that Ethelbert, whether it was owing to the good impreſſions of his lady, or the natural dictates of reaſon working in his own rude, but unprejudiced, underſtanding, allowed to his people the utmoſt liberty of conſcience. He treated the miſſionaries with reſpect, heard them with attention, and permitted them to propagate their doctrines without interruption. Both before and after he had embraced Chriſtianity, he left his ſubjects to an entire freedom of judging and acting for themſelves. His converſion, however, was followed by that of the whole nation; a fact the leſs to be wondered at, when we conſider that barbarians, having no ſettled ſentiments, are, in general, ready to receive any which are offered by ſuch as excel them in knowledge; and eſpecially, when encouraged by the example of their own prince. This is confirmed by a variety of inſtances in the hiſtory of the world; for we ſhall uſually find that the ignorant and unpoliſhed conquerors of a civilized country ſubmitted, without much heſitation, to the religion of the people they had ſubdued.

As to the change that was produced, by Auſtin and his attendants, in the principles and manners of the Saxons, it was not, to ſpeak even the moſt favourably of it, by any means ſo happy an alteration as would have been effected, had the Goſpel been preached in purer ages. The truth, at that period, was mixed with ſuch error and ſuperſtition, that the underſtandings of our anceſtors could not be ſo greatly enlarged by their reception of Chriſtianity, as at firſt we might be apt to ſuppoſe. However upright the inten-

intentions of Auſtin might be, that he was himſelf a weak man appears from the trifling, and even ridiculous, queſtions which he required a ſolution of from pope Gregory.

This being the caſe, his diſciples muſt at beſt, have been more ignorant than their maſter. Beſides, what kind of diſciples they were, may be collected from the vaſt numbers of them who were made in a very ſhort ſpace of time. It was no age of inſpiration or miracles; and therefore it was impoſſible for ſuch multitudes of perſons to be properly inſtructed in ſo ſpeedy a manner as is recorded. Some have aſſerted that Auſtin, and others, with more probability, that Paulinus baptized ten thouſand in one day. Now, to which ſoever of them this fact belongs, it is enough to convince any man of reflection, that theſe numerous converſions were too much like thoſe ſince carried on by the popiſh miſſionaries; and that they conſiſted more in a change of outward profeſſion, than in a real alteration of ſentiments, diſpoſitions, and manners. This is farther apparent, from the Saxons being allowed to retain their pagan cuſtoms and rites of worſhip, provided they applied them to other objects; a permiſſion which, though calculated to anſwer political purpoſes, was directly contrary to the practice of the apoſtles, and, in its very nature, deſtructive to the progreſs of real knowledge.

Independently of the deſire which Auſtin had to diffuſe the light of the Goſpel in general, we find he was particularly zealous for his own authority, and extremely ſolicitous to ſubject the Britiſh Chriſtians, in the remoter part of the iſland, to his metropolitan juriſdiction, and to the doctrines and diſcipline of the ſee of Rome. This is a circumſtance no otherwiſe connected with our main ſubject, than as it affords us an opportunity of obſerving, that the Britiſh biſhops of that age, had more enlarged views of things: accordingly, they diſclaimed all ſubmiſſion to the Roman church, and nobly aſſerted their independence.

But though the honour of the change in the ſtate of knowledge, ariſing from the converſion of the Saxons, has been chiefly attributed to Auſtin and his aſſiſtants, yet it was, in a great meaſure, owing to others; particularly in the kingdoms of Eaſt Anglia, Northumberland, and Mercia. Paulinus before ſpoken of, had, indeed, begun to propagate Chriſ-

Chriſtianity among the inhabitants of Northumberland, by the aſſiſtance of Ethelburga, the wife of king Edwin; but the ſlaughter of that prince ſoon overturned all that had been done, and the nation reverted back to idolatry. Afterwards, when Oſwald, one of his ſucceſſors, was deſirous of converting his ſubjects, he ſent to the Scotch monaſtery of Jona, from whence, at length, he received Aidan, a man who deſerves to be raiſed from the obſcurity of the times, and to be mentioned with ſingular veneration and eſteem. It is on all hands agreed, that he was a moſt accompliſhed and excellent perſon. He was as learned as any of his contemporaries, and we may conſider as a full proof of it, the peculiar care he took to have ſchools erected for the inſtruction of youth. He, likewiſe, earneſtly recommended, both to the clergy and laity, a diligent and conſtant ſtudy of the Scriptures; being ſenſible that this was the only way of promoting a genuine and rational knowledge of divine Truth. It is not our intention to ſearch out obſcure names; and therefore we ſhall content ourſelves with obſerving, that our country was as much, if not more, indebted, for the light of the Goſpel, to Aidan, his diſciples, and ſucceſſors, as it was to the boaſted labours of the Italian emiſſaries.

Let us now turn our eyes from the clergy, and ſee if we can find any among the princes of the period we are treating of, who merit a place in the hiſtory of ſcience. The times of the heptarchy produced a number of ſovereigns that were diſtinguiſhed as warriors, as politicians, and as devotees; but there are only two who fall within our plan, and even theſe two would ſcarcely deſerve to be mentioned, if they had lived in more enlightened ages. The firſt is Sigebert, king of Eaſt Anglia; who, in conſequence of his having been an exile in France, had acquired an underſtanding and a taſte ſuperior to his contemporaries. Accordingly, when he was ſettled on the throne, he did not merely endeavour to convert his ſubjects to Chriſtianity, but inſtituted ſeminaries for inſtruction in the languages, and ſuch other literature as was then known. He has ſometimes been conſidered, though without ſufficient reaſon, as the founder of the univerſity of Cambridge. The ſchools appointed by him were erected in ſeveral places, and can by

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no means be regarded as the eſtabliſhment of an univerſity. His knowledge was not ſo enlarged as to preſerve him from the ſuperſtitious weakneſs of the times; for we read that he cloſed his reign by retiring into a monaſtery.

The other prince that comes under our notice, is Iña, king of Weſſex, who ſuſtains a character ſuperior to that of Sigebert, even the character of a lawgiver. He cannot, indeed, be compared with the celebrated legiſlators of Grecian antiquity: he was not ſo profound as Lycurgus, nor ſo wiſe as Solon; but ſurely the firſt Saxon monarch who compoſed a body of written laws, is an object worthy of our attention. This work he executed by the advice, and with the concurrence, of his nobles, biſhops, and other eminent perſons. Some of his inſtitutes related to the church, and ſome to the ſtate. They continued in force a long time, and at length, became the foundation of the code eſtabliſhed by Alfred. But excellent as Ina was in ſeveral reſpects, he diſgraced himſelf by an abſurd ſuperſtition; and he is ſaid to have introduced into his dominions the tax called Peter's pence, which afterwards extended through all England.

A little before the reign of Ina, there flouriſhed in Kent, Theodore, a native of Tarſus, and archbiſhop of Canterbury. This man was more learned than any of his predeceſſors, and deſerves to be recorded, as taking uncommon pains to promote the cauſe of literature. Schools were erected by him, in order to teach the languages, geometry, arithmetic, muſic, and aſtronomy; and ſo ſucceſsful were theſe ſchools, that Bede aſſures us he knew ſeveral perſons educated in them, who were able to converſe in Greek and Latin as fluently as in their native tongue. This was, undoubtedly, a great attainment; and, though the deſign of Theodore ſeems principally to have been to carry on his ſcheme of ſpreading the cuſtoms and diſcipline of the Roman church, yet, whatever views his were, it muſt be owned that the encouragement of knowledge was a noble and generous method of executing his pupoſes.

Whether it was owing to the ſeminaries eſtabliſhed by this celebrated prelate, or to what other cauſes, the imperfection of records will not permit us to determine; but during the latter end of the ſeventh and the beginning of the

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eighth centuries, learning, such as it was, was rather upon the advance in England. There is something in the style and manner of the writers who lived at that period, which is superior to the authors who preceded, or came after them, for several ages: and then flourished a set of men, who, all things considered, deserved a large share of reputation. Egbert, archbishop of York, was famous as a great collector of books, a scholar, and a patron of literature. Eddius composed the life of bishop Wilfrid, in a better taste of language than had hitherto been customary. Acca produced a number of theological pieces. Ceolfrid acquired a considerable degree of literary excellence. But of all the eminent persons that adorned this æra, Bede was the most illustrious; and indeed, notwithstanding the defects of his works, which are chiefly owing to the defects of the times, he was really an extraordinary man. He was the first that wrote a regular ecclesiastical history; and, though it is too full of fables and false miracles, it still continues to be valuable. Nor was his knowledge confined to divinity and the annals of the church, but reached to the arts and sciences in general; to grammar, astronomy, chronology, natural philosophy, and ethics. It is true, his treatises on these subjects will be found very imperfect, when compared with the enlightened productions of modern ages: nevertheless, they prove him to have had an uncommon genius and application. He obtained, when young, the appellation of Venerable; and will always be regarded as a character that is entitled to peculiar honour and esteem. There was a poet in this æra, Cædmon, on whom Bede bestows the highest praises. A fragment of him is preserved by Alfred; but it ought to be remembered, that what might powerfully strike our rude ancestors may make little impression on the refinement of modern times.

Bede was the luminary of the North, where he constantly lived; and next to him in reputation was Aldhelm, who was something before him in point of time, and the chief ornament of the South of England. It is universally agreed that he was the first Englishman who composed in Latin; none having heretofore done it, in this island, but such as were either foreigners from the continent, or Irish, or Scots,

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or Britons. He has, likewiſe, himſelf aſſured us, that he was the firſt who introduced poetry among the Saxons, and who wrote upon the meaſure of verſes.

After Aldhelm and Bede, Alcuinus, educated by the latter, and by Egbert, archbiſhop of York, acquired a diſtinguiſhed name in the literary world. Being ſent abroad, he became the favourite of the famous Charlemagne; inſtructed him in rhetoric, logic, mathematics, and divinity; and was called the Univerſaliſt, and ſecretary to the liberal arts. He contributed greatly to the revival of learning in France; and has been thought, by ſome, to have founded the univerſity of Paris; but this is a matter not ſufficiently authenticated. The fame of Alcuinus ſhines with diſtinguiſhed luſtre in the literary hiſtory of this age.

Such were the eminent perſons who flouriſhed in the period of which we are writing, and whom hiſtory has handed down to us with encomiums that muſt be admitted with ſome degree of reſerve. They were very conſiderable men, with reſpect to the times in which they appeared; but they had not much true knowledge, and ſcarce any acquaintance with polite ſcience. Beſides, they were comparatively few; and the age, in general, was extremely rude and ignorant. Would we judge what it was, we may ſee it in the barbarous manners, the cruel wars, the treacherous murders then frequent: above all, we may ſee it in the religious ſentiments and cuſtoms which univerſally prevailed. The monaſtic ſpirit is a demonſtration of the low ſtate of real wiſdom, eſpecially when we remember that it infected even the princes of the nation. No leſs than ten kings, and eleven queens, retired into convents; a faſhion which could not have taken place among perſons of ſuch high rank, except in a period of the groſſeſt darkneſs and ſuperſtition. Another folly, which ſhews the ſpirit and character of the times, was the pilgrimages to Rome; and another, the exceſſive fondneſs for relics. Image-worſhip, likewiſe, was introduced among us, towards the cloſe of the heptarchy.

As to the controverſies that agitated the church in thoſe days, they are not worth mentioning. The chief diſpute, and which was carried on a longwhile, was about the celebration

bration of Eaſter. We read alſo, that the doctrine of the Monothelites was condemned, at the council of Hatfield.

After Bede, and his contemporaries, what little of literature there was in England declined apace, and became almoſt annihilated. Inſtead of growing more and more enlightened, the nation was plunged into deeper ignorance and error: and ſuch was the ſtate of things when Egbert put an end to the ſeven kingdoms, and united them under one ſovereign.

It might naturally be expected, that when the ſeven kingdoms came under the dominion of one prince, the ſtate of things would grow better, and knowledge begin to revive in England. But the fact was far otherwiſe; and if we enquire into the cauſes of it, ſeveral circumſtances will be found, which contributed to the production of ſo deplorable an effect. The wars carried on by Egbert againſt his neighbours, gave riſe to much confuſion and deſolation; and when he had reduced the nation under his government, it would ſtill be a conſiderable time before affairs could be brought into ſo peaceable and flouriſhing a condition, as was neceſſary to the progreſs of learning. Moreover, the ſpirit of the age was directly oppoſite to literary improvements. An univerſal ignorance prevailed, and there was no thought about the cultivation and advancement of human reaſon. To this concurred the abſurd ſentiments that were propagated with regard to religion, and the enormous power and influence of the clergy, which could only be ſupported by the ſtupidity and darkneſs of the people. Indeed, the ſituation of the world during this period, and for many centuries, affords a ſtrong proof, that where the ſcriptures are neglected, and rational principles concerning religious matters totally excluded, the other branches of ſcience, and the faculties of the mind in general, will greatly ſuffer. It may, perhaps, be ſuppoſed, that the monaſteries had a tendency to preſerve and favour literature. They had ſomething of this tendency; the little knowledge that ſubſiſted in the nation was maintained in them; but yet, upon the whole, they did not produce any great effects. But whatever their tendency was, they had, in reality, rather a contrary effect. They were not temples of piety, or ſeats of the Muſes; the

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perſons who reſided in them, did not fix upon them as retreats to awaken their devotion and enlarge their underſtandings, but as places where they might live exempt from military ſervice, and ſecurely indulge their luſts and vices. That the monaſteries were little elſe than the abodes of wickedneſs, Bede complains again and again, in his writings; and he has told us they were in ſo corrupt a ſtate, that ſuch as deſired to be ſincerely pious, were obliged to go abroad for education.

But the grand circumſtances which deſtroyed the very traces of knowledge, and cut it up by the roots, were the invaſions of the Danes; which ſo ſoon ſucceeded the abolition of the Heptarchy, that there was no time to bring the kingdom into order. In conſequence of the numerous and repeated attacks of that people, who were more barbarous than the Saxons, an almoſt univerſal ruin was ſpread through the iſland, and the monks were totally diſperſed; ſo that the few among them who had applied to letters being driven away or murdered, the wiſdom they poſſeſſed, whatever it was, periſhed with them. Hence, with relation to the hiſtory of learning, nothing can be recorded from the reign of Egbert to the reign of Alfred; who, when he came to the crown, found ſcience in ſo deplorable a condition, that he has himſelf aſſured us, he ſcarcely remembered one man on the ſouth ſide of the Humber, who underſtood his prayers in the Engliſh tongue, or could tranſlate a piece of Latin into his native language.

Were it not for Alfred, the period we are writing of would hardly deſerve to be mentioned: but he has thrown a mighty luſtre upon it; for in him we meet with abilities and accompliſhments that are truly aſtoniſhing. If we had full materials, it would be very delightful to trace the ſteps by which ſuch a mind advanced to maturity; to mark the incidents that awakened the vigour of his genius, and rendered him ſo diſtinguiſhed and enlightened in a barbarous age, and amidſt a ſcene of general diſorder. We are informed that, when he was very young, he was twice at Rome; and perhaps a peculiar impreſſion might be made upon him, while in that famous city. He might perceive ſomething ſuperior to what he had been witneſs to at home; ſomething which called forth his powers, and excited the ardours of a noble emulation. For

though Rome itself was then in a very low state of science, compared with what it had formerly been, yet it was vastly superior, in this respect, to the dark and frozen regions of the North. But whatever impressions Alfred might have received at that place, no immediate advancement in knowledge seems to have been the result of them; for we are told his education was so far neglected, that he could not read at twelve years of age, when, being allured to it by his mother, he applied to his studies with surprising assiduity, and made a progress equally surprising.

He was undoubtedly, in every instance, one of the most illustrious characters recorded in history, and deservedly remains, to this day, the peculiar favourite of the English nation. We could enlarge, with abundant pleasure, on his military talents, on the enterprises he conducted, and the numerous battles he fought, which rank him with the greatest captains of ancient or modern times. We could dwell, with the same satisfaction, on his political talents and behaviour, which were not inferior to his martial atchievements. We might expatiate, likewise, on his private virtues: but we shall confine ourselves to the circumstances relative to our main subject, where we have ample matter for admiration and praise.

If we consider Alfred with regard to his personal knowledge, we shall find that he was superior to any man of his time. It is on all hands agreed, that he was the best poet and the best mathematician in his day; and so with relation to some other branches of the arts and sciences. Such was his ardent desire for the cultivation of his mind, that he always retained about him the most accomplished scholars he could meet with, with whom he perpetually engaged in literary enquiries and pursuits.

Nor was his wisdom a treasure locked up in his own breast, and reserved merely for his private entertainment: it was spread around him in a most plentiful manner. He was extremely solicitous to have his subjects enlightened and improved, and zealously sought out every method that could contribute to so desirable an effect. For this purpose, one of his first steps was to invite from the British monasteries, and from the continent, as many learned men as possible, whom he received with open arms, made his chosen companions and friends, and

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encouraged by the higheſt marks of diſtinction and favour. In concurrence with them, and by their means, he erected a number of ſchools for the inſtruction of his people.

That the path of knowledge might be rendered ſtill eaſier to the Engliſh nation, Alfred employed the able perſons who were about him, in writing ſuch books as were calculated for the informaton of the multitude. A moſt judicious and uſeful ſcheme! And as there were but few who were capable of putting it into execution, he commenced author himſelf, and compoſed a variety of pieces; ſo great a variety, that we are aſtoniſhed at his finding leiſure to produce them, in the midſt of the dangerous wars, and important public concerns, in which he was continually engaged.

The motive from which his literary performances took their riſe, does him honour. He did not write from a principle of vanity, or even from a deſire of obtaining a laudable reputation; but ſolely from a view to the welfare of his ſubjects, and the good of mankind. He took the labour upon him, becauſe no one elſe was ſo well qualified for diſcharging it. If we examine the catalogue of his works, we ſhall perceive that the matters he treated of were worthy of his character, as the prince and father of his country. Many of his compoſitions related to the grand objects of government and laws, and others of them were proper for his people in general, calculated to inſpire them with devotion, to excite their attention to the moral virtues, and to provide for them an inſtructive and innocent entertainment.

Beſides his original productions, he tranſlated a number of pieces; and his method of doing it deſerves notice. He employed the learned men who were with him, to give the general ſenſe of an author, and then he put it into a proper dreſs; not with a ſcrupulous regard to the literal ſignification, but in a free manner, and with ſuch alterations and additions as were ſuitable to his purpoſes, and calculated for the benefit of his ſubjects. The reaſon why he did not conſign this whole buſineſs to others, but took it upon himſelf, was, becauſe his own ſtyle was peculiarly clear, eaſy, and fluent, and better adapted to the inſtruction and entertainment of the nation, than the ſtyle of mere ſcholars would have been. A fact this, which confirms the obſervation, that perſons in the ſuperior ſtations

of life, and who have an enlarged acquaintance with the world, greatly excel, in the perſpicuity and harmony of their language, ſuch as live immured in books, and draw from them alone their turn of compoſition.

Alfred did not pay an attention to his own times only, but had, in moſt of his undertakings, the nobleſt views to the welfare of poſterity. Beſides the ſchools erected by him in different places, he prohibited any one from aſſuming the truſt and dignity of a magiſtrate, who was not verſed in learning: and, that there might not be wanting a ſupply of men qualified to diſcharge the ſeveral offices of government, he compelled, by law, thoſe who had competent fortunes to give their children a proper education.

One principal object, which ſhewed his regard for poſterity, and hath rendered his name peculiarly illuſtrious, was his being the founder of the univerſity of Oxford. We ſay the founder of it: for though we are not inſenſible that ſome writers have contended for a higher antiquity, we are well ſatisfied that all ſuch pretences have no ſolid foundation; and think it a much greater glory to this famous Seminary, to date its original from ſo eminent a perſon, than to ſeek the vain and fabulous honour of being eſtabliſhed in an earlier period. Three halls were erected by Alfred, in each of which twenty-ſix ſcholars were educated. The ſciences taught were divinity, logic, muſic, geometry, aſtronomy, grammar, and rhetoric; and the ableſt men of the age were appointed the teachers. Such was the beginning of Oxford, as a ſeat of letters, and the reſidence of the Muſes: and ſince that time it hath riſen to the utmoſt degree of ſplendor, and has become the largeſt univerſity in the world. It has no equal for the number and magnificence of its colleges and public buildings, the ſize and ſplendour of its libraries, the multitude of its profeſſors and pupils, and the variety of its endowments. It hath produced perſons eminent in all branches of literature: claſſical and polite learning have appeared in it with peculiar luſtre: it is now adorned by many diſtinguiſhed names: and we wiſh, that, to the lateſt poſterity, it may not only maintain, but increaſe its dignity, by continuing the habitation of ſubſtantial knowledge, true taſte, and national inſtruction.

Alfred

Alfred ſhines with equal, perhaps with greater glory, as a legiſlator, than he doth as a friend and patron of letters in general; and not one of our Engliſh princes deſerves to be named with him in this reſpect. In order to provide for his ſubjects a full body of laws, he ſearched into the inſtitutions of foreign nations, collected the regulations of the Britiſh kings, and of his Saxon anceſtors, and drew from them what was moſt valuable and uſeful. It is much to be lamented, that the code eſtabliſhed by him has not been tranſmitted to us entire: but enough of it remains to fill us with the warmeſt veneration for his memory, and to convince us that he had the nobleſt views for the happineſs of poſterity, as well as of his own times. Indeed, his character muſt always be held in peculiar eſteem by the natives of this iſland; ſince to him we are indebted for many of the moſt important privileges which, at the preſent day, conſtitute the dignity and felicity of our political conſtitution.

With relation to Alfred's ſkill in the arts, and his attention to commerce, he was ſuperior to any monarch of the age. He erected cities, repaired palaces, and applied himſelf diligently to the ſtudy of ſhip-building, ſo as to reduce it to a ſcience, and invented veſſels of ſuch a conſtruction, as enabled him to obtain the victory in ſeveral engagements with the Danes. From a motive of piety, and to relieve the Chriſtians of Malabar, he is recorded to have ſent perſons to the Eaſt Indies; and his ſhips are ſaid to have returned from the voyage with precious ſtones, perfumes, and other valuable commodities. It is a certain fact, that he attempted the diſcovery of the north-eaſt paſſage, and employed Octher, a Dane, and Wolſtan, an Engliſhman, for that purpoſe.

If we conſider the religion of Alfred, though it undoubtedly partook of the temper of the times, yet we have no reaſon to believe that it was remarkably ſuperſtitious. There is nothing recorded of him which ſavours of the mean and monkiſh ſpirit obſervable in many preceding and ſucceeding princes. His piety was very ſincere and fervent; and as rational as the period in which he lived would admit.

During his reign, and under his influence and encouragement, there flouriſhed ſeveral learned men, who aſſiſted him in his noble undertakings, and deſerve to be mentioned with honour. He is ſaid to have founded the univerſity of Oxford at

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the requeſt of St. Neot, who, together with Grimbald, was appointed profeſſor of divinity. Grimbald had been invited from abroad, in conſequence of his great reputation for literature; and is ſpoken of by all writers as a perſon of very illuſtrious character and merit. Alfred, alſo, retained at his court, and patroniſed, Johannes Scotus Erigena, a man of a very acute genius, and whoſe name is exceedingly famous in eccleſiaſtical hiſtory, for having ſtrongly oppoſed, and written againſt, the doctrine of tranſubſtantiation, which had been ſupported by Paſchaſius, and then began to gain ground in the church. But the chief favourite of the king ſeems to have been Aſſerius, who accompanied him wherever he went, ſtudied along with him, and aſſiſted him in the execution of all his literary deſigns. Aſſerius wrote an account of the life and actions of his royal maſter; and in the peruſal of it we were particularly ſtruck with the account that is given of the bad health under which Alfred continually laboured. That in ſuch circumſtances he could perform ſo vaſt a variety of actions, civil and military, commercial and literary, is really a matter of aſtoniſhment.

In Alfred we may behold what amazing effects may be produced by the genius and abilities of one man. Such was the influence he had upon the nation, that, in a few years, it was transformed into quite another people. The Engliſh, from being cowardly, poor, deſpicable, and ignorant, became brave, rich, reſpectable, and, comparatively ſpeaking, knowing and polite: but they were governed by a prince who was almoſt a prodigy in every reſpect; and we muſt travel through ſeveral centuries, before we ſhall find a character on which we can expatiate with equal pleaſure, and which does ſo much honour to human nature.

When we conſider the character of Alfred, the uncommon enlargement of his mind, and the prodigious pains he took to diffuſe knowledge among his ſubjects, we may be ready to wonder, that his efforts were not attended with greater conſequences; and that literature did not, after his reign, flouriſh more in the nation than we find it, in fact, to have done. But our ſurprize will ceaſe, if we reflect on the circumſtances of the times in which he lived, and by which

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he was ſucceeded. Though Alfred was a prodigy, yet his own improvements were much limited by the ignorance of the age; and he muſt neceſſarily have been unacquainted with a thouſand things, that are at preſent known by perſons of very moderate capacities. This too was the caſe with regard to the profeſſors and tutors appointed by him at Oxford, and other places. They had not accurate and extenſive views of any ſcience; and, therefore, could not communicate ſuch views to their diſciples. Indeed it was not poſſible, in ſo dark a period, to make a large progreſs in true philoſophy and ſound learning. The ſtate of religion, the ſcarcity of books, the prevailing manners of the world, the want of good examples, all ſtood in oppoſition to the advancement of real wiſdom. Add to this, that the repeated invaſions of the Danes, put a ſtop to the cultivation of knowledge, and at length brought back almoſt an univerſal barbariſm.

Nevertheleſs, the fruits of Alfred's endeavours were not immediately loſt: the ſpirit introduced by him ſubſiſted for a time, and operated pretty ſtrongly during the lives of his two ſucceſſors. All hiſtorians agree in beſtowing high encomiums upon his ſon Edward, and in repreſenting him as not much inferior to his father. It is, however, but little which is ſaid of his literary character; though enough to convince us that he was a man of abilities and underſtanding. Perhaps we may conſider as ſome proof of it, a remarkable regulation he made, that if a ſervant was guilty of theft, the perſon who recommended him ſhould be anſwerable for his crime, and reſponſible for his right behaviour. We read, alſo, that Edward was particularly careful in the education of his children; that, in conſequence of his attention in this reſpect, they were diſtinguiſhed by their improvements; and that his daughters were ſo celebrated for their accompliſhments, as to be ſought after, and obtained in marriage, by the greateſt foreign princes, kings, and emperors.

But the grand point which intitles him to a place in the hiſtory of letters, is his being generally looked upon as the founder of the univerſity of Cambridge. The fact, however, like other ancient facts, is not ſo clear as to be wholly

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free from diſpute; while ſome go back to the fabulous ages, for the original of this famous ſeminary; and ſome contend that it had no exiſtence, as a ſchool of learning, till the year 1110, in the reign of Henry the Firſt. But, without entering into theſe controverſies, we ſhall embrace the preſent opportunity of obſerving, that, from ſmall beginnings, Cambridge is become, in a courſe of time, exceedingly illuſtrious, and, in rank, the ſecond univerſity in the world. Inferior to Oxford in magnitude, beauty, the number of colleges, buildings, profeſſors, and ſtudents, it is, notwithſtanding, capable of boaſting many noble edifices and foundations. But though Cambridge muſt yield the palm, in theſe reſpects, to her ſiſter, we ſuppoſe ſhe will be unwilling to do it in the valuable attainments of ſcience and literature. She, as well as Oxford, hath produced a number of eminent men, ſeveral of whom we ſhall have occaſion to mention in the courſe of our work; not, indeed, as members of a ſingle ſeminary, but as the ornaments of their country, and the glory of human nature. It has often been ſaid, that Oxford has excelled in the knowledge of the claſſics, belles lettres, and the languages; while Cambridge hath made a ſuperior progreſs in philoſophy, mathematics, and the ſeverer ſtudies. Nevertheleſs, it muſt be granted, that ſhe has always educated many perſons who have been celebrated for their taſte in polite learning; and can, at this day, triumph in her poets and her critics. For our part, we ſincerely wiſh proſperity to both, and hope there will never be any other contention between them, than who ſhall form the greateſt number of characters that will be an honour to religion, to letters, and to the public.

The care which Edward took of the education of his children, was viſible in his ſons, as well as in his daughters; and it was particularly apparent in Athelſtan his ſucceſſor, who is, on all hands, confeſſed to have been a very illuſtrious and accompliſhed prince, and who is juſtly ranked among the lawgivers of England. His eloquence is, likewiſe, highly extolled by hiſtorians, who have been pleaſed to aſſert that he was equal, in this reſpect, to the Roman orators. There was a regulation made during this reign, that ſhews an enlargement of mind much above

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the times, and which even more civilized ages have not been able to reach: it was, that a merchant who had effected three voyages to the Streights, on his own account, ſhould be put on a footing with a thane. There is one fact related concerning Athelſtan, which, if ſufficiently authenticated, would appear of peculiar importance in a ſurvey of literature. We are confidently told, by ſeveral modern writers, that he ordered the Bible to be tranſlated out of the Hebrew into the Saxon language, for the benefit of his ſubjects. If this be true, it was a work of the utmoſt uſefulneſs and value, and ſhews the inſtitutions of Alfred to have produced very happy effects. But, notwithſtanding the improvements introduced by that prince, it is much to be queſtioned whether there were any perſons in the kingdom capable of executing ſo grand a deſign: for in the period we are ſpeaking of, the beſt ſcholars Europe afforded ſeem to have been little, if at all, acquainted with the oriental tongues.

From the days of Athelſtan down to the Conqueſt, the ſtate of knowledge evidently went backward, and the nation ſunk into the depth of ignorance and ſuperſtition. Europe in general, during the tenth and eleventh centuries, was over-run with ignorance and barbarity; and England, if poſſible, was in a ſtill worſe condition. It is really painful to reflect, that, in the courſe of two or three hundred years, we meet with little worthy to be recorded. Like travellers in the deſerts of Arabia, we often ſee nothing for a long time together, but barren ſands; and if now and then we come to a verdant ſpot, though that ſpot is extremely beautiful, compared with the dreary proſpect around it, yet it partakes of the ſterility of the ſoil by which it is encompaſſed.

The diſputes that agitated the world, were of too low and trifling a nature to merit a place in our work. The inſolent and fiery Dunſtan, whoſe learning is highly extolled by the monks, principally employed his abilities in contending for the celibacy of the clergy. How little clerical men were engaged in literary purſuits, appears from a canon, enjoining every prieſt to learn ſome occupation as a handicraftſman; a regulation, which, as circumſtances

ſtood, was exceedingly proper and reaſonable. Another decree preſcribed, that they ſhould be capable of repeating the Creed and the Pater-noſter. In the reign, however, of Ethelred the IId. it is ſaid, a miſſion was ſent to Norway, at the requeſt of the king of the country, to convert the Norwegians and the Swedes to the Chriſtian religion. The archbiſhop of York and other divines went over upon this occaſion, and had great ſucceſs, though ſome of them afterwards received the crown of martyrdom. What their real qualifications were, and what influence they had, we are not able to ſay; but we may be well aſſured that their inſtructions were tinctured with the defects of the times.

While ſo much darkneſs prevailed in the kingdom, and every thing was gradually giving way to the pretenſions of the Roman ſee, it ought not to be omitted, that the church of England had not as yet embraced the abſurd and monſtrous doctrine of tranſubſtantiation. This is evident from ſeveral teſtimonies, and particularly from the writings of Alfric, ſtyled the Grammarian, who is almoſt the only perſon that deſerves to be mentioned for more than a century; and who is chiefly remarkable by having tranſlated from the Latin a ſet of homilies for the uſe of the clergy, now ſo generally and totally ignorant, as to be utterly incapable of compoſing diſcourſes for the benefit of their people. With reſpect, likewiſe, to the princes who ſucceeded Athelſtan, we meet with nothing but the reduction of the ſeveral Saxon ſtatutes and cuſtoms into one body, by Edward the Confeſſor; and a law of the ſame monarch, that ſtudious men ſhould be ſecure in their eſtates and properties: an inſtitution which manifeſted a love of literature, though it might not contribute greatly to its advancement.

We ſhall conclude this diſagreeable account of things with obſerving, that poetry was not wholly neglected, during the latter as well as during the former part of the period we have deſcribed. It has been queſtioned whether minſtrels exiſted among the Saxons; but that they had ſuch an order of men, has been proved to the full conviction even of the perſons who had diſputed the fact.

The Danes, too, had their poets; as might be expected in a nation that came from Scandanavia, where the Scaldic bards had flouriſhed from early times. King Canute the Great ſtands upon record for his poetic talents, and the firſt ſtanza of a ſong compoſed by him is preſerved in one of our old writers. The poetry of the age had, however, no great effect in promoting a general ſpirit of knowledge and improvement. It inſpired our anceſtors with courage; it exhilirated them at their feſtivals; it ſometimes aided their devotion: when love was the ſubject, it contributed, in a certain degree, to ſoften their minds. But all this did not prevent their continuing in a very groſs ſtate of ignorance and barbarity.

BRITISH AND FOREIGN

HISTORY

For the Year 1782.

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CHAP. I.

State of Affairs at the Close of the Year 1781. Meeting of Parliament. Speech from the Throne. Addresses moved for in both Houses, and consequent Debates.

AT the close of the American campaign of the year 1781, the ill success of the British arms on that continent, and particularly the capture of the army under earl Cornwallis, afforded the most gloomy prospect to the mother country, and put almost a total period to the hopes of those who had flattered themselves with the subjugation of the colonies. The immense expence, the great accumulation of public debt which had been brought upon the nation, by this ever to be lamented contest, the effusion of human blood which it had occasioned, the diminution of trade, and the increase of taxes; these were evils of such a magnitude, as could scarcely be overlooked even by the most insensible and inattentive. The danger of Great Britain was also considerable, by the formidable confederacy of the house of Bourbon against her, by the greatness of their united naval force, and by her not having the assistance of a single ally.

In the East Indies, the British affairs were also in a state extremely critical; the war with the Marattas, and with Hyder Ally, and the discontents in Bengal, in consequence of the little attention that had been paid to the laws, manners, and usages of the natives, had materially affected and endangered the interests of the East-India company, and thrown their affairs into great confusion. It was hoped, however, that their possessions might receive considerable additional security, from the signal advantages that had been obtained over Hyder Ally, by the courage and military skill of sir Eyre Coote.

The British West-India islands, which had not hitherto been captured by the enemy, were far from being in a state of security; and very serious apprehensions were entertained concerning them, by those planters and merchants who were interested in them. The low state of the Dutch navy, and some apparent indecision in their councils, had hitherto prevented the republic of Holland from making that opposition to the arms of Great Britain which

might have been expected: but the behaviour of the Dutch, in the engagement off the Dogger-bank, ſeemed to afford a ſufficient evidence, that when their navy ſhould be augmented, they would be found a very formidable enemy.

In Ireland, though the liberal conceſſions which had been lately made to that kingdom, by the parliament of Great Britain, had in ſome degree leſſened the diſcontents which had been manifeſted there, the minds of men were ſtill far from being entirely compoſed: and it was yet an arduous taſk to ſettle the points in conteſt with wiſdom and with juſtice, and to the ſatisfaction of both kingdoms. To theſe obſervations it may be added, that notwithſtanding the ill ſucceſs which had attended the meaſures of adminiſtration, notwithſtanding the accumulated national calamities which were the evident reſult of thoſe meaſures, there ſeemed no appearance or probability of the ſpeedy removal of the miniſtry from power. They were ſupported by the crown; their miſconduct had not prevented their having a large party in the nation; and the great body of the people diſcovered too little ſpirit, or activity, to afford a proſpect of any important political revolution.

Such was the ſtate of things, when the ſecond ſeſſion of the fifteenth parliament of Great Britain commenced at Weſtminſter, on the 27th of November, 1781. In the ſpeech from the throne, his majeſty obſerved, that the war was ſtill unhappily prolonged by that reſtleſs ambition which firſt excited the enemies of his crown and people to commence it, and which ſtill continued to diſappoint his earneſt deſire and diligent exertion to reſtore the public tranquility. But he ſhou not anſwer the truſt co mmitted the ſovereign of a free people, nor make a ſuitable return to his ſubjects for their zealous and affectionate attachment to him, if he conſented to ſacrifice, either to his own deſire of peace, or to their temporary eaſe and relief, thoſe eſſential rights and permanent intereſts, upon the maintenance and preſervation of which the future ſtrength and ſecurity of Great Britain muſt depend. In the courſe of the ſpeech his majeſty touched, in as gentle a manner as the caſe would admit, on the late capture of lord Cornwallis and his army. The events of war, he ſaid, had been very unfortunate to his arms in Virginia, having ended in the loſs of his forces in that province. No endeavours, he added, had been wanting on his part to extinguiſh that ſpirit of rebellion, which his enemies had found means to foment and maintain in the colonies, and to reſtore to his deluded ſubjects in America that happy and proſperous condition, which they had formerly derived from a due obedience to the laws; but the late misfortune in that quarter called loudly for the firm concurrence and aſſiſtance of parliament, in order to fruſtrate the deſigns of their enemies, which were equally prejudical to the real intereſts of America, and to thoſ of Great Britain. He recommended to them, to reſume thoſe inquiries into the ſtate and condition of the Britiſh dominions and revenues in the Eaſt-Indies, which had been commenced in the preceding ſeſſion; and expreſſed his full perſuaſion, that they would proceed, with the ſame attention and anxiety which they had manifeſted the laſt year, to conſider how thoſe remote provinces might be held and governed with the greateſt ſecurity and advantage to this country, and by what means the happineſs of the native inhabi-

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tants might be beſt promoted. At the cloſe of the ſpeech, his majeſty obſerved, that among the many ill conſequences which attended the continuation of the preſent war, he ſincerely regretted the additional burthens which it muſt unavoidably bring upon his faithful ſubjects; but he ſtill declared his perfect conviction of the juſtice of his cauſe; and that he had no doubt, but that, by the concurrence and ſupport of his parliament, by the valour of his fleets and armies, and by a vigorous, animated, and united exertion of the faculties and reſources of his people, he ſhould be enabled to reſtore the bleſſing of a ſafe and honourable peace to all his dominions.

A motion for an addreſs of thanks, couched in the uſual ſtyle, was made in the houſe of commons by Mr. Perceval, and ſeconded by Mr. Thomas Ord. The former of theſe gentlemen obſerved, that his wiſhes for the re-eſtabliſhment of peace were ardent and ſincere; but he was fully convinced, that a durable and advantageous peace could reſult only from the firm, vigorous, and unremitting proſecution of the war. The preſent was not the time to relinquiſh hope, but to reſolve upon exertion. By deſpair we ſhould invite calamity to overwhelm us; and ill would it become a great and valiant people, whoſe reſources were yet powerful and numerous, to ſubmit where they ſhould reſiſt; to look with indifference upon their political importance; and to tarniſh, by indolent puſillanimity, the national and dear-bought glories, both of remote and of recent æras, inſtead of oppoſing, with augmented force, a combination whoſe inveterate efforts to throw out of the ſcale of Europe the whole political exiſtence of Great Britain, were ſtrengthened by the late victory over lord Cornwallis in Virginia. But if a general ſpirit of unanimity, ſo requiſite at one of the moſt alarming and important periods in the Britiſh annals, were to ariſe within the walls of parliament, and thence to diffuſe itſelf throughout the body of the people, the gloom that hovered round us would rapidly diſperſe, and great ſucceſſes would conduct the nation back to all its priſtine ſplendor and felicity. Mr. Ord alſo ſtrongly exhorted the houſe, to become unanimous in their reſolutions for the ſupport of government; and declared himſelf of opinion, that nothing could tend to reſtore the greatneſs of this country but a ſucceſsful proſecution of the war, which might lead to ſuch a peace as would accord with the honour and dignity of Great Britain. Similar ſentiments were thrown out by ſome other gentlemen on the ſide of adminiſtration; but the addreſs was oppoſed by Mr. Fox with his uſual energy and rapidity of eloquence. That gentleman ſaid, that there never was any time when it was ſo neceſſary to obſerve, as at the preſent, that the ſpeech from the throne was not to be conſidered as the ſpeech of the king, but of the miniſters. He had expected, and it had been the general expectation of many others, that this ſpeech would have been of a very different tendency; that they ſhould have heard his majeſty declare from the throne, "that he had been deceived and impoſed upon by miſinformation and miſrepreſentation; that, in conſequence of his deluſion, the parliament had been deluded; but that now the deception was at an end. He ſaw that he had been in an error, and that he and his people had ſuffered enough from the conſequences of it: and, therefore, that he requeſted of his parliament to deviſe the moſt ſpeedy

and direct means of putting an end to the public calamities, and of reſtoring peace, ſecurity, and happineſs to his dominions." But, inſtead of a ſpeech of this kind, they had heard one which breathed little elſe but rancour, vengeance, miſery, and blood. Thoſe who were ignorant of the perſonal character of the prince, and who imagined that this ſpeech originated from himſelf, might be led to ſuppoſe that he was an unfeeling deſpot, rejoicing in the horrid ſacrifice of the liberty and exiſtence of the ſubject. The ſpeech, upon a fair conſtruction, might be underſtood to convey this meaning: "Our loſſes have been ſingularly calamitous. The blood of my ſubjects has flowed in copious and unavailing ſtreams. The treaſures of the country have been thrown away; and the weight of taxes impoſed, with ſuch a heavy hand, upon an overburthened and ſinking people, is grown at length almoſt intolerable. Yet I will tax you to the laſt ſhilling. When all hope of victory is fled for ever, and the operations of the war muſt accelerate the ruin of the empire, I will forbid you to think of peace; for my thirſt of conqueſt is not quenched; my revenge is unſated; and nothing ſhort of the total ſubjugation of my opponents is capable of appeaſing it." When all ranks of people imagined that their monarch would have cheared them, with the glad tidings of a determination to ſeek for peace, and have confeſſed that the proſpect of ſucceeding in the preſent mode of carrying on the war, was vaniſhing for ever, how great muſt be their aſtoniſhment and concern to find, that we muſt purſue it at all events, and that we were not to reſt until we had totally loſt the power of contending with the force that aroſe againſt us?

Mr. Fox, after ſome ſevere obſervations upon the conduct of the miniſtry, proceeded to obſerve, that if they were entitled to any recompenſe for their ſervices, it ought to be conferred by France, whoſe battles they might be conſidered as having fought, and to whoſe aggrandizement they had much more contributed, than all her boaſted victories under the reign of Lewis the Fourteenth. The fact, indeed, was, that the preſent miniſtry were a curſe to this country, over the affairs of which they had too long been ſuffered to preſide: they had been notorious for their ignorance, their inactivity, their tameneſs, and their corruption. The time would ſurely come, when an oppreſſed and irritated people would firmly call for ſignal puniſhment on thoſe whoſe councils had brought the nation ſo near to the brink of deſtruction. An indignant nation would ſurely, in the end, compel them to make ſome faint atonement for the magnitude of their offences on a public ſcaffold. They had cut up our valuable poſſeſſions in North America, and ſeparated us, perhaps for ever, from thoſe who once were our fellow ſubjects, endeared to us by a variety of ties, now all conſumed amidſt the flames of an unnatural, diſaſtrous, and frantic war. They had driven us to the point of loſing our ſettlements in the Weſt Indies; they had not afforded proper ſuccour either to Port Mahon or Gibraltar; they had deſtroyed our commerce; and rendered us a mark of ridicule and ſcorn to all the ſtates in Europe; they had robbed us of the once undiſputed ſovereignty of the ocean; an unrivalled power, in conſequence of which we were at once envied, feared, and reſpected by the ſurrounding nations. Mr. Fox added, that he would perſiſt in oppoſing,

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by every method within his power, the proſecution of the deſtructive American war; and that he would not deſiſt from his oppoſition to government, till the miniſters were driven from the helm, who had brought the nation into its preſent perilous ſituation. He concluded with moving, that the whole of the propoſed addreſs ſhould be omitted, excepting the firſt paragraph; and that, in the room of what was left out, the following words ſhould be added as an amendment: "And we will, without delay, apply ourſelves with united hearts to propoſe and digeſt ſuch councils as may, in this criſis, excite the efforts, point the arms, and, by a total change of ſyſtem, command the confidence of all his majeſty's ſubjects."

The motion for an amendment was ſeconded by Mr. Minchin; and it was ſupported by Mr. Burke, who remarked, that if there could be a greater misfortune than had been already undergone by this kingdom in the preſent diſgraceful conteſt, it was hearing men riſe up in the great aſſembly of the nation to vindicate ſuch meaſures. This was the moſt alarming part of our condition. For if the miniſtry, and the parliament, were not to be taught by experience; if neither calamities could make them feel, nor the voice of God make them wiſe, what had this fallen and undone country to hope for? If any thing could tend to deject the people of England, to make them deſpair of their ſituation, and reſign themſelves to their fate, it muſt be to receive information that their miniſters, after all that had been ſuffered, were yet determined to go on with the American war. A battle might be loſt, an enterprize might miſcarry, an iſland might be captured, an army might be loſt in the beſt of cauſes, and even under a ſyſtem of vigour and foreſight; becauſe the battle, after all the wiſdom and bravery of man, was in the hands of heaven; but if either, or all theſe calamities, had happened in a good cauſe, and under the auſpices of a vigilant adminiſtration, a brave people would not deſpair. They would be animated by their injuries; they would collect energy from diſappointment; and feeling and knowing that a great and good miniſtry would be inſtigated, in ſuch a caſe, to ſtrike ſome bold, new, and deciſive ſtroke, they would arm, and reſolve to ſecond them. They would gather additional ſtrength from their hopes; and with a new ſoul they would proceed to the execution of whatever their miniſtry ſhould project, and their leaders undertake. But it was not ſo in the preſent caſe. Amidſt all their ſufferings, and their misfortunes, they ſaw nothing ſo diſtreſſing as the weakneſs or wickedneſs of their miniſters. It ſeemed ſtill determined to go on, without plan, and without foreſight, in this war of calamities; for every thing that happened in it was a calamity. He conſidered them all alike, victories and defeats; towns taken, and towns evacuated; new generals appointed, and old generals recalled; they were all alike calamities in his eyes; for they all ſpurred us on to this fatal buſineſs. Victories gave us hopes, defeats made us deſperate, and both inſtigated us to go on. They were, therefore, both calamities; and the king's ſpeech was the greateſt calamity of all; for the king's ſpeech ſhewed us the diſpoſition of the miniſters: and this diſpoſition was not to retreat an inch; to go on, to plunge us deeper, to make our ſituation more diſgraceful, and more unhappy.

In the courſe of the debate, it was contended on the part of adminiſtration,

ſtration, and particularly by lord North, that by the addreſs, as originally propoſed, the houſe did not pledge themſelves to any continuance of the American war: but this was ſtrongly denied by the gentlemen in oppoſition. The houſe at length divided on the amendment, which was rejected by a majority of 218 to 129; and the addreſs was then carried, as originally propoſed.

When the report of the addreſs was brought up the following day, it again met with ſome farther oppoſition: and Mr. William Pitt diſtinguiſhed himſelf on this occaſion. He declared, that the duty he owed to his ſovereign, and to his country, would not permit him to remain in ſilence, when he ſaw the miniſtry running headlong into meaſures, which could end only in the ruin of the ſtate. He wiſhed to ſhew his attachment to his ſovereign, and to his family, by holding to him a language, which would ſhew him that he had been deceived by thoſe to whom he looked for advice. He wiſhed to diſcharge his duty to his country, by endeavouring to prevent the parliament from precipitately voting an addreſs, which pledged the houſe in the moſt direct manner to proſecute the American war, and to ſupport the continuance of that fatal ſyſtem, which had led this country, ſtep by ſtep, to the moſt calamitous and diſgraceful ſituation, to which a once flouriſhing and glorious empire could poſſibly be reduced: a ſituation that threatened the final diſſolution of the empire, if not prevented by timely, wiſe, and vigorous efforts. He implored them to pauſe a moment, and to conſider what they were doing. The propoſed addreſs, he ſaid, was couched in terms the moſt hypocritical and deluſive; and if ſuffered, in a criſis ſo alarming and melancholy, to be publiſhed to the world as the real ſentiments of the houſe of commons, it would be an additional misfortune, greater than any that had yet preceded it. It would at once deceive the king, proſtitute the judgment of parliament, and degrade its dignity, inſult the people, and ſuperinduce conſequences fatal to the very being and exiſtence of the empire. It was an honeſt and a faithful line of conduct in them, to warn both the ſovereign and people of the dangers that were common to both. It was not the baſe and deceitful language of adulation which parliament ſhould adopt; but that ſtyle, and that manner, which became a body of men equally attached to their ſovereign and their conſtituents. Was it becoming the parliament of a free people, to echo back the words which a miniſter, long practiſed in the arts of deluſion, had dared to put into the royal mouth, but which were every way unworthy of the prince who condeſcended to deliver them? What information had they before them, to warrant their taking ſuch a ſtep? In the better days of parliament, the attempt to entrap the houſe into a countenance of aſſertions, wholly unexplained and unexamined, on the mere authority of a miniſter, would have been treated with all the violence of merited reſentment. The perſons whoſe intereſt it was to carry on ſo paltry a deceit, had indeed pretended, that the proſecution of the American war was not the import of the addreſs. But let any man only take the pains to read the words of the addreſs, and he muſt inſtantly perceive, that the proſecution of that deſtructive war was as plainly and fully the meaning of it, as language could poſſibly convey. Was there an honourable member on either ſide the houſe who really doubted

doubted it? Was there even a perſon in the ſtreet, into whoſe hands the addreſs could be put, that would not, on the firſt peruſal, inſtantly ſay as much? Why then was the houſe alone to ſacrifice their underſtandings to the will of the miniſter, and to ſupport his deluſion? But the fact was, that the war was an appendage to the firſt lord of the treaſury too dear to be parted with. It was the grand pillar, raiſed on the ruins of the conſtitution, by which he held his ſituation; it was the great means of extending that baleful influence of the crown, on which alone he placed his whole ſecurity. The war, however, had proved fruitleſs by fatal experience; and every day that we perſiſted in it, clearly removed us farther off from the moment of reconciliation and of reaſon, and tended rather to create new difficulties, than to ſmooth the path to peace and friendſhip. As to the propoſed addreſs, it was a dark and deſperate attempt to blind the eyes of the king, and to inſult the people of England. Was there any one independent member of that houſe, who would ſtand up in his place, and ſay, that thoſe men who had hitherto ſo miſguided the affairs of the kingdom, and in whoſe hands almoſt every undertaking had failed, ought to be truſted with the farther management of a war, which they had ſo wretchedly conducted. What had been done, in recompence for the effuſion of human blood that this war had exhibited, and for the enormous grants of ſupplies with which the miniſtry had been entruſted? The great events of the war were nothing but ſo many fatal misfortunes, defeat and ignominy following every effort of our arms, from one end of the continent of America to the other. He therefore implored the houſe, not to vote for an addreſs which was fraught with hypocriſy and treachery; and which could not have been framed by any who had the ſmalleſt ſpark of regard for the honour of the king, the dignity of parliament, or the intereſt of the nation.

The lord-advocate of Scotland paid ſome high compliments to Mr. Pitt; whoſe powerful abilities, and brilliant eloquence, he ſaid, were univerſally aeknowledged proofs, that the aſtoniſhing extent, and force of an exalted underſtanding, had deſcended, in an hereditary line, from the late illuſtrious poſſeſſor of them, to a ſon equally endued with all the fire, and ſtrength, and grace of oratory. He then laboured to prove, that the addreſs propoſed did not bind the members of that houſe to aay one ſpecific line of conduct, but was merely the ſort of language which it was moſt fit, under the circumſtances of the times, for parliament to hold to their ſovereign: and he aſked, what end the miniſters could have in view, if they proceeded to deluſive arts; and if, meaning one thing by the ſpeech and the addreſs, they ſhould affirm in the moſt expreſs manner that they meant another? He would be bold to ſay, that this deluſion could not enſnare parliament. It was impoſſible; and previouſly to the expiration of a ſingle week, the trick muſt certainly be detected; and willing beyond deſcription to run into the ſnare that parliament muſt prove, who could become the dupes of ſuch a weak and wretched impoſition. He likewiſe remarked, that it was ſometimes inſinuated, that the miniſtry ſupported meaſures which they did not approve, and which were diametrically oppoſite to their own principles. He thought ſuch inſinuations

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to be very ill grounded; but he would venture to give it as his opinion, that in every great and important national criſis, like the preſent, no good whatever was to be expected from an adminiſtration, the members of which did not act upon their own bottom, their own principles, their own judgment, and with a moſt perfect concordance of opinion. That miniſter, whomſoever he might be, who could conſent to ſtay in place during the prevalence of meaſures repugnant to his own principles, and militating againſt his judgment, betrayed his truſt, and deſerved the execrations of his country for his meanneſs. In ſmall concerns, where the object was trifling, he ſaw neither impropriety nor danger in the acquieſcence of a miniſter, who ſhould relinquiſh his opinion to a colleague, of the ſuperiority of whoſe underſtanding he was thoroughly convinced; but the caſe was widely different, when a great and ſerious conſideration ſtood before him. In the preſent ſtate of things, if any miniſter found his opinion oppoſed and his propoſitions rejected, that miniſter ought inſtantly to retire, and give way to ſome other men who thought differently, and would cordially unite with the reſt of the cabinet. But he deſired, that by theſe obſervations he might not be conſidered, as deſigning to inſinuate any charge whatever againſt the preſent miniſter, of whoſe private and public character he was at all times ready to avow himſelf the ſupporter. Nor did he mean to have it underſtood, that what he had advanced reflected on the other members of adminiſtration; moſt of whom he reſpected for their integrity, their abilities, and their zeal to ſerve their country; and it was this reſpect upon which his reliance was grounded, that their talents would be exerted in the public ſervice.

Mr. Burke affirmed, that the propoſed addreſs pledged the houſe to proſecute the American war in the moſt expreſs terms; and he expreſſed his ſurprize, that the lord-advocate of Scotland ſhould contend, that no deluſion could be intended by the miniſter, becauſe that deluſion could only laſt a week. Could the learned lord, he aſked, be ſo ignorant of the temper, and the practices of the miniſter, as to imagine, that the ſhortneſs of the time which a deluſion could exiſt, would be any reaſon for his avoiding to contrive it? The preſent miniſter dealt in cheats and deluſions. They were the daily traffic of his invention. As to a week, the noble lord had invented cheats which had not held out half that time. He had practiſed cheats upon the houſe, which had died away even before the debate was ended to favour which they were contrived. The noble lord would continue to play off his cheats and deluſions on that houſe, as long as he thought it neceſſary, and while he had money enough at command, to bribe gentlemen to pretend, that they believed ſuch tricks to be fair proceedings. After ſome farther debate, the houſe divided on the motion for bringing up the report of the addreſs, which was carried by a majority of 131 to 54.

In the Houſe of Peers, a motion for an addreſs, ſimilar to that of the Houſe of Commons, was made by Lord Southampton, and ſeconded by lord Walſingham. It was vigorouſly oppoſed by the Earl of Shelburne, who obſerved, that ſeven years had now elapſed ſince blood was firſt drawn in America; and

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from that period to the preſent the affairs of Great Britain had been continually growing worſe. A long progreſs in the war had left us in a ſituation, in which there were no advantages to conſole, but dangers and calamities had ariſen, which were unknown to us at the commencement of hoſtilities. Of nearly eighty-ſeven thouſand men ſent to America, how few had returned! What treaſures had been in vain expended! What enormous debts accumulated! The moſt liberal national ſupplies had been followed by nothing but calamities; and the whole proceedings of the miniſtry manifeſted a want of ſyſtem and of intelligence. Among other inſtances of miſmanagement, his lordſhip remarked, that inſtead of blocking up the French fleets within their own harbours, or immediately intercepting them on their putting out to ſea, we had ſuffered them to ſail far upon their expeditions to our diſtant ſettlements; and when they had acquired this great advantage, we ſlowly followed their powerful armaments with inconſiderable ſquadrons, and ſcarcely ever reached the place of deſtination, till the enterprizes of the enemy were totally accompliſhed. Thus circumſtanced was the fleet of France, at the preſent alarming juncture, in the Cheſapeak. Not that the Cheſapeak was merely where Earl Cornwallis had been captured. Almoſt immediately, if the war continued, ſhould we, with the ſame want of ſyſtem and combination, ſo prevalent through every paſt occurrence, find another Cheſapeak at Jamaica! another Cheſapeak at all our Weſt-India iſlands! Nay, we might expect to ſee another Cheſapeak at Plymouth; nor would it be aſtoniſhing to diſcover another Cheſapeak even in the Thames!

The laſt year, his lordſhip farther remarked, had afforded a glaring inſtance of miniſterial frenzy, when the men inveſted with power had involved the nation in hoſtilities againſt the Dutch, our old friends, and natural allies. This was a war of perfidy, of breach of faith; and as it had been engaged in without juſtice, it had been conducted without policy. When the miniſtry had broken with the Dutch, it ſeemed reaſonable to ſuppoſe, that at leaſt they would have diſpatched armaments to ſeize on ſome of the Spice Iſlands, on Ceylon, or ſome other important ſettlement. But what had they done? They had taken St. Euſtatius; and had pretended, that this important conqueſt would put an end to the rebellion. That iſland, they ſaid, was the ſource of ſtores to America, and the capture of it muſt terminate the war. But was that the caſe? On the contrary, was not the reverſe directly the conſequence of the capture? Our admiral and general who took the iſland, had ten times better have burnt the ſtores they found there, than have done what they did with them. They had ſold them to go in neutral veſſels, ſo that they fell into the hands of the very people, from whom it was pretended that they were to have been kept: and his lordſhip declared it to be his opinion, that the capture of Earl Cornwallis was owing to the preceding capture of St. Euſtatius. As to the farther proſecution of the war, with the leaſt proſpect of ſucceſs, it was totally impoſſible. The nation was too much exhauſted both of men and money; recruits were not to be procured for the army; and as to our navy, if we had the beſt firſt lord of the admiralty, and the ableſt board that ever ſat, it was impoſſible to provide for all the

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distant services of so extensive a war. The reason was obvious. The fine navy that belonged to Great Britain, at the conclusion of the last war, had been suffered to rot and moulder away, while France and Spain had recruited and repaired their marine, during the whole period of the peace. His lordship concluded by moving an amendment to the address, similar to that proposed in the house of commons.

The Duke of Richmond expressed his approbation of the sentiments advanced by the Earl of Shelburne, and of the amendment which he had proposed: but thought, that besides the omissions which that nobleman had recommended in the original address, another paragraph should also be omitted, which his lordship had consented to let stand. This was the second paragraph, in which it was declared, that "the house saw, with equal concern and indignation, the war prolonged by that restless ambition, which first excited his majesty's enemies to commence it." The duke remarked, that this assertion appeared to him to be altogether unwarrantable and ill-founded: for it was his firm persuasion, that the king's ministers, and not the restless ambition of his majesty's enemies, were the cause, not only of the war, but of all the calamities which had so rapidly followed each other, nearly from the commencement of the present reign. The dreadful and ignominious situation of our affairs originated from the same cause, from which the private misfortunes of individuals frequently proceeded, namely, from folly. It was owing to that wretched system of government, which had been early adopted in the reign of his present majesty, and which first gave rise to that abominable title, that odious distinction, *a King's friend*; as if a man could not act in opposition to the measures of government, without being a personal enemy to his majesty.

His grace farther remarked, that it was the duty of their lordships to suggest salutary advice to the crown, and to stand up assertors of the rights of the people: but he thought there was little prospect of giving such advice with any effect, unless the original principles of the constitution were restored, and particularly unless the people had a real representation in the other house of parliament. At present, scarcely a seventh part of the people were represented, while all the remainder had no concern whatever, either virtually or individually, in the management of their own affairs; which, their lordships well knew, the constitution of this country, as originally framed, gave them a right to have. He appealed to the house, whether many of their lordships did not name the members for several boroughs, and whether the representatives were not chosen only by the management of two or three burgesses. Was that the sort of representation designed by the constitution? It undoubtedly was not. Were this point reformed, his grace declared, that he should still expect to see the country capable of regaining some portion of its former greatness. He also made some observations on the interior cabinet, which had, he said, been the ruin of this country. To prove its mischievous tendency, he instanced the declaration of the late Earl of Chatham, who confessed to the house, that "he was duped and deceived, and that he had not been ten days in the cabinet, before he felt the ground rotten under his feet."

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His grace likewiſe ſaid, that though it was the middle of a war, he made no ſcruple to recommend it moſt ſtrenuouſly to government, immediately to ſet about curtailing the numbers of the army, and that as much as poſſible. He thought that Ireland might be guarded ſufficiently by the volunteers, and this country by the militia, if put upon a proper footing. He recommended, that arms ſhould be put into the hands of the people, for the purpoſes of domeſtic defence; and he did not doubt but that, in this caſe, they would act with greater power and ſucceſs, than even the moſt numerous military forces. He alſo adviſed withdrawing the troops from America, augmenting the navy as much as poſſible, and ſending ſuch ſuccours to the Weſt India iſlands, as might enable them effectually to reſiſt any attempts from the enemy.

Lord Stormont defended the addreſs as originally propoſed; and obſerved, that the language of the ſpeech from the throne, was proper to be held by any prince worthy of the crown, in a moment like the preſent; and the long eſtabliſhed cuſtom rendered ſuch an addreſs as had been moved the fit anſwer to it. Would their lordſhips wiſh to tell all Europe, at ſuch a period as the preſent, that they ſhould not ſupport his majeſty in a vigorous proſecution of the war? The preſervation of America, as a dependent part of the Britiſh empire, was too important to be relinquiſhed; and the preſent criſis, ſo far from juſtifying deſpair, called for a redoubled ardour, and for immediate exertion.

The lord-chancellor ſaid, that the preſent ſpeech from the throne, like all others at the commencement of a ſeſſion, was no more than a brief ſtate of the nation, delivered in the antient ſtyle of compoſition, and conformably to eſtabliſhed uſage, from almoſt the firſt exiſtence of a parliament; and as to the addreſs, its language not being ſpecifically binding, their lordſhips might vote in favour of it, without pledging themſelves to ſupport any future miniſterial meaſure whatever. The houſe at length divided, when lord Shelburne's amendment was rejected, by a majority of 75 to 31. A ſhort proteſt againſt the addreſs was entered in the journals of the houſe, ſigned by the duke of Richmond, the marquis of Rockingham, and earl Fitzwilliam, in which they declared, that they diſſented, "for reaſons too often urged in vain for the laſt ſeven years, againſt the ruinous proſecution of the unjuſt war carrying on by his majeſty's miniſters againſt the people of North America, and too fatally confirmed by repeated experience, and the late diſgraceful loſs of a ſecond army, to ſtand in need of repetition."

CHAP. II.

Notice given by Mr. Burke, of an intended Motion relative to the Conduct of the Britiſh Commanders at the Iſland of St. Euſtatius. Debate on a Motion of Mr. Minchin, that an Account ſhould be laid before a Committee of the Houſe, of the Naval Stores in the Dock-yards, and of the Expenditure of the Navy. The Motion withdrawn. Debate on a Motion of Sir Grey Cooper, that the Houſe ſhould reſolve itſelf into a Committee of Supply. Motion made by General Smith, that the Committee appointed to inquire into the Cauſes of the War in the Carnatic, ſhould alſo be inſtructed to inquire into the Cauſes and Conduct of the Maratta War. Mr. Burke's Motion, that the Houſe ſhould reſolve itſelf into a Committee, to inquire into the Conduct of the Britiſh Commanders at St. Euſtatius, rejected upon a Diviſion.

THE rigorous treatment which the inhabitants of St. Euſtatius had received from the Britiſh commanders, on their taking poſſeſſion of that iſland, as it was much cenſured by men of equity and humanity, and conſidered as a reproach to the Britiſh name and character, was repeatedly made a topic of animadverſion in parliament. On the 30th of November, Mr. Burke addreſſed the houſe of commons on the ſubject; and obſerved, that immediately ſubſequent to the capture of St. Euſtatius, by the fleet and forces under the command of ſir George Brydges Rodney and general Vaughan, he had recommended an inveſtigation of the circumſtances by which it was accompanied. At that time, the queſtion had received a negative, upon the ground of its being premature. It had been urged, that when the commanders, whoſe conduct was objected to, were removed to a conſiderable diſtance, and active in the ſervice of their country, they had a right to expect, that all diſcuſſion of proceedings in which their reputation was materially concerned, ſhould be ſuſpended, till they could appear, and anſwer for themſelves. But the abſence of the admiral and general could be no longer pleaded as an obſtacle to inquiry; they were both returned home; and he then ſaw the admiral in his place. But as it was rumoured, that he was ſhortly to quit England, and to return to his ſtation in the Weſt Indies, Mr. Burke expreſſed his wiſhes, that the matter might be taken into diſcuſſion on the firſt open day that would prove agreeable to the admiral. As the inquiry would neceſſarily demand the inveſtigation of various particulars, as well as the examination of witneſſes at the bar, both of which would probably take up much time, he intended to reduce, in the faireſt and moſt candid manner, the matters of charge under ſo many diſtinct heads, and to give them as articles for conſideration on ſome future day, whenever the parties intereſted were prepared to enter on their defence. He declared, that he was not inſtigated to bring on the inquiry by the leaſt perſonal ill-will to the admiral, or by the ſlighteſt wiſh that it might ultimately caſt a ſtain upon his honour. But wherever the guilt reſted, it was highly requiſite that juſtice ſhould take place. Unoffend-

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ing individuals, British subjects, private Dutch inhabitants and others, had lost their all amidst the violence of barbarous and unexampled plunder. Such outrages were opprobrious to the nation; and nothing short of the most exemplary and condign punishment of them could retrieve its character.

Admiral Rodney now rose, and said, that he was ready to meet all attempts to question the propriety of his conduct, either at St. Eustatius, or at any other place, while he had the honour to serve his majesty; and as he was sufficiently prepared to go into the matter, and was almost immediately ordered to a distant climate, he wished that the honourable gentleman, who stood forth as his accuser, would lose no time in bringing his charges before the house. Mr. Burke said, that he could not at present tell how far an inquiry into the transaction would produce any criminal charge against admiral Rodney and general Vaughan. If it should appear, that they had acted in conformity to orders, the accusation must then be brought not against them, but against the ministers To this admiral Rodney replied, that whether he had received orders from home, or not, his conduct at St. Eustatius would have been precisely what it had been. Some other members made several observations relative to the subject, after which it was agreed, that Mr. Burke's motion should be made on the 4th of December..

A motion was then made by Mr. Minchin, that the proper officers should make out, in order to be laid before a committee of the house, "an exact account of all the stores of every kind, and the quantity and value of each that was used, in the yards of Portsmouth and Plymouth, between the 1st of Oct. 1780, and the 1st of Oct. 1781, together with an exact account of all the work done, and the expence of it, within that period." In the speech by which he introduced this motion, he observed, that by an inquiry into the expences of the navy, the public would discover, whether the expenditure of their money had furnished proofs of the integrity and wisdom of those to whom it was entrusted; and should it appear, that it was lavished with a wanton and corrupted hand, measures might be devised for preventing the continuance of such ruinous and abandoned prodigality. If it should be thought, that any information detrimental to the interests of the kingdom might thereby reach the world, this might be prevented by making the committee to be appointed for the purpose a committee of secrecy.

It had been pretended, Mr. Minchin farther remarked, by one of the lords of the admiralty, that the navy of Great Britain had been considerably strengthened and increased, since the care of it was vested in the hands of the present first lord of the admiralty; and that it had not reached so flourishing a condition at any period during the superintendency of the late lord Hawke. But the fact was, that it could be proved to the house, from authentic documents, that in the year 1781, the earl of Sandwich collected together seventy-nine sail of the line; and that in the year 1770, the fleet, under the administration of lord Hawke, amounted to eighty ships of the line; so that it was manifest, that notwithstanding the almost unlimited supplies granted for the service of the navy, the number of ships was greater in the year 1770, than at the present period. The novel mode of building ships, adopted

ed by the preſent miniſter of the marine, appeared, upon repeated trials, injudicious and expenſive, almoſt beyond deſcription. The ſhips were ſuffered to remain in their cradles until they became abſolutely rotten; and to ſuch lengths had this ſhameful and pernicious negligence been carried, that one ſhip was actually ſent into dock for repair four times in the courſe of a ſingle year. Such was the improved plan of the earl of Sandwich, who ſuffered men of war to ſtand in their frames till the timbers fell to irretrievable decay; whereas ſeveral of the green wood ſhips, built haſtily, in conſequence of orders from lord Hawke, and objected to as unequal to any length of ſervice, were actually ſent out, diſguiſed under new names, on dangerous and diſtant enterprizes, and yet returned ſucceſsfully to port.

The motion of Mr. Minchin was oppoſed by Mr. Penton, member for Wincheſter, and one of the commiſſioners of the admiralty. He obſerved, that the ſtatement required by the motion, if once publiſhed to the world, would inevitably furniſh our foes with uſeful and material intelligence, not only concerning the management of the affairs relative to the navy of Great Britain, with their contingent expenditures, during a prior ſpace of time, but likewiſe with reſpect to the extent, the ſtrength, and the variety of her marine reſources for the future proſecution of the war. Some objections were alſo made to the motion by lord Mulgrave; and Mr. Minchin at length agreed to withdraw it for the preſent, together with ſome others of a ſimilar nature, which he intended, and one relative to the impreſs ſervice.

A motion was afterwards made by ſir Grey Cooper, member for Saltaſh, and one of the ſecretaries to the treaſury, that the ſpeaker ſhould leave the chair, and the houſe reſolve itſelf into a committee of ſupply. This was oppoſed by Mr. Thomas Pitt, who declared it to be his abſolute determination, to withhold his vote for granting any ſupplies to the crown, till ſome pledge were given to the nation, that thoſe meaſures ſhould no longer be perſiſted in, by which Great Britain had been brought into its preſent unhappy ſituation. The miniſter had yet diſcovered no remorſe for his paſt conduct, though his obſtinate perſeverance throughout a ſeries of deluſive meaſures, concerning the inevitable effects of which he had received reiterated warnings, had now terminated in involving the country in perils of a moſt alarming nature, and againſt which ſcarcely any circumſtance ſhort of the interpoſition of a miracle could poſſibly ſecure it. Inſtead of ſhewing any contrition, the very miniſter, whoſe counſels and conduct had accelerated the deſtruction of the empire, had dared to open the ſeſſion with language inſolent to an extreme, and to propoſe an addreſs, if poſſible, ſtill more ſhamefully cenſurable, than the ſpeech of which it was the ſervile and inſidious echo. Mr. Pitt declared, that he was far from wiſhing to deprive the crown of any national reſources, during the preſent exigency of affairs: but without any ſecurity for the future, again to entruſt the public money in the hands of miniſters, who had diſſipated ſo much wealth, and waſted ſuch ſtreams of human blood, in wild, unnatural, and fruitleſs projects, would be the moſt dangerous and criminal breach of truſt which the repreſentatives of the people could poſſibly commit. A redreſs of grievances ſhould invariably

variably precede the opening of the public purſe. On this principle ſtood the exiſtence of the conſtitution of Great Britain; and he would therefore divide the houſe, againſt the motion for going into a committee of ſupply, even if he ſhould be ſure that not a ſingle member would accompany him as he walked out of the door.

Sir Grey Cooper replied, that the motion which had been made by him, and which was now oppoſed, was not calculated for the immediate purpoſe of voting a conſiderable ſum for the maintenance of a particular ſervice, relating either to the army or the navy, in which the queſtion of the American war might be involved; but the ſole, excluſive queſtion, now in agitation, was, whether the houſe ſhould go into a committee, for the purpoſe of voting a ſupply already promiſed to the crown, in conſequence of their aſſurances that it ſhould meet with their ſupport? It might be imagined, that it was expedient to revive the ancient mode of applying remedies to every public grievance, previouſly to the grant of any parliamentary ſupplies. But it ſhould not be forgotten, that almoſt a century had elapſed ſince this obſolete cuſtom, expiring at the period of the revolution, lay buried in neglect. The reaſon of this practice, at the æra when it prevailed, was obvious. Before the abdication of king James the Second, the royal revenues, originating from the crown lands, and a variety of great reſources, all permanent and extenſive, enabled the king to ſupport his civil and military eſtabliſhments, without applying for the leaſt aſſiſtance to the public purſe; but now that the ſovereign is deſtitute of an independent income, the people, bound in loyalty, in juſtice, and in honour, to aſſiſt and invigorate the executive arm of government, which had relinquiſhed its ancient prop to lean upon their favour, could not refuſe the neceſſary ſuccours in a caſe where they themſelves appeared equally intereſted; and power unaſſiſted might loſe the means of giving them protection. Of ſuch alarming magnitude were the inconveniencies and the detriment which muſt ariſe from the impoſition of a negative upon the queſtion, that it appeared aſtoniſhing, that the oppoſers of it did not perceive the dangers that were attendant upon their conduct. They ſhould conſider, that if they ſucceeded in this impolitic and unwarrantable reſiſtance againſt the motion, they would declare to all Europe, that Great Britain had reſolved actually to diſband her army, to break up her fleets, and to deprive her realms of every meaſure of defence. The news of ſuch a conduct would be received with extacy by France and Spain: but he hoped that a Britiſh houſe of commons, in a time of public calamity and danger, were incapable of acting with ſuch abſurdity and infatuation.

Mr. Fox aſſerted, that the period was arrived, that muſt render it ſtrictly proper in the people, to determine to with-hold all ſuccours whatſoever, unleſs the grievances, which preſſed upon them with ſuch intolerable weight, were previouſly removed. The idea, that a temporary prevention of the grant of the ſupplies muſt ſtrike with dangerous violence againſt the intereſts of the ſtate, was too futile to deſerve a laboured refutation. It would ſuffice to aſk, whether the national misfortunes, which thickened over the courſe of the preceding year, could poſſibly have proved more numerous and affecting, if no money whatſoever had been granted for the ſer-

vice of the war? What benefits had accompanied a moſt enormous diſſipation of the treaſure of the public? If the preſent miniſtry ſhould ſtill retain their poſts, it was of little conſequence to the nation whether we poſſeſſed either fleets or armies. What advantages could reſult from any votes for troops, if the deſtination and employment of them were to be entruſted to the ſecretary of ſtate for the American department? Could lord George Germain give any ſatisfactory aſſurance to the houſe, that the military forces which ſhould hereafter be ſent acroſs the Atlantic, for future ſervices, would be employed more ſucceſsfully or honourably, than thoſe which had already been ſent thither? Did he wiſh to diſpatch a third army to America, that General Waſhington might receive them as priſoners of war? Did he wiſh that more Britiſh troops ſhould be devoted, if not to ſlaughter, at leaſt to ſure captivity, and indelible diſgrace? Notwithſtanding the defeat and diſhonour which had attended the meaſures of adminiſtration, they had yet diſcovered no ſigns of humiliation, or of penitence. Inſtead of acknowledging, that they turned their eyes, with inquietude and ſhame, upon the criminal expenditure of fruitleſs millions, they did not bluſh to move for an increaſe of grants, that they might proſecute, till ruin ſhould have ſtopped their infamous career, hoſtilities which were the reſult of barbarous ambition, of moſt implacable and unprovoked malevolence, of wiſhes to deſtroy the natural rights of mankind, of inſuperable avarice, and of a contempt for all the principles of equity and honour. Not the leaſt evidence of remorſe, nor any token of amendment, could be gathered either from the words, or from the actions, of thoſe in adminiſtration. They gloried in their crimes, and, ſcorning to retract, they ſolicited the houſe, at once, for means to nouriſh, to ſtrengthen, and to extend them. It had been ſaid, that ſince the Revolution, no inſtance could be found of a refuſal to grant the ſupply. The aſſertion was well grounded; but, ſince the Revolution, had there ever been a period like the preſent? Had there ever been a reign ſo unfortunate? A change of circumſtances required a change of conduct. Had there ever been a circumſtance ſo paradoxical, as a parliament reſolving that the influence of the crown ought to be diminiſhed, without being able to effect a diminution? A variety of important conſiderations now rendered it an act of abſolute neceſſity, that the people, awakened to a ſenſe of their injuries, ſhould call with a united voice for the immediate and total reſtitution of their violated rights. It ſeemed an inauſpicious omen, that the early periods of the preſent reign were marked by augmentations of the revenues of the crown: and whilſt the internal expences of government ſtood forward upon the ampleſt ſcale, every exterior ſettlement of Great Britain was either weakened, diminiſhed, or fallen into the hands of our enemies. Whilſt the ſovereign was much richer than any of his predeceſſors, his people were daily more and more the victims of accumulating poverty, and ſunk under the redoubled load of grievous taxes. In ſuch a ſtate of things, therefore, it was the duty of the national repreſentatives, to refuſe any grants to the crown, till ſome evidence were given, that a change of ſyſtem and of conduct would be adopted.

Mr. Adam contended, that the moſt ruinous conſequences muſt attend

tend the refuſal of the ſupply. It was the firſt dictate of deſpair, and would give the final blow to the ſafety of the country. It would be more fatal than all the calamities of the war united. In this ſingle propoſition were involved the diſbanding the army, the annihilating the navy, and the deſperate deſertion of the defence of this country. It would be tantamount to telling the enemy, that we were no longer able to carry on the war, but ready to accept ſuch terms as they ſhould think proper to impoſe. Lewis the Fourteenth had acted in a far different manner, when his kingdom was in a thouſand times worſe ſituation than Great Britain was at preſent. When the duke of Marlborough had carried deſolation almoſt to the gates of Paris, and when a famine was added to all the other calamities of the country; even then the French monarch, inſtead of giving up every thing for loſt, exerted all the remaining vigour of the nation, and applied it to thoſe quarters of the enemy where they were weak; and by that mode of conduct emancipated his country, which was reduced to the laſt extremity, from every difficulty, and at laſt concluded an advantageous peace. Mr. Adam alſo ſaid, that he was far from pronouncing the meaſure of withholding ſupplies from the crown to be unconſtitutional. The right now deſired to be exerciſed was certainly inherent in the commons of England. Though never claimed, or put in force ſince the Revolution, it was by no means taken away, when the conſtitution was new-modelled at that period. There were alſo poſſible ſituations of the kingdom, in which this right might be exerciſed without injury to its welfare; but it could never be exerted in the midſt of a dangerous and difficult war, and when the kingdom was ſurrounded with enemies, without being followed by the moſt fatal conſequences. At ſuch a time, it muſt have a tendency to deſtroy even the very exiſtence of the country, as it would at once excite, aid, and enſure ſucceſs to the hoſtile operations of its foes.

Mr. Frederic Montagu obſerved, that though he did not recollect to have read of any inſtance, ſubſequent to the period of the Revolution, in which the parliament had exerciſed their right of withholding the grant of the ſupplies, until the national grievances were redreſſed, he was fully ſatisfied, that the meaſure was at once expedient and conſtitutional. The preſent juncture called loudly on the parliament to execute their duty, and to revive the old and ſalutary cuſtom of poſtponing the grants of public money, until the removal of thoſe evils that preſſed heavily upon the people. The apprehenſions which had been thrown out, relative to the ill conſequences of withholding, for a ſhort time, the grant of the ſupplies, were certainly without foundation. The houſe was not deſired to refuſe the grant, but by a temporary delay, by an awful pauſe, to awaken in the crown a true and lively ſenſe of the actual and alarming ſituation of the Britiſh empire. To allow that parliament poſſeſſed the privilege of withholding the ſupplies, and, in the ſame moment, to pretend that the exertion of it muſt prove an act of political ſuicide, would be to leave us little of the conſtitution, except the name; to furniſh us with a degrading and melancholy inſtance, that the forms of it indeed remained, but that the vitals were decayed, if not deſtroyed.

Lord North ſaid, that a ſpeedy and generous grant of ſupplies to the

crown, would thoroughly convince our enemies, that no calamities could ſink us into deſpair, or even hinder us from redoubling our exertions. But a refuſal of the ſupplies would tend to ſever and diſunite the government of Great Britain from the commons of Great Britain. Such an act ſeemed big with inſurmountable calamities, that muſt affect not merely the proſperity, but even the exiſtence of the ſtate: and great muſt be the triumph of our enemies, ſhould they perceive it taking place in that alarming moment, when, perhaps, the only method of extricating ourſelves from every ſurrounding peril and perplexity, would be, the ſincere and vigorouſly active union of all hands and all hearts, in the defence of the kingdom and its intereſts. The aſſent to ſo diſgraceful and injurious a propoſition, as that of refuſing ſupplies to the crown, would even ſtain the conduct of an abject people, prepared and willing to ſubmit to any terms impoſed on them, in the hour of victory, by their ambitious adverſaries; but it muſt ſtain, with foul and irretrievable diſhonour, the character of a nation renowned for their unconquerable ſpirit, if, having arms in their hands, they ſhould conſent to ſtrip themſelves of all the powers of defence, and meanly court the favour and compaſſion of an enemy. It had been ſaid, that a refuſal of the ſupplies was not the point in queſtion, and that the ſole object of it was to poſtpone the grant of them, for a ſhort ſpace of time; but what evidence was there, that the ſame gentlemen who now oppoſed a grant to the crown, would be more willing a few days hence to vote for the neceſſary ſupplies? The ſame arguments might be again urged, for a continuance in the determination to oppoſe thoſe grants of money, which were eſſential to the ſervice and to the welfare of the ſtate. The neceſſity, that a redreſs of grievances ſhould precede the vote for the ſupplies, had been much inſiſted on: but to inquire what grievances exiſted, and to diſcover and adminiſter effectual remedies, muſt prove a work of time. And ſurely all would feel an inexpreſſible concern, if the interval between the commencement of an endeavour to remove theſe evils, and its ſucceſsful cloſe, ſhould be filled up by the annihilation of our fleets and armies. The refuſal of ſupplies to the crown, even in time of peace, muſt be followed by a train of inſurmountable perplexities: but in a time of war, a war formidable and raging like the preſent, it would inevitably lead to deep and irretrievable calamity and diſgrace. Every meaſure which confined the exertion, and leſſened the ardour of Great Britain, in defence of its juſt rights and eſſential intereſts, would prove a ſource of ſtrength, of animation, and of triumph to Spain, to France, to Holland, and to America.

Several other gentlemen ſpoke in this debate, at the cloſe of which Mr. Thomas Pitt roſe a ſecond time, and declared, that he ſtill continued of opinion, that a refuſal to vote for the ſupplies, until pledges of amendment in the direction of public meaſures ſhould be ſincerely given, muſt ſtrengthen, and not debilitate the hands of government. It muſt rather throw more national reſources into the legal power of the crown, than leſſen thoſe of which it was poſſeſſed. It muſt quicken, inſtead of fruſtrating, the future glorious operations of a properly directed war. Would the great conſtitutional intereſts of the crown, and the juſt power which muſt invariably accompany them, be more ſup-

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ported and advanced by ſuffering thoſe miniſters to remain in office, who, having plunged the nation into calamity and ſhame, grew wanton and obdurate in their guilt, than by immediately introducing a change of men and meaſures; ſuch as might bring back the ſplendor and felicity of the people, reſtore their luſtre to the ſullied rays of majeſty, preſerve the threatened ſettlements of a declining empire, and prove the means of ſeizing from a victorious enemy the whole portion of that dominion, which, in the courſe of a diſhonourable war, had been wreſted from Great Britain? No temporary ſuſpenſion of the grant of the ſupplies, could leſſen or enfeeble the prerogative of the crown. No act, which did not militate againſt the ſtanding law, and ſettled uſage of parliament, could poſſibly encroach upon the legal power of the king. The diſtinction between the executive and the deliberative government, was clearly marked, and might be traced at once. To watch and to oppoſe the leaſt attempt of the executive part of government to paſs beyond its proper limits, was the important duty and the peculiar province of the deliberative. It reſted with the latter to deprive incapable, corrupt, and hardened miniſters, of every opportunity to violate the truſt committed to their hands. It was often ſaid by ſome men, that, at all events, government muſt be ſupported: but the fact was, that government, or at leaſt thoſe who were entruſted with the powers of it, had been too much ſupported. In conſequence of the ſupport that had been actually afforded to government, fourſcore millions had been already buried in the preſent war, threeſcore millions annihilated for ever from the pockets of the ſtockholders by the reduction of the funds, and a depreciation taken place of at leaſt one-third of the value of all the lands in England. Theſe were the effects of the confidence that had been repoſed in government, and by which nothing had been purchaſed, but the diſmemberment of half our empire, and perhaps the extinction of our commerce. The right of with-holding ſupplies from the crown was coeval with the conſtitution of parliament, and eſſential to a free government: and it was high time that this right ſhould be exerciſed, till ſome evidence was given to the people, that ſuch a change of ſyſtem, and ſuch meaſures were adopted, as might put ſome ſtop to the calamities of the empire. The queſtion was at length put upon Sir Grey Cooper's motion, which was carried by a majority of 172 to 77, whereupon the houſe was reſolved into a committee of ſupply.

On the 4th of December, a motion was made by General Smith, that the committee which had been appointed to enquire into the cauſes of the war in the Carnatic, ſhould alſo be inſtructed to inveſtigate the riſe, progreſs, conduct, and preſent ſtate of the Maratta war, and of all other hoſtilities in which the preſidency of Bengal had been engaged in ſupport of that war; and into the effects which the ſaid war and hoſtilities had produced in Bengal, and in the other ſettlements in the poſſeſſion of the Eaſt-India company. Some oppoſition was at firſt made to this motion by the lord-advocate of Scotland; and Sir Thomas Rumbold complained, that the directors of the Eaſt-India company, in their precipitate eagerneſs to proſecute him, had thrown aſide all

ſenſe of honour, gratitude, and common juſtice: but after ſome farther debate, the motion was carried without a diviſion.

The ſame day a motion was made by Mr. Burke, that "The houſe ſhould reſolve itſelf into a committee of the whole houſe, in order to enquire into the confiſcation of the effects, wares, aad merchandize, belonging to his majeſty's new ſubjects, as well as to the Britiſh ſubjects, on the iſland of St. Euſtatius; and farther, that the houſe ſhould reſolve itſelf into a committee of the whole houſe, to enquire into the ſale, diſtribution, and mode of conveyance of a great part of the ſaid effects, wares, and merchandize, to the iſlands belonging to France, and to other parts of the dominions of his majeſty's enemies." In the ſpeech by which he introduced this motion, Mr. Burke ſaid, that the late treatment of the inhabitants of St. Euſtatius appeared to him to be a ſcandalous infringement of the law of nations, an inſolent contempt of every rule of policy and juſtice, and ſuch a vile diſhonour to the name and character of Great Britain, as muſt expoſe her to the ſcorn of all the world. But previouſly to his entrance into the detail of circumſtances relative to the capture of that iſland, and to the ſubſequent conduct of the Britiſh commanders, he wiſhed to be informed, whether any of the miniſters intended to oppoſe an open, unprejudiced, and full inveſtigation. If a real inquiry was entered into, he could produce ſuch ſtriking teſtimonies, as muſt infallibly point out who the authors were of that diſgrace which ſtained the reputation of the Britiſh empire; and as ſuch an inquiry would lead ultimately to the puniſhment of individuals, it muſt convince all Europe, that the nation, ſtill feelingly alive to every ſenſe of honour, juſtice, and humanity, would ſearch, even to the bottom, and make an adequate atonement for, thoſe execrable meaſures that were purſued at St. Euſtatius. On this occaſion, the characters of ſir George Rodney and general Vaughan appeared at ſtake. They were oſtenſibly the parties in the whole buſineſs. If, therefore, the miniſtry deſigned to place the conduct of the two commanders in an irreproachable and open point of view, wherein nothing could be left either for doubt or miſconſtruction, they would promote a general but cloſe inquiry.

Lord George Germain declared, that he could not poſſibly give his vote in favour of the motion; and he was much miſtaken, if the houſe would ſuffer it to paſs, whilſt actions were depending in the courts below, on the behalf of various claimants, to recover damages for the ſeizure of their pretended property at St. Euſtatius, conſiſting of ſtores, merchandize, and various articles. If the commanders had done wrong, the injured parties would be redreſſed; if they had done right, the law would determine in their favour. In the preſent moment, it would not be proper for the parliament to come to any deciſion, which, *pendente lite*, muſt be injurious to one party or the other.

The Speaker now addreſſed Mr. Burke, and obſerved to him, that it was evident his motion would not receive a general concurrence; but, if he thought proper, he might ſtate thoſe facts on which he wiſhed the houſe to take up the inquiry. Mr. Burke replied, that he was much obliged to the Speaker, for the intelligence with which he had been pleaſed to favour him; it was, indeed,

deed, evident, that his motion would not receive a general concurrence; but he muſt beg permiſſion to aſſert, that being more humble in his views, he did not feel ſuch ambitious wiſhes, as to aſpire to the attainment of a general concurrence from that houſe to any propoſition whatever, which he might take the liberty of recommending. He ſhould have deemed it a complete enjoyment of the whole extent of his deſires, if only the majority had condeſcended to have honoured him with their ſupport and approbation. But convinced that even ſuch an event was much too fortunate for him to ſhare in, he would procced to unfold the ſtate of facts of which he ſtood poſſeſſed. Previouſly, however, he ſhould remark, that the noble lord, who had objected to the interference of the houſe of commons, becauſe ſome tranſactions at St. Euſtatius were to be diſcuſſed in the courts of law, had taken a narrow and miſerable ground, and ſuch as was unbecoming a member of the great legiſlative body of the Britiſh empire. Should the parliament of Great Britain throw aſide its wiſdom, policy, and juſtice, and dance attendance on the paltry diſputes of private claimants in the courts below? Such ſentiments and counſels were highly diſhonourable, and muſt exhibit us to all the world in a light equally criminal and diſgraceful. It was, on the contrary, the inſtant duty of that houſe, to ſearch with the utmoſt ſtrictneſs into thoſe baſe enormities which had been committed at St. Euſtatius, and which appeared to have been ſanctioned by the authority of a Britiſh admiral and general.

Mr. Burke proceeded to obſerve, that he had before thought it might be proper, to bring the accuſation chiefly againſt the miniſters, under whoſe orders the admiral and general might be ſuppoſed to have acted: but as admiral Rodney had declared in that houſe, that whether he had received orders from home, or not, he ſhould have acted exactly as he did at St. Euſtatius, the matter of complaint might now juſtly be pointed at himſelf. The outrages which had been committed, were without a precedent in the hiſtory of former wars; and they naturally tended to excite another hoſt of enemies againſt the cruelly directed power of Great Britain; and muſt fatally augment the hatred and the deteſtation, with which our foes had been too long accuſtomed to obſerve our want of honour, and of humanity. If the parliament were really deſirous of preſerving unſullied the ancient reputation of their country, for mercy and benevolence to vanquiſhed enemies, they would convince the world, with what a ſtrong and marked abhorrence, with what a fixed determination to puniſh guilt wherever they could reach it, they heard the general reports that abject thefts, atrocious rapine, and every ſpecies of uncivilized barbarity, were exerciſed againſt the property and perſons of the unhappy ſettlers on the iſland of St. Euſtatius, when it was captured by ſir George Rodney and general Vaughan. From the houſe of commons all Europe would expect the moſt deciſive proofs, that Great Britain neither felt the inclination, nor could ſo far forget her ancient magnanimity and rectitude of conduct, as to countenance cruelty and injuſtice. They would be expected to ſhew their willingneſs to liſten to complaints againſt oppreſſion; to trace them to their ſource; to wipe

away the tears of the afflicted; to comfort and redreſs the injured; and to aſſuage the grief of thoſe who had been overwhelmed by the impetuous torrent of a violent and unrelenting power.

Mr. Burke then called to the remembrance of the houſe the diſaſtrous events of the preceding campagn, from its commencement to the period then before them. Among the expeditions which had been planned, was one againſt the iſland of St. Vincent, and another againſt the iſland of St. Euſtatius. The iſland of St. Vincent, the property of our ancient enemies the French, was powerfully fortified, and capable, in all reſpects, of a vigorous reſiſtance. But the humane commanders were induced to make their deſcent upon this iſland by the ſuppoſition, that the dreadful violence of the late hurricanes, plunging the inhabitants in deep calamity, had ſtripped them of the power of oppoſition: and this reaſon for attacking the iſland, the ſecretary of ſtate for the American department had afterwards wiſely cauſed to be printed in the Gazette. However, thoſe gallant officers, Rodney and Vaughan, ſoon diſcovered, to their mortification, that thoſe enemies whom they had conſidered as an eaſy conqueſt were numerous and formidable; at leaſt able to repel, if not to vanquiſh their invaders; and, therefore, they thought proper to retire. They then proceeded to the iſland of St. Euſtatius, which was the property of our new enemies the Dutch, and which was totally defenceleſs. A weak and inſufficient force had been employed againſt the well-protected iſland of St. Vincent; but as it was known that no reſiſtance of any conſequence could be made at St. Euſtatius, and that three ſtout privateers well manned might have taken the place, our commanders, in order to keep up the conſiſtency of their conduct, appeared before that iſland with fifteen ſhips of the line, a proportionable number of frigates, and near three thouſand of the beſt troops in the world. The force to reſiſt this powerful armament conſiſted of a few pieces of uſeleſs artillery, and about thirty-ſix ſoldiers, aſſiſted by a few invalids, amounting in the whole to not more than ſixty perſons. The place, being thus incapable of defence, ſurrendered at diſcretion; and our commanders, it ſeems, interpreted the word *diſcretion* to mean *deſtruction*; for they did not leave the conquered a ſhilling. But did the honourable commanders ſeriouſly believe, that even unconditional ſubmiſſion to the mercy of an enemy, inveſted them with the privilege of treating all the captured individuals as cruelly as they pleaſed? The celebrated writers on the laws of nations had none of them ventured to allow this latitude, to the powers that might be exerciſed by conquerors over enemies, ſubmitting at diſcretion. Neither Grotius, nor Puffendorf, nor Vattel, nor any other author treating on the ſubject, had hazarded the leaſt remark that could afford a ſanction to ſo flagitious a proceeding. In the moment of ſubmiſſion, the vanquiſhed parties were intitled to protection. This ſhould always follow the diſcontinuance of hoſtilities. But this was ſo far from being the caſe at St. Euſtatius, that a full relation of the barbarous exceſſes which followed cloſe upon the capture of that iſland, would ſtagger all belief. The warehouſes of the merchants and traders were locked up; their books taken from them; even their proviſions with-held; and

they

they were compelled to give in an account of all their plate, jewels, and ready money, all which was declared to be confiſcated. No rank, or ſex, or age, was ſpared in the general order: and the ſlaves were either cajoled by promiſes of reward if they complied, or intimidated by threats of puniſhment on refuſal, to violate their fidelity to their maſters, and to diſcover where they had concealed their property. The hardſhips which the inhabitants endured were ſo great, that governor Meynell was ſuppoſed to have died in conſequence of his ſufferings. Among other arbitrary proceedings, an order was iſſued, by which almoſt all the inhabitants were commanded to quit the iſland. The Dutch were baniſhed becauſe they were Dutch, the Americans becauſe they were the king's enemies, and the Jews probably becauſe their religion was different from that of their conquerors. Mr. Hohen, a Jewiſh merchant, venerable in his port and aſpect, and juſt advancing to his ſeventieth year, after having been ſtripped of part of his effects, was catched in the attempt to hide the ſmall remainder of his own money. Immediately the conquerors of St. Euſtatius ripped up his coat, and, having found his little hoard, ſecured it for themſelves, directing that the plundered wretch ſhould be particularly watched, becauſe they took him in the very act of ſecreting a few guineas, for the purpoſe of preſerving his exiſtence. Mr. Hohen was ready to attend at the bar of the houſe, to give evidence of the treatment which he had received. The caſe of Mr. Gouverneur was alſo not a little remarkable. He had traded in dry goods, and no naval or military ſtores whatever had paſſed through his hands: but he was ſaid to have acted upon commiſſion from the congreſs. This gentleman was ſeized, his property confiſcated, and himſelf hurried on board, to be carried to England. His wife accompanied him, but was not able to obtain even a bed from her own houſe, for her huſband and herſelf. Mr. Gouverneur had, indeed, no chance for his property, in the hands of the admiral and general: for they chooſe to conſider him in a two-fold light. They conſidered him as a Dutchman and an Engliſhman: as a Dutchman, they confiſcated his property; and as an Engliſhman, they confined him as a traitor, and ſent him to England, to be reſerved for the juſtice of his country. But the honourable commanders ſhould have known, that if he was a ſubject of this country, and even guilty of high treaſon, his property could not be confiſcated, until a jury of his countrymen ſhould have pronounced him guilty. The admiral and general, however, went to work another way: they firſt confiſcated and made ſure of the goods, before they knew whether Mr Gouverneur could be convicted or not; and then ſubjected him to the hardſhip of four or five months cloſe confinement in a gaol, with the meaneſt and moſt hardened malefactors. Mr. Curzon was alſo treated in the ſame manner: and of theſe, and a variety of other facts, evidence was ready to be produced at the bar of the houſe. It had been pretended, in order to juſtify the confiſcation of private property at St. Euſtatius, that the Dutch had been partial to our enemies, and more ready to ſell goods to them, than to us. Had this been the caſe, it would not have juſtified the

conduct

conduct of our commanders: but this was not the fact. The Dutch sold their goods to all nations, and were far from giving any preference to our enemies. It had been said, that Sir George Rodney had applied for cordage to the Dutch, and had not been able to obtain any: but the fact was, that at that time they had scarcely any on hand. It might be proved, by books which had been seized, and by living witnesses, that at St. Eustatius the English always had the preference at the market; and that at the time admiral Rodney could not obtain cordage at St. Eustatius, it was so scarce, that what little there was sold ten per cent. dearer than at St. Kitt's.

The next point upon which Mr. Burke expatiated, was the sale of the goods which the admiral and general thought proper to confiscate. A proclamation was issued, promising free ingress and regress to all purchasers, together with security that their money should not be taken from them, and that they should be at liberty to carry away the goods they should purchase: a promise of protection and security which, perhaps, might not be thought necessary from any but the conquerors of St. Eustatius. At the public sales of these confiscated goods, the different commodities were disposed of fifty per cent. cheaper, than the Dutch had before that time sold similar articles to the French; so that, in fact, the only apparent use that the conquest of St. Eustatius appeared to have been of, was, that the French and Americans had been supplied with stores, by the British conquerors, at the rate of fifty per cent. cheaper than they used to get them from the Dutch. However, in the glorious business of the sales were the two commanders taken up, from the beginning of the month of February to the beginning of May; a period in which admiral Rodney had twenty-one sail of the line under his command, and three thousand veteran troops at St. Eustatius; while the enemy had not six sail at Martinico. This surely was a time to have recovered some of our former possessions, or to have taken others from the enemy: but this time appeared to have been lost, by the attendance of the admiral and general on the sales at St. Eustatius; and the loss of Tobago seemed also to have arisen from the same cause.

Mr. Burke added, that he hoped a proper defence of their conduct would be made by the two commanders, and that they would not sit down contented with their own self-approbation, or the support of their friends in that house. Self-acquittal was not enough. A man might, indeed, say,

—Populus me sibilat; at mihi plaudo,
Et domi nummos contemplor in arcâ.

But something was due to the public, and to justice. Evidence was ready to be produced at the bar of the charges brought against the admiral and general; and their characters could not be cleared but by a full, and fair, and open investigation of the transactions in which they had been concerned. It might be disreputable to stand forth as the accuser of mean and petty criminals; but it could not be dishonourable to accuse guilt in stars and ribbons; that presumptuous and potent guilt, which seemed to think itself beyond the reach of justice.

Sir

Sir George Rodney now roſe, and endeavoured to defend himſelf. He ſaid, that when he appeared before the iſland of St. Euſtatius, it was for the purpoſe of cutting off ſupplies from the enemy, and with the fixed reſolution not to grant any terms to the inhabitants. The Dutch, though nominally the friends of this country, had, during the courſe of his command in the Weſt Indies, been the friends of our enemies; and to puniſh and check both, nothing had appeared more effectual than the reduction of an iſland, the inhabitants of which were animated with a rooted averſion to us, and the moſt cordial regard for our enemies. Among thoſe inhabitants were many who, while they called themſelves Engliſhmen, were not aſhamed to diſgrace themſelves and their country, by aſſiſting her enemies with the means to wound her. Such people had deſerved no favour, and to them he had reſolved to ſhew none. That St. Euſtatius had been a mart for our enemies, in preference to us, was manifeſt from this circumſtance; that ſome weeks before the capture of the iſland, an application had been made to the chief officers and inhabitants, to treat with them about the purchaſe of ſuch materials, as were requiſite for the reparation and equipment of the Engliſh fleet. Their anſwer was, that as no articles of this nature were then amongſt their ſtores, they could not in the leaſt aſſiſt us. That this was a falſe pretence, was plainly ſeen ſoon after the ſurrender of the iſland, when ſuch quantities of naval ſtores were found within the magazines and warehouſes, as could not have been heaped together in ſo ſhort a ſpace of time. As to the outrages which it was pretended had been committed at St. Euſtatius, he could declare, that if an act of inhumanity had been committed, it never reached his ears. So far from being guilty of an abuſe of power, he had redreſſed, upon the firſt complaint, irregularities and improprieties, without waiting to examine whether they were frivolous or important. But when he found that natives of this kingdom, forgetful of their allegiance to their king, and criminally regardleſs of the ties which ſhould have bound them to their country, had ſunk the reputable character of Engliſh merchants into the diſgraceful occupation of a ſelfiſh trader; and were unprincipled aſſociates amongſt the Dutch, in traffic with thoſe engaged in the rebellion in America, he ſeized and ſent them home, to meet the juſtice of the laws, which they had daringly offended. Nor did he ever imagine, that any fellow-ſubject would have ventured to attack him for his conduct in this reſpect. Without regard to the inſinuations that had been thrown out, that he had been actuated by mercenary views, the fact was, that when he ſeized all the property on the iſland of St. Euſtatius, it was not for his own uſe. He thought, at the time, that it would all belong to the king; and that it was his duty to ſee the moſt made of it, in order to carry it into the public treaſury. He had not wiſhed for a ſhilling of it, nor had any other idea at the time, but that the whole belonged of right to his country. He had written to this purpoſe to the firſt lord of the treaſury: and therefore, in all that he had done for the preſervation of the property at St. Euſtatius, it was for his country, and not for himſelf, that he had been acting. It was pretended,

that

that he had permitted the ſtores and proviſions to be conveyed to the enemy, directly, or circuitouſly through the neutral iſlands: but this was the very reverſe of the truth; for he had given orders, that none of the ſtores or proviſions ſhould be ſold, but ſent to his majeſty's yard at Antigua. So ſtrict had he been in this reſpect, that he was not ſatisfied with examining the clearance of every ſhip that went out; he had alſo cauſed her to anchor under his ſtern, and had her examined by commiſſioned officers; and if ſhe had more proviſions on board than were neceſſary for the voyage, they were always taken out. As to the charge brought againſt him, that he had remained inactive for three months at St. Euſtatius, his anſwer was, that matters of the higheſt conſequence had made his preſence abſolutely requiſite; and though he had ſtaid no inconſiderable length of time upon the iſland, he took effectual care to keep the fleet in active ſervice, and planned ſuch enterprizes as he imagined would have proved of infinite advantage to Great Britain. One of theſe was an expedition againſt Surinam, and another againſt Curaſſou; but when the ſquadrons for this purpoſe were on the point of ſailing, he received intelligence, that a numerous fleet of French merchantmen, under convoy of twelve ſhips of the line, were obſerved ſteering towards the iſland of Martinico. This circumſtance immediately determined him, to relinquiſh all thoughts of pointing the attack againſt two ſettlements, which though of value and importance, were of leſs conſequence than the advantages, which muſt have followed the ſucceſs of intercepting the French convoy, and preventing the junction between their fleet then on its courſe from Europe, and their naval armament at anchor in Fort Royal Bay. For theſe purpoſes, he inſtantly diſpatched a powerful ſquadron to Martinico, having directed that they ſhould blockade the whole iſland; whilſt, at the ſame time, ſeveral ſwift ſailing veſſels were ſtationed at the diſtance of ten, twenty, thirty, forty, and fifty leagues, in the tract of the enemy, with a view of gaining a quick intelligence of their approach, and of their force. The conduct of this enterprize was committed to Sir Samuel Hood, an officer as ſkilful and intrepid as any in the naval ſervice; and the ſubſequent miſcarriage of the expedition was not the leaſt reflexion on the brave commander, who, as far as unexpected incidents permitted, had done his duty to the utmoſt. With reſpect to Tobago, the admiral added, that the loſs of that iſland was not his fault; for even the guns that he had ſent the year before for its defence, had never been mounted. On the whole, the attacks againſt his character were no leſs impotent than wicked; and it would ſtill remain invulnerable to all the ſhafts of envy, malice, and detraction. He found an honourable ſhelter from the malignity of falſe aſperſions, in the favourable opinion of a gracious prince, and in the approbation of a valiant, free, and generous people.

Major-general Vaughan declared, on his own behalf, that he was guiltleſs of every charge which had been advanced againſt him, as one of the commanding officers at the capture of St. Euſtatius. So far from having authorized, or countenanced, in any manner whatſoever, the outrages and depredations, reported to have taken place on this occaſion,

occaſion, he had checked them by example and by influence; and liſtening, with a ſtrict impartiality, to all complaints of violence and injuſtice, had endeavoured to redreſs them, and to give the parties actually aggrieved the moſt effectual relief within his power. As to a ſuggeſtion, which had been circulated among the public, that he had accumulated immenſe riches at the ſurrender of this ſettlement, he affirmed upon his honour, that he had not gained one ſingle ſhilling, directly or indirectly, by fair means or by foul means, in conſequence of the proceedings at St. Euſtatius. One of the reaſons for locking up the warehouſes in that iſland, was, to prevent plundering, from which he could ſcarcely reſtrain even the troops. Fire too was dreaded in a place where many diſaffected people lived, and who thought themſelves injured by a confiſcation of their property for treaſon. If any bad treatment had been ſhewn to individuals, it was without his knowledge, or orders, or approbation; and when grievances were complained of, he had redreſſed them. It would be hard, therefore, to make him reſponſible for the conduct of all the perſons in the town. As to the Jews, it was manifeſt, that they could not have been treated with the cruelty that had been repreſented, becauſe he had received an addreſs, ſigned by the warden and rulers of that people, in which they expreſſed their gratitude for the clemency and goodneſs which he had evidenced towards them. Without pretenſions to ſuch inflexibility of diſpoſition as no temptations could relax, he would aſſert, that all the meaſures which he purſued, whilſt he remained upon the iſland, were ſtrictly conſonant to honour and integrity; and he defied the bittereſt of his enemies to prove, that he had ſullied, by any ignominious act, the character which he was anxious to maintain, through life, in all capacities, whether as an officer or as a private individual.

In the courſe of the debate, lord North confirmed the truth of what had been aſſerted by admiral Rodney, that he had written a letter to his lordſhip, acquainting him, that he conſidered the valuable ſeizure of the ſtores and different effects, upon the iſland of St. Euſtatius, as the excluſive property of the crown. This circumſtance was treated with extreme contempt by Mr. Burke. Was this, he aſked, the anſwer which the noble lord deſigned to paſs upon the houſe of commons, for the purpoſe of putting a ſtop to the propoſed inquiry? Who could have expected ſuch a conduct in an old miniſter! Not, indeed, a very great miniſter, but a full-grown man!

Several other gentlemen ſpoke in this debate, on both ſides the queſtion; after which Mr. Burke again roſe, and obſerved, that a part of the defence of the commanders at St. Euſtatius implied in it, that their preſence was abſolutely neceſſary, to hinder ſome unprincipled inhabitants from ſtealing the effects confiſcated at the ſurrender of the place. Thus, officers of diſtinguiſhed rank, admirals and generals deſcended, for the firſt time, to the humiliating ſituation of watchmen ſtationed at a magazine, or warehouſe, to ſecure the merchandize from plunder. But fatal was the conſequence of their being engaged in this occupation. Their ſhameful reſidence of three months at St. Euſtatius, had enabled the French to plunder us of the valuable

iſland

iſland of Tobago. The inſinuation that had been thrown out, that St. Euſtatius was filled with traders, whoſe excluſive occupation it was to ſupply the enemies of Great Britain with military and naval ſtores, and various articles of commerce, could not be credited by any man who recollected, that, long before the commencement of the war, the iſland was engaged in mercantile concerns, with all the neighbouring ſettlements, and with the ſubjects of diſtant ſtates. But miſrepreſentations might be neceſſary, in order to furniſh a pretext for pillage; and guilt was firſt imputed to the oppreſſed, with the inſidious view of covering the enormities of the oppreſſors. Not to have proceeded to the laſt exceſs of rapine, was mentioned as a kind of virtue; and the captors, ſeizing on merchandize, on ſtores, and on money, ſeemed to aſſume a merit to themſelves, becauſe they had only ſtripped the houſes of their moveables; and they conſidered it as an inſtance of their bounty, that they had neither taken down the grates of kitchens, nor violently torn up the ſtones of cellars. He concluded, by again calling upon the houſe to proceed to the inquiry. He ſtood prepared, he ſaid, with an authentic ſtate of facts, and with indubitable evidence, which he was enabled to bring directly to the bar; and he pledged himſelf to ſupport, in all reſpects, whatever he had advanced concerning the tranſactions at St. Euſtatius.

The efforts of Mr. Burke, on behalf of the inhabitants of that iſland, did great honour to his eloquence, and to his humanity; but his efforts were in vain; it was the determination of the miniſtry to oppoſe any farther inquiry into the buſineſs; ſo that his motion was rejected, upon a diviſion, by a majority of 163 to 89.

CHAP. III.

Debate on the Number of Seamen to be raiſed for the Service of the Year 1782. Debate on a very important Motion of Sir James Lowther, that it ſhould be reſolved by that Houſe, that the War carried on againſt the American Colonies had been ineffectual to the Purpoſes for which it was undertaken, and that all farther Attempts to reduce the Americans by Force muſt be injurious to the true Intereſts of Great Britain. The Motion vigorouſly ſupported, but at length rejected, in conſequence of a Majority voting for the Order of the Day.

ON the 5th of December, the houſe being in a committee of ſupply, a motion was made by lord Liſburne, "That 100,000 ſea-"men, including 21,721 marines, "ſhould be voted for the ſervice of "the enſuing year; and that four "pounds, per man, per month, "ſhould be granted for the ſupport "of the ſame." In conſequence of this motion, a debate took place on the ſtate of the navy, in which it was aſſerted on the part of adminiſtration, that the number of ſeamen then actually employed amounted to ninety-nine thouſand; that the number of ſhips of the line in commiſſion was ninety-two ſail, which was ſix leſs than we poſſeſſed twelve months before; that this diminution was occaſioned by the loſs of ſix ſhips of the line during the hurri-

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canes, and by the accidents of war; but that the whole naval ſtrength of Great Britain amounted to four hundred and five veſſels; and that in the courſe of the year there would be an addition of fourteen ſail of the line.

Mr. Huſſey, member for New Sarum, moved as an amendment to lord Liſburne's motion, that the number of ſeamen voted ſhould be 110,000, inſtead of 100,000. He urged, in ſupport of this amendment, that the members of adminiſtration had ſhewn, from year to year, a criminal inattention reſpecting the ſtate of the navy; and that their partiality for the army, and their conſequent indifference relative to the eſtabliſhment of a formidable navy, were the ſources of thoſe calamities which now almoſt overwhelmed the Britiſh empire. From the mad and impotent deſire, from the baneful plans and injudicious ſtruggles to coerce America, had ariſen the preference given to the army over the navy, which, at all preceding periods, had been the great defence and glory of this iſland. It was a juſt theme of indignation and reproach, that the admiralty, although intruſted with immenſe ſums, the treaſure of a deluded people, ſhould neither have collected together more men of war, nor have redoubled the vigour of their exertions. Either the board of admiralty had made but little uſe of the immenſe ſupplies granted for the ſervice of the navy, or they had diverted them into improper channels. It was, therefore, neceſſary that the parliament ſhould interfere, as the navy was neglected by the miniſters of the marine department. For where was the poſſibility of reſtoring to her ancient power, her happineſs, her honour, and her preheminence among the nations, the ſinking and diſmembered empire of Great Britain, unleſs a naval armament were inſtantly equipped, more numerous and formidable than that which the preſent miniſtry had yet provided to defend her?

It was aſſerted, on behalf of adminiſtration, that the propoſed amendment was unneceſſary, becauſe the admiralty now actually employed every ſeamen whom they could poſſibly procure; that the admiralty and navy boards had recurred to every poſſible exertion for ſtrengthening and augmenting the marine; and that before the expiration of the year it would be more numerous and powerful than it was at preſent. The houſe at length divided on Mr. Huſſey's amendment, which was rejected by a majority of 143 to 77; after which the original motion propoſed by lord Liſburne was agreed to by the houſe.

On the 12th of the ſame month, a very important motion was made by Sir James Lowther, which occaſioned a very long and intereſting debate. That gentleman's motion was, "That it ſhould be reſolved by "that houſe, that the war carried "on againſt the colonies and plan-"tations of North America had "been ineffectual to the purpoſes "for which it was undertaken, of "affording protection to his majeſ-"ty's loyal ſubjects there, and of "defeating the hoſtile intentions of "our confederated enemies; and "that it was alſo the opinion of "that houſe, that all farther at-"tempts to reduce the Americans "to obedience by force would be "ineffectual, and muſt be injuri-"ous to this country, by weaken-"ing her powers to reſiſt her an-"cient and confederated enemies." In the ſpeech by which he introduced this motion, Sir James Lowther obſerved, that the late ſpeech from the

the throne had given a juſt alarm to the nation; it had ſhewn them, that the miniſtry were determined to perſevere in the American war; that they had a bigotted attachment to it; and that more blood and more money was to be laviſhed in this ruinous and fatal conteſt. The men who were inveſted with the powers of government derived no advantage from experience. The ſurrender of one army only gave them ſpirit to riſk and to loſe a ſecond; and the ſurrender of a ſecond only inſtigated them to venture a third. There was no end of loſs, nor of madneſs. Adminiſtration went on, from year to year, againſt the voice of the people of England, becauſe they were ſupported by a ſet of men, whom they paid for that purpoſe in that houſe. But every unprejudiced and uncorrupted Engliſhman perceived the wretched and diſgraceful ſituation of his country. He ſaw the inferiority of our fleets, and the inefficacy of our armies. The melancholy experience of ſeven years had afforded too much evidence, that the continuance of the American war would lead to irretrievable deſtruction. The unexampled ignorance, and infamous miſmanagement of the miniſtry, were now viſible to all the world; and thoſe deluſions which had ſheltered and enriched the moſt unprincipled, whilſt they afflicted and impoveriſhed the beſt citizens of the empire, had loſt the power of impoſing on the awakened underſtanding, and of amuſing with ideas of imaginary ſecurity the wounded feelings of an irritated nation. When every hope of our ſucceſs againſt the coloniſts was fled for ever, it ſeemed a proof of madneſs to perſiſt in the commiſſion of hoſtilities, which might remove all opportunities of introducing future peace and laſting conciliation. It was, therefore, the indiſpenſable duty of that houſe, before they voted the ſupplies requiſite for the army, to come to ſome ſolemn reſoſution, in order to mark and define their idea of the American war; and to convince their conſtituents, that they were awake to the real ſituation of the country, and anxious to execute their duty, in a manner becoming the repreſentatives of a great and free people.

The motion was ſeconded by Mr. Powys, member for Northamptonſhire. He declared, that the vote of that day muſt either accelerate the ruin of Great Britain, or prove the inſtrument of reſtoring it to its habitual luſtre, to all its former power, and to the plenitude of happineſs and honour. A variety of pretexts, inſidiouſly advanced by the miniſtry, and too creduouſly received by the majority of that houſe, had ſeduced them, from one ſeſſion to another, to move with fatal ſteps along the path to national deſtruction. They had perſevered in the American war againſt the voice of reaſon and of wiſdom, againſt that experience which ought to have taught them, and that calamity which ought to have made them feel. That war was the idol of his majeſty's miniſters, to which they had ſacrificed the intereſts of the empire, and almoſt half its territories. They had bowed before it themſelves, and had made the nation bow. They had aſſerted, that the public reſources were not exhauſted; and they had made this aſſertion, becauſe they themſelves found no diminution of income. Their annual incomes aroſe out of the public purſe; and inſtead of diminiſhing, they increaſed with the misfortunes, and with the impoveriſhment of the country.

It would be ridiculous to imagine, Mr. Powys proceeded to obſerve, that

that any of thoſe gentlemen who had formerly conceived hopes, that the Americans would be compelled to fall, with unconditional ſubmiſſion, at the feet of England, had not relinquiſhed ſuch extravagant ideas. They could not remain inſenſible, that all arguments for the continuance of the war againſt the colonies had loſt their force. The conduct, which, at the commencement of hoſtilities, was denominated firmneſs, had now degenerated into the groſſeſt obſtinacy: an obſtinacy, which called upon all honeſt and independent men to deſert the preſent adminiſtration, unleſs a change of meaſures were adopted. As to the perſeverance of the miniſtry, in their attempts to vanquiſh the Americans, that was not in itſelf a ſubject of much aſtoniſhment. To war they were greatly indebted for the poſſeſſion of their places, for the enjoyment of immenſe profits, and of a powerful and far extended influence ariſing from them. Peace would overwhelm them with inſignificancy. It would ſtrip them of the honours and of the advantages of office. It would throw them from the ſeats which they had filled, to the diſgrace and to the ruin of the kingdom. This was the ground of their ſtruggle for the continuance of hoſtilities againſt the colonies. That ſuch men ſhould perſevere in ſuch iniquitous and ſelfiſh meaſures, was not extraordinary. But it was a juſt cauſe for wonder, that they ſhould be ſupported by individuals of independent principles, and independent fortunes. It could not be denied, that men of this deſcription were ſtill amongſt the friends of the miniſtry; and ſuch gentlemen themſelves only could explain, what the motives were for the continuance of an attachment, which in the general opinion was unexampled and unacountable. The inſidious pretence, that it was neceſſary to make war againſt the coloniſts, as the ſole means of gaining from them a revenue for the ſervice of government, was grown at length too ſtale for impoſition. That idea had been dropt; and, therefore, could not operate as a reaſon for an attachment to the meaſures of the miniſtry.

The cauſe certainly did not exiſt in the conviction, that they had entered into numerous and powerful alliances: for moſt ſeverely had the nation felt, that every ſtate of conſequence in Europe with-held its ſuccours, and left us to contend alone againſt a multitude of enemies. We might, indeed, ſearch, but we ſhould ſearch in vain, for an ally, from one corner of the univerſe to the other. As to the American war, in which the miniſtry ſo madly perſiſted, it was not like a war between two rival, or two neighbouring ſtates, about a barrier, or a boundary; a conteſt which, however it ended, could not detract much from the importance or weight of either. It was a war in which the concluſion of every campaign was againſt us; in which we weakened no enemy by our efforts; in which we had ſuffered every thing without gaining any thing. The American war had been a war of deluſion from the beginning to the end. Every promiſe had been broken, every aſſertion had been falſified, every object had been completely given up. The miniſtry had ſaid one thing one day, and the next day they had come down again, and, with grave faces, ſaid what was directly contrary. It was now a war of this ſort, then a war of that ſort; now a war of revenue, then a war of ſupremacy; now a

war of coercion, and then a war of friendſhip and affection to the people of America. But it was time to put an end to theſe deluſions; not the leaſt proſpect of ſucceſs in the war now remained; the period was therefore come, when it was indiſpenſably neceſſary that the parliament ſhould interfere, in order to avert that ruin with which this unhappy country was ſo immediately threatened. Mr. Powis concluded by obſerving, that as he was firmly perſuaded no motion could be leſs liable to any juſt objections than the preſent, he not only gave it his full concurrence, but ſhould feel the higheſt pleaſure if it received the general approbation of the houſe.

The motion was oppoſed by lord North, who ſaid, that if it was agreed to by the houſe, it muſt put an end to the American war in every ſhape, and even cripple the hands of government in other reſpects. In fact, it would preſcribe to the executive power the manner of continuing the war in general; and would conſequently point out to the enemies of this country what were to be the meaſures, what the ſyſtem, and what the mode and operations of the war. If this motion were carried, it would clearly inform the enemy, in what manner they might beſt point their operations againſt this country during the next campaign. The hands of the executive power would alſo be tied up, from availing itſelf even of the moſt favourable conjuncture to ſtrike a blow in America. It would render it impracticable to carry on even a war with the other powers in that part: for it would be difficult, and indeed impoſſible to ſay, what would and what would not be called the American war; or rather, what would not be called a war to reduce the Americans to obedience. The motion declared, that all farther attempts to reduce the Americans to obedience by force, would be ineffectual and injurious. The government of this country then was to have its hands tied up by ſea and land. Great Britain muſt not retain any poſts in the colonies; for that would be conſidered as one mode of attempting to reduce the Americans to obedience by force. But was it not manifeſt, that there might be a neceſſity of retaining certain poſts in America, for the convenience even of carrying on the war againſt France and Spain? If the preſent motion were acceded to, it would operate as forcibly as a vote for immediately withdrawing all the troops, or, in other words, for totally abandoning the war againſt America. But were the members of that houſe prepared to go ſuch lengths? Were they ready to declare, that New York and its dependencies ought not to be kept, either as a poſt, whence we might annoy the common enemy, and offer aſſiſtance to our Weſt India iſlands, or with a conſideration of having ſomething in our hands to make peace with? Might not Rhode Iſland be taken as a poſt in the enſuing ſummer, if found more convenient, more tenable, and more uſeful? Had gentlemen made up their minds relative to the propriety of relinquiſhing Charles-Town and Halifax? All theſe were weighty conſiderations, and they required a moſt ſerious diſcuſſion: but the ſucceſs of the preſent motion would abſolutely exclude them from all title to attention.

With reſpect to the American war in general, his lordſhip acknowledged, that it had been extremely unfortunate; but he affirmed,

ed, that the misfortunes and calamities which had attended it, though of a moſt ſerious and fatal nature, were matters rather to be deplored and lamented, as the inevitable events of war, in themſelves perpetually uncertain, than to be aſcribed to any criminality in miniſters. He had always conſidered the American war as a war of the moſt cruel neceſſity, but at the ſame time as a war founded on a truly Britiſh baſis; a war commenced for the ſupport of the juſt rights of the crown, and of the parliament of Great Britain. In that point of view, and in that only, ought the war to be conſidered; and in that point of view it might be affirmed to be in its origin juſt and neceſſary, however calamitous the events of it had proved to this country. He would alſo venture to declare, that as the war was unfortunate to all his fellow-ſubjects, ſo it was particularly diſtreſſing to himſelf. He had always conſidered it as the heavieſt calamity of his life; and if, at any time, a ſacrifice, not only of the emoluments of his ſituation, but even of the whole of his private fortune, could have purchaſed for his country a ſafe and honourable peace, he would have made that ſacrifice with the utmoſt chearfulneſs, and thought the opportunity of offering it the greateſt bleſſing which could poſſibly have befallen him. His lordſhip added, that though he totally diſapproved of the motion propoſed by the honourable baronet, yet he was willing to declare it to be his opinion, that it would not be wiſe nor right to go on with the American war as we had hitherto done; that is, to ſend armies to traverſe from the ſouth to the north of the provinces in their interior parts, as had been done in a late caſe, and which had failed of producing the intended and the deſired effect.

Sir Fletcher Norton expreſſed his aſtoniſhment, that the miniſter ſhould venture to inſinuate to the houſe, that a reſolution to abandon a war in one quarter of the globe, was a declaration in what other part of the world it was intended to purſue it. Surely no other man in his ſenſes would maintain ſo ſtrange a poſition. When we were engaged with ſo many enemies, to argue, that declaring we would not continue to fight with America, was to give notice where we ſhould attack France, and where Spain, and where Holland, was puerile to the laſt degree. It ſeemed, however, to give ſome ſatisfaction to the houſe, that it appeared now to be the opinion of adminiſtration, that the war ſhould no more be carried on in future, by marching armies through the colonies of America; a ſyſtem unfortunately prevalent for a diſgraceful length of time. But what ſecurity had the parliament, or the nation, even for this change in the conduct of the war? Had not theſe miniſters, theſe very identical miniſters, purſued this traverſing ſcheme from year to year, againſt the voice and againſt the wiſh of the people? Had not the ſcheme of 1781 been the ſcheme of 1780? Had not the ſcheme of 1780 been the ſcheme of 1779? Had not the ſurrender of the army at Saratoga led to the ſurrender of the army at York-town? Had they not perſevered, in ſpite of experience, in oppoſition to all that wiſdom could teach? They had gone againſt hope, againſt reaſon, againſt probability; and they now aſked the repreſentatives of the people to truſt them farther. Sir Fletcher added, that from the pernicious tendency of the American

war, from the continual decreaſe of our trade and commerce from its commencement, from the fruitleſs expenditure of ſo many millions, from the loſs of ſo much blood, from the diminiſhed and degraded ſtate of the empire, he had not a doubt left upon his mind, but that, at the preſent period, the conſtitutional interference of that houſe was abſolutely neceſſary.

Mr. James Grenville reprobated the whole ſyſtem of adminiſtration, and obſerved, that no event, except a diſcontinuance of the war againſt America, could ſave the Britiſh empire from deſtruction. He begged permiſſion to remind the houſe, that when his illuſtrious relation, the late earl of Chatham, adverted, in the Houſe of Peers, not long before his death, to the diſgraceful and calamitous event at Saratoga, he remarked, that the preſiding deities of Great Britain appeared to have abandoned her, and that providence militated againſt her arms, and ſpurned with indignation at her cauſe. Then it was that this diſtinguiſhed ſtateſman alſo exclaimed, "What! has ſome dreadful inundation, has ſome tremendous "earthquake, ſwallowed half the "empire, that the nation ſhould "ſtand thus deprived of ſenſe and "motion!" But what would have been the feelings, what would have been the expreſſions of that eloquent patriot, had he lived to ſee a ſecond Saratoga buſineſs, ſtill more deſtructive and terrible in its conſequences, than that which was then before his eyes! His ſympathetic boſom, which beat ever in uniſon with the pulſe of the commonwealth, would have been too full for utterance on ſo calamitous an occaſion. Mr. Grenville concluded by obſerving, that as the ſecurity of the empire depended, in a conſiderable degree, on the ſucceſs of the preſent motion, he ſhould give it his hearty concurrence.

Lord Maitland ſaid, that thoſe men who had brought the nation to the ſtate in which it was at preſent, had come into life at a time when the arms of their country were carried to an unprecedented height of ſplendor and glory; when the empire was under the benefit of wiſe councils, and of a vigorous ſyſtem; great and reſpectable abroad; opulent and happy at home. When her trade covered every ſea, and filled every port in the world; and when her navy claimed and enjoyed the proud and enviable dominion of the ſeas. They came into life with gay proſpects, and with pleaſing hopes; but how different was his fate, and the fate of thoſe who with him entered into public life at the preſent moment? They came into public life at a time, when their country was perhaps upon the eve of diſſolution; when it certainly was fallen from the high condition in which it ſtood but a few years before, and when every proſpect of grandeur was vaniſhed; when every incitement to great and laudable ambition was extinguiſhed; and when they had not even the conſolation to believe, that the efforts of their youth could ſnatch their country from impending ruin. His lordſhip added, that the proſecution of the war againſt America was criminal and abſurd beyond expreſſion; and that nothing ſhort of its immediate diſcontinuance could ſave the nation from irretrievable deſtruction. It was, therefore, the duty of that houſe, to raiſe their ſinking country, which lay proſtrate at their feet, and ſought, amidſt the bitterest hours of calamity, their

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aid to ſnatch her from impending ruin.

It was obſerved by Mr. Calvert, that, in all treaties of peace, there were two contracting parties; and that if one party in the war was not as willing to make peace as the other, it was next to an impoſſibility for a ſafe peace to take place. The preſent motion ſtruck him as a declaration, on the part of Great Britain, that ſhe would lay down her arms againſt the Americans; a proceeding which would at once not only mark her incapacity to reduce her rebellious colonies to obedience, but prove an act of political deſpair, that could not fail to increaſe the ardour of her natural foes, and lend a ſpirit to their hoſtile enterprizes againſt her, which muſt be extremely prejudicial to the intereſts of this country. If America had expreſſed a pacific diſpoſition, the meaſure now propoſed to the houſe would be leſs injuſtifiable; but as the caſe was far different, he conceived, that the concurrence of the houſe to the motion would more powerfully cement the union between France and America, and render the diſſolution of it utterly impracticable.

General Burgoyne ſupported the motion; and obſerved, that declaring a deſign of maintaining poſts in America, of the nature of New York, was declaring a deſign of offenſive war; and that ſuch a maintenance of poſts would prove an improvident and a prepoſterous war. The great, if not the only purpoſe of keeping places of arms upon an enemy's coaſt, and eſpecially upon a continent, muſt be for offenſive war. The exceptions to this maxim were ſo few, that they ſerved to confirm it. During the glorious adminiſtration of the earl of Chatham, a place of arms was intended to be eſtabliſhed at St. Malo's; and it was afterwards eſtabliſhed at Belleiſle, upon a more extenſive view than that of a mere inlet into the country. It made a powerful diverſion, and drew a great military force from Germany, to protect the whole range of coaſt from Bayonne to Dunkirk, which was threatened by an embarkation from that place of arms. But what circumſtance rendered that menace againſt the French coaſt either practicable or formidable? Our dominion of the ſea. At that reſplendent æra, our naval flag, inſtead of flying for refuge to our own channel, rode in the very bays of France: in Quiberon Bay, and others, as ſecurely as if anchored at Spithead; and a few frigates would have convoyed an army of twenty thouſand men to any one point of the French or Spaniſh coaſt. This then could be produced as a juſt precedent for a place of arms. But what other precedents exiſted? The command of a ſtrait, by which it was poſſible either to give an inlet for commerce, or to divide the ports of an enemy. Of ſuch a nature was Calais, which together with Dover, kept ſeparate, as often as we thought proper, the great ocean and the German ſea. Such alſo was Gibraltar; a place of arms that gave a virtual ſuperiority to the navy of England, though with an inferior number of ſhips, as ſeparating the ports of the houſe of Bourbon in the ocean, from their ports in the Mediterranean, and preventing the junction of their fleets. But New York, as a place of arms, could anſwer no poſſible purpoſe but to feed an impracticable war, to become a neſt-egg for more millions in the extraordinaries of the army, and to multiply that ſyſtem of contracts, loans,

and influence, which, after having operated to the loſs of every dependence of the country, was ready to give the final blow to the laſt remains of property and liberty in the country itſelf.

The general added, that he had not hitherto touched upon the principle of the American war. The impracticability of it was a ſufficient juſtification for ſupporting the preſent motion. But he was now convinced that the principle of the American war was wrong, though he had not been of that opinion when he formerly engaged in the ſervice in America. He had been brought to this conviction, by obſerving the uniform conduct and behaviour of the people of America. Paſſion, and prejudice, and intereſt, might operate ſuddenly and partially; but when we ſaw one principle pervading the whole continent, the Americans reſolutely encountering difficulty and death, for a courſe of years, it muſt be a ſtrong vanity and preſumption in our own minds, which could only lead us to imagine that they were not in the right. It was reaſon, and the finger of God alone, that implanted the ſame ſentiment in three millions of people. He would aſſert the truth of the fact againſt all which either art or contrivance could produce to the contrary. He was likewiſe now convinced, upon comparing the conduct of the miniſtry, as time had developed their ſyſtem, that the American war formed only a part of a general deſign levelled againſt the conſtitution of this country, and the general rights of mankind.

After ſome farther debate, Sir James Lowther's motion was rejected, by the queſtion being carried for the order of the day, by a majority of 220 to 179. This, however, was a majority in which the miniſtry had little reaſon to exult; as it was ſufficiently apparent, from the numbers who voted againſt adminiſtration, that the uninfluenced ſenſe of that houſe was clearly and deciſively againſt any farther proſecution of the American war.

CHAP. IV.

Debate in the Houſe of Commons on the Army Eſtimates. Notice given by Mr. Burke of an intended Motion, for Leave to bring in a Bill, in order to obviate Difficulties ariſing from the preſent Mode of exchanging the American Priſoners. The Caſe of Mr. Laurens, late Preſident of the Congreſs, ſtated to the Houſe, with Particulars of the Hardſhips ſuffered by that Gentleman in the Tower. Motion made by General Burgoyne, that Copies of all Correſpondence between his Majeſty's Miniſters, and Commanders in Chief in North America, relative to the Exchange of Priſoners, ſhould be laid before the Houſe.

THE war in which Great Britain was unhappily now engaged, being attended with expences of ſuch a magnitude, as had never been known at any preceding period, the army eſtimates, which were laid before the parliament, naturally occaſioned much diſcuſſion, and were a copious ſubject of animadverſion and of debate. On the

14th

14th of December, a motion was made by the ſecretary at war, "That a number of land forces, "including 4175 invalids, amount-"ing to 49,455 effective men, com-"miſſion and non-commiſſion offi-"cers included, be employed for "the year 1782." The troops comprehended in this motion were thoſe employed for guards and garriſons; and in the ſpeech by which the motion was introduced, the ſecretary informed the houſe, that the whole force of the army, including the militia of this kingdom, required for the ſervice of the year 1782, would amount to 186,220 men, and for this force the parliament had to provide. The ſum required for theſe troops, for pay, cloathing, and other articles, amounted to four millions two hundred and twenty thouſand pounds. This military force exceeded that of the laſt year by 4074 men; and the expence was conſequently greater by 29,067l. 15s. This increaſe was occaſioned by the greater number of troops already ſent, or then going to the Eaſt Indies. But the expence of thoſe troops was to be reimburſed by the Eaſt India company.

After ſome farther ſtatements relative to the military force of the kingdom, and its expence, had been made by the ſecretary at war, colonel Barré roſe, and with great vehemence declared, that the eſtimates of the army which were laid before that houſe were ſcandalous and evaſive. There were a much greater number of non-effective men than were ſtated in the eſtimates. In fact, they amounted to a fifth part of the army. The houſe ſhould alſo recollect, that the eſtimates lying on the table did not compoſe the whole of the expences of the army; for extraordinaries of ſeveral millions were yet to come. Neither were the men under the ſeveral deſcriptions, given by the ſecretary at war, the whole number of military force employed. Other troops were employed, ſolely at the diſcretion of the miniſter, and paid irregularly and unconſtitutionally, without the aſſent or knowledge of the legiſlature. Theſe were the provincial corps in America, amounting to nine thouſand men in actual ſervice, the ſtatement of which force, though it had been called for, from year to year, was never brought into the eſtimates. But it was the duty of that houſe peremptorily to inſiſt, that the eſtimates of the provincials ſhould be laid upon the table, with thoſe of other regiments in the ſervice of his majeſty. The precedent was alarming to an extreme: and he ſhould always reprobate the levying of an army, by modes ſo manifeſtly repugnant to the principles of the conſtitution. To what lengths might not a deſpotic prince proceed againſt the liberties of his ſubjects, if the direction of ſuch a military force were intruſted ſolely in his hands? The conſtitution marked out and limited the powers of the executive branch of government; and it was abſolutely neceſſary to prevent the crown from proceeding beyond the line which the conſtitution had preſcribed. The conſtitution had reſtrained the crown from either raiſing or employing troops without conſent of parliament; and this particular and deciſive prohibition, was a ſtriking evidence of that becoming jealouſy, with which our anceſtors regarded all efforts for the eſtabliſhment of ſtanding armies. Much, therefore, would it reflect diſgrace on the pro-

ceedings of that houſe, if, at the preſent awful and alarming juncture, they ſhould appear leſs anxious than our forefathers, for the inviolable maintenance of the great rights and privileges of the people.

With reſpect to the army eſtimates, the colonel proceeded to obſerve, that in many inſtances they were filled with ſuch abandoned impoſitions, that there appeared an actual deſign to treat inquiries from the parliament with ſovereign contempt. Several regiments of which the number of men did not amount to one hundred, were ſet down at eight hundred; and others, not having more than fifty, were mentioned in the eſtimates as conſiſting of five, ſix, or ſeven hundred men. Indeed, too large a part of the armies, for which that houſe had been perſuaded to give their votes, exiſted only upon paper. Amongſt other regiments, the royal Engliſh fuſileers had not even a fourth of their complement. The royal Scotch fuſileers were in a worſe predicament. Their number fell ſhort of even one hundred men. The ſixtieth regiment was ſtated as amounting to 3500 men, when the fact was, that it did not conſiſt of 1500; and many others might be enumerated in the ſame ſituation. The ſtatement of the eſtimates relative to garriſons, particularly thoſe of Gibraltar and Minorca, were equally deluſive and overcharged.

Lord George Germain ſaid, that the reaſon why the provincial corps had not been included in the eſtimates, was, that ſome ſhare of the public money might be ſpared, by avoiding to vote an eſtabliſhment for theſe troops. They were raiſed and paid in a manner by much the moſt œconomical for the nation. They were ſolely under the management of the commander in chief; and an officer, called the inſpector-general of the provincial corps, regularly took care to muſter them from time to time; nor was a ſingle man paid for, if not in actual employ. His lordſhip alſo informed the houſe, that the miniſtry were unanimouſly of opinion, that, conſidering the preſent ſituation of affairs, and the misfortunes of the war, it would not be right to continue any longer the plan on which it had hitherto been conducted; and, therefore, that a freſh army would not be ſent, to ſupply the place of that captured at York-town under earl Cornwallis.

Sir George Savile expreſſed the ſtrongeſt diſapprobation of any farther proſecution of the American war, or of raiſing any more troops for that purpoſe. He had not been in town, he ſaid, when the king's ſpeech was delivered, nor when the addreſs in anſwer to it was agreed upon, having been prevented by ill health. But when he read the royal ſpeech in the country, it filled him with horror; becauſe it announced a continuance of the deſtructive war with the Americans. As to the anſwer to the ſpeech, experience had convinced him, that the addreſs of that houſe was avowed to mean nothing, that it was an empty form, and generally nothing more than a mere echo to the words in the ſpeech from the throne, which was alſo the ſpeech of the miniſter. This echo had always been; and this echo would perpetually continue; and, in ſo ridiculous a degree, that were the ſpeech from the throne a repetition of the line,

What beauties does Flora diſcloſe!

the echo from that houſe would fill up the couplet, and reply,

How ſweet are her ſmiles upon Tweed!

In

In fact, the crown and the two houſes danced a minuet together, to a tune of the miniſter's compoſing. The crown led off one way; the two houſes in a ſimilar ſtep to the oppoſite corner; then they joined hands, and, at length, finiſhed juſt as the dance began.

Sir George then adverted to the intimation which had been given by the miniſtry, that a change was to be made in the mode of conducting the American war. This, he ſaid, was in fact telling the houſe, that they were determined to proſecute the war with all the feeble efforts of which they were yet capable. They did not intend to proſecute it in the ſame manner as before! Why? Becauſe they could not, if they would. This diſability reminded him of a ſtory, which he muſt beg leave to relate to the houſe. A Lacedemonian, during the time of action, having plunged into the ſea, laid hold of an Athenian galley with his right hand. It was immediately chopped off. He then catched at the veſſel with his left hand, and that likewiſe was cut off. The perſons who were in ſight, and who perceived theſe circumſtances, immediately exclaimed, "you will "not ſure once more attempt to "faſten on that galley?" Like the Britiſh miniſtry, he anſwered, "No: "not in the ſame manner." What was the conſequence? He ſeized the veſſel with his teeth, and kept his hold until the enemy ſtruck off his head. Thus it was with the miniſter and his colleagues. They had loſt the two hands of the Britiſh empire; and they wanted to riſk its head upon the proſecution of the ſame frantic and ineffectual war. Every unprejudiced and ſenſible obſerver muſt perceive, that ſo extraordinary a conduct reſembled, if it did not indicate, the violence of inſanity. And could that houſe ſo far forget their firmneſs, their dignity, and their wiſdom, as not effectually to reſiſt its influence? Would they madly entruſt lunaticks with the management of the public purſe? Would they place the ſword within their hands, and bid them uſe it at their own diſcretion?

General Conway declared, that he entirely diſapproved of a continuance of the American war in any form, as he wiſhed that it might totally ceaſe. He eagerly deſired the recall of our fleets and armies, and was anxious for an entire and immediate prevention of thoſe calamities, which had almoſt completed the deſtruction of the empire. He conſidered an avowal of the independence of America as a ſevere misfortune, and a debaſing ſtroke againſt the ſplendor, the importance, and the felicity of Great Britain; but of the two evils he would chuſe the leaſt, and he would ſubmit to the independence of America. In ſhort, he would almoſt yield to any circumſtance whatſoever, rather than perſiſt a day longer in the proſecution of ſo pernicious a war. Ideas had been ſtarted, relative to a war of poſts, among which New York had been particularly mentioned. But on what military authority did the miniſtry preſume to think that New York was tenable? What garriſon would be able to maintain it? The diverſity of military opinions given on this ſubject, ſerved rather to alarm than to convince. To ſecure New York, the poſſeſſion of Long Iſland, which is a hundred miles in length, is abſolutely neceſſary; and it was well known that Sir Henry Clinton, with all his troops, did not conſider himſelf as ſecure.

Mr.

Mr. Fox took notice, that the miniſter had four years before, after the ſurrender of the Britiſh army at Saratoga, and the delivery of the reſcript from France, amuſed the houſe with declaring his reſolution to alter the mode of the war. He then talked of contracting it, and entertained the country gentlemen with expatiating on the advantages of what he then termed "a little "war." It would be well, however, to recollect how well his lordſhip had kept his word, and that the little war had been ſo managed, that we had loſt another great army, beſides ſinking under various defeats and irretrievable calamities. Lord North replied, that it was impoſſible for him then to ſay, whether he had ſpoken ſuch words four years ago as were then imputed to him. He did not recollect that he had; nor if he had, did he recollect in what manner the words were uſed. Poſſibly he might have ſaid ſomething like the words, by way of aſſertion in argument, about the time of the convention at Saratoga. But he could not conſider himſelf as bound by any arguments, in a debate at ſo great a diſtance of time; nor was it altogether parliamentary, or fair, in any gentleman, to refer to obſervations in a debate ſo old, and ſo much out of common recollection. His lordſhip, however, aſſured the houſe, that for the future there would be no internal war in America. The troops would not march, like thoſe of earl Cornwallis, through the country, for the purpoſe of reducing it to ſubmiſſion. It was rather intended to preſerve ſuch poſts in America, as might facilitate and co-operate with the enterprizes of our fleets, than to proſecute the war offenſively by land.

Mr. William Pitt, in a very keen and ſarcaſtic manner, pointed out the inconſiſtent language, and contradictory aſſertions, which were at different times made uſe of by the miniſter and his colleagues, and ſhewed, that no dependence was to be placed on any thing they might advance. There was, however, one piece of information, which had fallen from the firſt lord of the treaſury, which at leaſt deſerved not to be forgotten. He had given the houſe to underſtand, that there was a clear diſtinction to be made, between the aſſertions which he advanced in argument, and the ſolemn aſſurances which he gave as a miniſter. His aſſertions in argument, it ſeems, were different from his ſolemn aſſurances. The noble lord evidently admitted, that he did advance things in debate, which, as it would not be poſſible or convenient for himſelf to maintain, it would not be politic or ſafe for the houſe to believe. Mr. Pitt afterwards proceeded to reprobate, as bordering on inſanity, the idea of any farther proſecution of the American war, with our armies in captivity, our fleet confeſſedly inferior to that of the enemy, and what was ſtill worſe, confeſſedly incapable of being rendered equal to it in point either of number or of ſtrength. He appealed to the whole houſe, whether every deſcription of men did not deteſt and execrate the American war, and wiſh moſt fervently for its concluſion. When ſuch a load of deep calamity was preſſing with intolerable weight upon us, he deemed it not uncharitable to implore the Almighty, to ſhower down his vengeance upon thoſe miniſters, who were the authors of the innumerable evils, which had diſgraced, afflicted, and impoveriſhed this once proſperous and formidable empire, but now humbled, defeated, and almoſt annihilated kingdom.

In the courſe of this debate, even the paymaſter of the forces declared his conviction of the total impracticability of ſubduing the Americans by force. That gentleman obſerved, that he was not aſhamed to own, that he had all along voted in ſupport of the miniſter, and for the proſecution of the American war, with the hope, that this country would prove able, with the aſſiſtance of her fleets and armies, to coerce America, and reduce the colonies to obedience. He was now thoroughly perſuaded, that the enterprize was impracticable. He had formerly declared, that he would not liſten to any ſuggeſtions of granting independence to America; becauſe he thought this country ought to recoil at it, until ſhe ſhould have felt an ignominous overthrow; until we had been beaten. He was ſorry to ſay, that this unfortunate moment was now arrived: and, therefore, he conceived, that it would now be as much madneſs to talk of the reduction of America by force of arms, as before it would have been timid and unmanly to have acknowledged the American claim of independence. With regard to the proper method of proceeding, that was a ſubject upon which men were far from being agreed. If the meaſure of removing all our troops from New York and its dependencies were reſolved upon, it ſeemed impoſſible to carry it with ſafety into execution, unleſs we had a better navy; and, therefore, the attempt could not, on the principles of common policy, be juſtified. Mr. Rigby concluded by obſerving, that though it ſhould be determined to put a ſpeedy termination to the war againſt America, yet he did not think, conſidering that France, Spain, and Holland, were in active enmity to Great Britain, that the eſtimates of the army were too large for the neceſſities of the ſervice; and, therefore, he ſhould vote for them.

Earl Nugent expreſſed his ſurprize, that there ſhould now be any doubts about granting independence to America; as all parties were agreed that we could no longer carry on the war. No difficulties ought now to be made upon the ſubject. It was the only remaining method of being again upon friendly terms with the Americans, which might be highly beneficial both to them and to us: and it was an event which would be productive of no joy to our enemies. Who could entertain a doubt, but that the rival powers of Europe were ſecretly deſirous, that the coloniſts ſhould continue, as they were before, dependent on ſome other ſtate? Neither the French, nor Dutch, nor Spaniards, had aided them in their hoſtilities againſt us, with any view of leading them to actual independence. Their chief motive for engaging in the war was to reduce the power of Great Britain. The independence of America would be the ruin of the northern crowns: for ſhe would then ſupply all Europe with thoſe commodities, for which Europe is at preſent obliged to reſort to the north. The independence of our colonies muſt be to the laſt degree prejudicial to Spain; for their independence would be the forerunner of the loſs of her own colonies; and it was, therefore, obſervable, that though Spain had joined France, and engaged in war againſt us, ſhe had never acknowledged the independence of North America. The Dutch would be ruined by this independence; for being ſupplanted by the Americans, they would ceaſe to be the carriers of the world. Upon the whole, the renunciation of the war againſt America, and the avowal of her independence,

pendence, were now the wiſeſt meaſures which could be adopted by Great Britain.

After ſome farther debate, the motion of the ſecretary at war was carried by a conſiderable majority. He then moved, "That a ſum not "exceeding 1,242,835l. 2s. 3d. "ſhould be granted to his majeſty, "for defraying the charge of 49,455 "effective men, for guards, garri- "ſons, and other his majeſty's land "forces in Great Britain, Jerſey, "and Guernſey, for the year 1782;" and alſo, "That a ſum not exceed- "ing 1,315,523l. 5s. 1cd. be "granted to his majeſty, for main- "taining his majeſty's forces and "garriſons in the plantations and "Africa, including thoſe in garri- "ſon at Minorca and Gibraltar, "and for proviſion for the forces in "North America, Nova Scotia, "Newfoundland, Gibraltar, the "Weſt Indies, and Africa, for the "year 1782." Theſe motions were agreed to by the houſe, as were likewiſe ſeveral others made by the ſame gentleman, relative to the army expenditure.

On the 17th of the ſame month, Mr. Burke informed the houſe, that he intended, ſoon after the receſs, to move for leave to bring in a bill, in order to obviate ſome difficulties ariſing from the preſent mode of exchanging the American priſoners: a mode which was at once diſgraceful and inconvenient to the government of this kingdom. A fundamental error exiſted in that law, which was paſſed every year, for the purpoſe of empowering his majeſty to ſeize ſuſpected perſons. Motives of humanity, of ſound policy, and of common ſenſe, called loudly for its removal; and the only effectual remedy would be the introduction of a new law, eſtabliſhing a regulation totally different from that which now prevailed. He was led to the conſideration of this matter by two particular caſes, which were attended with peculiar hardſhip, one of which was that of Mr. Laurens. Under the law, which he had referred to, Mr. Laurens was confined in the Tower; but though it might ſeem to countenance his commitment, it could not authorize the hardſhips to which that very reſpectable gentleman was expoſed, and the rigours that he ſuffered in his impriſonment. When Mr. Laurens was taken at ſea by captain Keppel, and while he remained on board his ſhip, he was treated with every mark of diſtinction which could be ſuggeſted to that meritorious officer, by reflecting on what his priſoner had been, and what he then was. He treated him like a man who had been at the head of the greateſt commonwealth on the face of the earth; and like a man, who was then inveſted with the character of ambaſſador from that commonwealth. Captain Keppel had endeavoured to give his illuſtrious priſoner a foretaſte of that humanity, liberality, and tenderneſs, which he hoped ſtill characterized his countrymen, and would appear the ordinary habits of the people to whom Mr. Laurens was ſhortly to be introduced. But the moment that gentleman touched upon this inhoſpitable ſhore, he was brought before a ſecretary of ſtate, and committed a cloſe priſoner to the Tower. His treatment there was of the moſt rigorous nature: he was denied the only and the beſt comforts of the human heart in the moment of diſtreſs, the ſight and frequent viſitation of his neareſt and moſt beloved relations. Even his own ſon had not acceſs to him, except in the view and preſence of a warder. He had alſo been impoſed upon with regard to his

his expences; and, though denied any allowance from government, he was expected and aſked to pay the moſt exorbitant demands under the name of fees. How different was the treatment of priſoners of ſtate even in the Baſtile! Within that place, although regarded as the moſt horrid gaol of a deſpotic government, the proviſion was ridiculouſly grand, conſidering the ſuppoſed guilt of thoſe to whom it was ſerved up. It was a prevailing idea, that when any man was made a priſoner of ſtate, as his ſituation precluded him from the means of providing for himſelf, that ſtate, from a principle of humanity, provided for him; and that all perſons put into gaol by government, were at the expence of that government ſupported by ſome ſort of gaol allowance. But this had not been the caſe with Mr. Laurens. Happening, however, fortunately, to have ſums of money due to him from merchants in London, with whom he had dealt, he was able to ſupport himſelf for a conſiderable time. But at length, one of his reſources being exhauſted, he ſent a requiſition to be allowed the uſe of pen, ink, and paper, in order to draw a bill upon another of his correſpondents. The requiſition was denied, and that in the moſt inſulting and unpleaſant manner, by a total ſilence upon it for three months together. At laſt, although Mr. Laurens was refuſed an opportunity of providing himſelf with money, an officer of the Tower called on him for a large ſum, demanding of him, at one time, upwards of ninety pounds for fees. Such an impoſition would have given riſe to the choler of moſt men; but with Mr. Laurens it became a matter of pleaſantry. Inſtead of expreſſing any indignation at the groſſneſs of the inſult, he only ſaid, "Really, friend, if you make ſuch "demands upon me, I can't afford "to ſtay here. I muſt quit my "lodgings, and repair to ſome leſs "expenſive place of reſidence."

But all that juſtice, all that repeated requiſitions founded on principles of the cleareſt reaſon, could not effect, Mr. Burke proceeded to obſerve, had on a ſudden been brought about by a ſtar that had ariſen, not in the Eaſt, but in the Weſt, and which had warned the Britiſh miniſtry of the danger of their longer perſevering in their unmanly, revengeful, and rigid treatment of Mr. Laurens. This was no other than the news arriving, that the ſon of Mr. Laurens, a brave, worthy, and accompliſhed officer in the American ſervice, had Earl Cornwallis in his cuſtody, and that his treatment of his noble priſoner was directly the reverſe of that experienced by his father, who was then locked up in that Tower, of which Earl Cornwallis was the conſtable. The moment advice of this circumſtance reached the miniſtry, they became as full of complaiſance to Mr. Laurens, as before they had been full of ſeverity; though he was ſtill kept in cloſe confinement. Had the miniſtry been actuated by any principles of real wiſdom, the capture of Mr. Laurens might have been a very fortunate circumſtance for this country. He was diſtinguiſhed by his perſonal ſagacity, experience, and integrity, and was known to have a great attachment to this country; and might therefore have been made a very uſeful inſtrument in promoting an accommodation with America. He was greatly revered and beloved in America, on account of the extent of his talents, the liberality of his mind, and the amiableneſs of his character; and had for a long time been

been extremely anxious to prevent the diſmemberment of the Britiſh empire. Such was the man whom the miniſtry oppreſſed; and whom, though overwhelmed by the gout, and labouring under a complication of complaints, occaſioned principally by the hardſhips of his confinement, they could ſtill view only as an object for perſecution. So that the Turk, the ſavage Arab, the cruel Tartar, or the piratical Algerine, when compared to the Britiſh miniſtry, might be thought humane.

Mr. Burke farther remarked, that the great and fundamental error of that act, which he wiſhed the parliament to correct and amend, was, that it made no diſtinctions, ſuch as wiſdom and juſtice required. It did not point out the great and active inſtruments of criminality, but was confined ſolely to diſtinctions purely geographical. Thus it depended not on the enormity of each captive's ſuſpected guilt, but on the place where he was taken, and the place to which he was conveyed, whether he ſhould be conſidered as a traitor, a pirate, or a mere priſoner of war. It was to put juſtice on a more equal footing, to level diſtinctions which had their origin in oppreſſion and barbarity, and to render the priſoners of war taken by this country certain of having the ſeverity of their fate ſoftened, and made ſomewhat tolerable, by that tender and mild treatment which all civilized belligerent powers made the rule of their conduct during a time of hoſtility, that he ſhould move for leave to bring in his intended bill. The act at preſent in being, was confined in its principle, and productive of the worſt effects. In America, the priſoners of the United Sates were exchanged upon an equal and a liberal principle; the ſpirit of the law operating there with equal juſtice, benevolence, and honour. The ſituation being changed, the effect of the ſame ſtatute inſtantly varied. If perſons, whether officers or common ſailors, were taken at ſea on the American coaſt, and carried into New York, they were certain of receiving every poſſible indulgence, and every ſtretch of that civility and humanity, which, until the preſent war, had been, at all times, the glorious characteriſtic of the Britiſh nation. On the contrary, when American priſoners arrived here, they were not treated as priſoners of war, but ſent to gaol, either under commitments as pirates, or on a charge of high treaſon.

Mr. Burke then proceeded to inform the houſe, that another grievance, which he propoſed to remedy by his intended bill, was the partiality with which the miniſtry acted reſpecting the exchange of thoſe Britiſh officers, who had the misfortune to fall into the hands of the Americans. It was in Auguſt laſt that he learnt, that the congreſs had demanded general Burgoyne as their priſoner. He had not formerly been in habits of intimacy with the general, but from his late conduct, and from farther acquaintance with him, he had conceived for him much eſteem and friendſhip. Some time ſince, an order had been iſſued from the army-office, for that general to return to the troops under his command in America. It was well known that the general, in the then ſtate of his health, would look upon ſuch an order rather as an intimation to reſign his military honours, the earnings of long ſervice, than really to ſet out for America, where his preſence could not be of the leaſt uſe. His own pride, therefore,

fore, ſoon induced him to give up what he thought was all that was deſired of him; and when the miniſtry had got what they wanted of him, he heard no more from that quarter about going to America. He ſoon, however, heard of it from another quarter: for the congreſs, finding that the miniſtry of Great Britain would not, upon any terms, releaſe Mr. Laurens, had required general Waſhington to ſummon general Burgoyne to return to America, and ſave his parole. When this was urged to Sir Henry Clinton, that officer entered into a treaty for the releaſe of general Burgoyne: but as the latter was a lieutenant-general, and no American officer of that rank had been taken priſoner by the Britiſh army, our commander in chief could not of courſe exchange him for an officer of equal rank. Terms, however, were entered upon for his releaſe; and it was agreed, that one thouſand and forty men ſhould be given for his ranſom. This might be regarded as a fair eſtimate: it was taking a quantity of ſilver for a piece of gold, and was an honeſt exchange. It happened, however, that the miniſtry had contrived to render the propoſed exchange impracticable, and that by the following means. There were a number of men, who had ſurrendered on capitulation to the Britiſh arms, at a place called the Cedars, ſoon after the commencement of the war. That capitulation the congreſs had always refuſed to ratify; and, in every ſubſequent exchange of priſoners, they uniformly put the Cedar men aſide, regarding them as ſo many counterfeit halfpence, and refuſing to acknowledge them other than as baſe metal and coin of no value. The commander in chief, however, by order of the miniſtry, perſevered in his offer of thoſe men as part of the one thouſand and forty; and the congreſs perſevered in refuſing them. So that no releaſe having taken place, and no releaſe probably being intended on our ſide, as ſuch men were offered, the conſequence that muſt enſue was, that general Burgoyne muſt, in diſcharge of his parole, return to captivity, if ſome method of preventing it could not be adopted.

This ſtate of facts, Mr. Burke ſaid, coming to his ears, he reſolved to try what might be effected by private friendſhip. Accordingly he renewed his correſpondence with his old acquaintance and friend, Dr. Franklin, at Paris; a correſpondence interrupted from neceſſity, but not from choice, on either ſide, and now re-commenced in a more diſtant ſtyle, from the particular ſituation in which Dr. Franklin and he ſtood. In his letter to the doctor, he ſtated the ſituation of general Burgoyne, and the demand made by congreſs, and expreſſed an earneſt wiſh, that he would obtain his immediate exchange. The doctor ſpeedily returned an anſwer, in which he obſerved, that "ſince the fool-
"iſh part of mankind could not ſet-
"tle their diſputes without wars, it
"was the duty of the wiſe part of
"mankind to uſe their endeavours
"to alleviate thoſe misfortunes that
"attend wars." After ſome farther remarks, the doctor acquainted him, that he had not heard of the order of congreſs, for general Waſhington to ſummon general Burgoyne to return to America; but was of opinion, that if any ſuch order had been iſſued, it was in retaliation for the Britiſh miniſter's refuſal to releaſe Mr. Laurens. The doctor alſo informed him, that before he had cloſed his letter, he had received diſpatches from Philadelphia, with a reſolution of congreſs of the

10th

10th of June laſt, authorizing him to exchange general Burgoyne for Mr. Laurens. He added, that he had no communication with the miniſters of the court of St. James's, and therefore requeſted that Mr. Burke would negociate the buſineſs for the ſake both of the general and of Mr. Laurens. The buſineſs, Mr. Burke proceeded to inform the houſe, he gladly undertook; and accordingly waited on ſome of the miniſters, and their friends; but was ſurpriſed to receive for anſwer, that general Burgoyne was actually exchanged, and of courſe no longer a priſoner. He was the more ſurpriſed at this information, becauſe he knew that it muſt be falſe; as it was not poſſible that the congreſs, having reſolved that general Burgoyne ſhould be exchanged for Mr. Laurens, ſhould enter upon any treaty for his releaſe, till they ſhould firſt learn what had been the iſſue of their commiſſion on that head to Dr. Franklin. It was, therefore, only ſporting with the feelings and misfortunes of the general to ſay that he was exchanged. The cruelty of the miniſtry, in firſt ordering him to return to America, and perſiſting in that order till they had ſtripped him of every military honour, and reward of his ſervices, excepting his rank of lieutenant-general, could be equalled only by their barbarity in leaving him now expoſed to the mercy of the congreſs, by refuſing to exchange him: for it was in fact refuſing to exchange him, when ſuch men were offered in exchange, as it was well known the congreſs would not accept. But the truth was, that the general had been perſecuted by the miniſtry with the moſt unabating animoſity, becauſe he had expoſed the abſurdity of all their reaſonings reſpecting the number and fidelity of the friends to Great Britain in America. They had dealt in a variety of falſe repreſentations of this kind, by which they had been enabled to injure and deceive the nation.

General Burgoyne now roſe, and expreſſed in very ſtrong terms his gratitude to Mr. Burke, for the generous manner in which he had eſpouſed his cauſe. He then informed the houſe, that he had waited, with the utmoſt patience, until every one of the officers of the Saratoga convention, down even to the ſerjeants, were exchanged, before he uttered the leaſt complaint, or took any one ſtep for the purpoſe of procuring his own exchange. He had acted in this manner for two reaſons: the firſt was, that as he had reſigned his commiſſion, and thereby put himſelf into a ſituation, which rendered it impoſſible for him to be of any ſervice to his country in a military capacity, he thought it was more proper for thoſe to be exchanged firſt, from whoſe exertions in the field the nation might receive advantage. His ſecond reaſon was, that ſooner than condeſcend either to ſeek, or to receive the ſmalleſt favour from the hands of men who had heaped the groſſeſt injuries upon his head, he would even return to America, be locked up in the gloomieſt dungeon which the congreſs might aſſign him, and devote himſelf as that ſacrifice which his enemies had long endeavoured to offer up to their reſentment.

The general then corroborated the obſervations of Mr. Burke relative to the Cedars men. The miniſtry, he ſaid, well knew the reſolution of congreſs reſpecting theſe men: and, therefore, to propoſe them in exchange for him, could be calculated only to delay or prevent his

his releaſe. But it was ſurely ſingularly hard, that he ſhould be the only one of all the army that had ſurrendered at Saratoga, who had not been included in the exchange of priſoners, and reſtored to liberty. It was an injuſtice, beyond all example, that every officer, and every man in the army, ſhould have received the valuable privilege of freedom, and that he alone, who was commander in chief on that occaſion, ſhould ſtill be continued a priſoner.

Lord George Germain ſaid, that when he had aſſerted that general Burgoyne was releaſed, he thought he had ſpoken on very good grounds; for, in a letter from Sir Henry Clinton, he had been informed, that a proper number of men had been offered for the general's releaſe, and among others the Cedars priſoners; that at laſt the congreſs ſeemed to accede to the propriety of admitting the Cedars men in the exchange; and, therefore, he took it for granted, that by this time the general was releaſed. With reſpect to Mr. Laurens, he knew of no ill treatment which that gentleman had received. On the contrary, Mr. Laurens had himſelf acknowledged, that he was treated with civility and kindneſs; and had particularly expreſſed his gratitude, for an indulgence lately granted him of permiſſion to walk about a part of the Tower for exerciſe; a circumſtance to which he attributed a conſiderable improvement of his health.

Lord North alſo maintained, that there was no juſt ground for the complaints that were exhibited reſpecting the treatment of Mr. Laurens: and Lord Newhaven ſaid, that he had ſeen general Vernon, the lieutenant-governor of the Tower, within the laſt three days; and that he had converſed with him, for ſome time, upon the ſubject of Mr. Laurens, and the treatment which he had received; when the lieutenant-governor gave him to underſtand, in the moſt direct and explicit terms, that there was not the ſmalleſt ground of complaint, and that Mr. Laurens himſelf had declared as much.

His lordſhip alſo remarked, that it ſtruck him as a very extraordinary circumſtance, that an honourable member of that houſe ſhould ſtand up in his place, and not only avow his correſpondence with a declared rebel, but produce the proofs of it. For his part, had he entered into any ſuch correſpondence, he ſhould have ſuppoſed his inevitable fate would have been, his being taken into cuſtody, and ſent to keep company with Mr. Laurens in the Tower. Mr. Burke replied, that he was too poor a man to bear the expence of a lodging in the Tower. The apartments in that place would better ſuit the noble fortune of lord Newhaven. As for himſelf, he was contented with an humbler dwelling; though he could make himſelf happy in the Tower, or in any priſon leſs dignified, if two ſuch men as Mr. Laurens and Dr. Franklin were his companions, or even if they honoured him with their correſpondence.

A motion was then made by general Burgoyne, "That an humble addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, to deſire that he would be graciouſly pleaſed to direct, that there ſhould be laid before that houſe, copies of all correſpondence between his majeſty's ſecretaries of ſtate, and the ſecretaries at war, and commanders in chief or commiſſaries, for the exchange of priſoners in North America, relative to the exchange or releaſe of priſoners, ſince the firſt day of January, 1781." The motion was ſeconded by Mr. Fox, and agreed to by the houſe.

CHAP. V.

Debate in the Houſe of Peers, on a Motion of the Marquis of Rockingham, that the Land and Malt Tax Bill ſhould be poſtponed. Debate in the Houſe of Commons, on a Motion of Sir Grey Cooper, that the Houſe ſhould be adjourned. Petition from Mr. Laurens, late Preſident of the Congreſs, preſented to the Houſe by Mr. Burke. Receſs.

AS conſiderable oppoſition had been made to granting the ſupplies in the Houſe of Commons, they met alſo with much obſtruction, and occaſioned very animated debates in the Houſe of Peers. On the 19th of December, when a motion was made that the malt and land-tax bill ſhould be read a third time, the marquis of Rockingham moved, as an amendment, that the bill ſhould be poſtponed till the firſt Wedneſday after the parliamentary receſs. The preſſing call for ſuch an amendment, his lordſhip ſaid, could not be loſt on thoſe who felt for the calamitous ſituation of the empire, ariſing from a ſet of miniſters, the impotence of whoſe plans, and the conſequent inefficacy of their attempts to execute them, together with the total want of early and authentic information, had equally expoſed them to the ſcorn of Europe, and to the juſt abhorrence of their fellow-ſubjects. So deſperate was the ſtate of the national affairs, that nothing ſhort of an immediate change of men and of meaſures, of a complete tranſition from bad to good, could ſave us from deſtruction. The preſent adminiſtration had ſhewn themſelves ſo totally unworthy of any farther confidence, that he recommended it to their lordſhips to withhold the ſupplies, for a ſeaſonable time, in hope that ſuch a refuſal would oblige theſe miniſters to withdraw, and to make room for men more likely to ſerve their country with ſucceſs.

His lordſhip then enlarged upon ſome late naval occurrences; he took notice of the number of ſhips of the line, which the French had lately ſent to the Weſt Indies from America; and obſerving, that Sir Samuel Hood had only taken nineteen with him, he aſked, whether any perſon could expect ſucceſs from ſo great a diſparity of force? He next adverted to the recent affair of admiral Kempenfelt and the French fleet, and remarked, that the miniſtry were inexcuſable for not having ſent out a more powerful ſquadron, when they well knew the ſtrength and number of the French armament. If the voice of reaſon might be ſuffered to prevail in that houſe, a majority would not heſitate a moment, to withdraw the power of diſpoſing of the public money from thoſe miniſters, who had perſiſted in the wild and uſeleſs diſſipation of the paſt ſupplies, and manifeſted, on all occaſions, that their proceedings were more likely to annihilate, than to ſupport and ſtrengthen the political exiſtence of Great Britain. It was a melancholy truth, that no ſolid benefit whatſoever had ariſen, from the thoughtleſs and too long continued generoſity of the parliament, who had voted ſuch ſums as were enormous beyond the precedents of any former æra. Had any part of theſe grants been employed in operations, of which the reſult was conqueſt, and a valuable addition to the territories of the empire? Far otherwiſe. The dominions of Great Britain were miſerably curtailed; the ſources of our trade were drying up;

up; and, beſides numerous other loſſes, America, the moſt valuable of her poſſeſſions, was gone for ever.

Lord Stormont conſidered the amendment, propoſed by the noble marquis, to amount to a direct negative, as to all the ſubſtantial ends propoſed by a bill of ſupply; becauſe in fact it would, if agreed to, ſuſpend every power, and with them of courſe all the effective operations of government. The fleets and armies now in our ports, deſtined for various quarters of the world, muſt be locked up until this political interdict ſhould be taken off: for although much might be hazarded by miniſters, yet if the nation, or the ſenſe of it declared by the mouth of that houſe, were to determine, that no money ſhould be granted, and conſequently that none ſhould be iſſued for a certain period, he was unacquainted with that miniſter, who would have ſufficient confidence to take upon him the expenditure of money, the approbation or diſapprobation of which would depend upon the future opinions of one or both houſes of parliament. It appeared to be the opinion of the noble marquis, that the preſent miniſters were ſupine, negligent, and incapable; and that more vigorous exertions, and more animated attempts, were abſolutely neceſſary to retrieve our affairs. Surely then it was improper, that the wheels of government ſhould be clogged, that the operations of the executive power ſhould be arreſted in their progreſs, that the means of defending the country ſhould be kept back, and that all reſources ſhould continue at a dead ſtand, at the moment when it was confeſſed, that the plenitude of vigour and exertion was abſolutely neceſſary. He muſt, therefore, refuſe his aſſent to the amendment which had been propoſed.

The motion for an amendment was ſupported by the Duke of Chandos, as highly judicious and neceſſary at ſo alarming and melancholy a criſis. His grace contended, that ſo glaring were the blunders of adminiſtration, and ſuch their ill ſucceſs in managing the war, that we had not only loſt the reſpect we once received from every power, but were deſpiſed beyond deſcription by the ſtates of Europe. His grace alſo ſaid, that the Weſt India iſlands were not ſafe; he had himſelf a very conſiderable property in the iſland of Jamaica; but he had the moſt authentic private information, that this iſland, though one of the moſt extenſive, beſt peopled, and opulent belonging to the crown of Great Britain, was yet far from being in a proper ſtate of defence. The only meaſure by which the welfare of the nation could be reſtored, was by a change of the miniſtry. To that the people looked up with all the eagerneſs of hope and expectation. The people had a right to inſiſt upon it. It was their general wiſh, and in decency, as well as in juſtice, that wiſh deſerved immediate compliance. The miniſtry deceived themſelves, if they imagined that their purchaſed majorities in both houſes could long ſecure them in their places. After ſo many ſhameful proofs of their incapacity, it could not be ſeriouſly ſuppoſed that they were fit to be truſted with freſh ſupplies, when they had laviſhed away former grants for little other purpoſe, but to corrupt and buy their mercenary dependents, and to feed their favourite contractors.

The earl of Weſtmoreland declared, that the preſent motion was one of the moſt extraordinary, which had ever been ſubmitted to the judgment of that houſe; and he

much doubted, whether the noble marquis who made, and the noble duke who ſupported it, could give it countenance by referring even to a ſingle precedent. He begged their lordſhips to recollect, that, at the Revolution, all the public revenues were alienated from the crown, between whom and the parliament a compact took place, in conſequence of which the latter pledged themſelves to allow the former a certain annuity for the payment of the civil liſt, and likewiſe to grant ſuch ſupplies for the purpoſe of ſupporting the government, and of defending the kingdom, as the ſtate of affairs might from time to time require. Hence it appeared, that the parliament were bound to grant ſome ſupply, equally during peace and war; and it ſtruck him, as a moſt ſingular circumſtance, that when the occaſions of the ſtate were univerſally acknowledged to preſs, beyond example, for the immediate ſuccours of the legiſlature, it ſhould be deemed an act either of wiſdom, or of neceſſity, to withhold the uſual ſupplies. Large fleets and armies were now preparing for foreign ſervice, ſome for the Weſt, and ſome for the Eaſt Indies. Would their lordſhips agree to ſtop the progreſs of theſe important and eſſential expeditions; and thus accelerate and confirm that public ruin which was apprehended, by one violent act; the act of withholding the ſupplies, and taking away the vital ſpring of all the motions of government?

In the courſe of the debate, ſome altercation paſſed relative to the ſtate of the navy, and the inſufficient force with which admiral Kempenfelt had lately been ſent out; but the marquis of Rockingham's motion was at length rejected, without a diviſion.

The following day a motion was made in the Houſe of Commons, by Sir Grey Cooper, that the houſe, at its riſing, ſhould adjourn to Tueſday, the 22d day of January next: upon which Mr. Byng immediately roſe, and expreſſed his aſtoniſhment and indignation, that a propoſal ſhould be made to adjourn for ſo long a time, in ſo critical a ſtate of public affairs. He particularly adverted to the condition of the navy; and he aſſerted, that there had been much negligence and miſconduct in the admiralty board, relative to the late expedition under admiral Kempenfelt. Why was that officer diſpatched with only twelve ſhips of the line, to intercept the French convoy from the Weſt Indies, when all the world knew that our enemies had, in Breſt water, above three and twenty ſail of the line, completely equipped and in full readineſs for ſea; and when it afterwards appeared, that they actually oppoſed nineteen to our twelve ſail of the line? An immediate and ſtrict inquiry ought to take place, that the houſe might know on whom to fix the cenſure and the puniſhment. It would ill become that houſe, to ſhew themſelves ſo fond of eaſe, and ſo extremely inattentive to the welfare of the people, as to retire, by adjournments, to ſhameful inactivity, and ſink into a total diſregard of public buſineſs. Every circumſtance was preſſing; and the ſenſe of rapidly accumulating misfortune and diſgrace, called for the moſt unremitting aſſiduity, and the moſt powerful efforts. The ſituation of the country was ſo new and unprecedented, and called for ſuch extraordinary exertions, that no time ought to be loſt, nor a ſingle hour waſted in unneceſſary adjournments.

The miniſter ſaid, that he could have no wiſh with reſpect to himſelf, for a long adjournment; ſince, whether the houſe were adjourned, or not,

not, he could not be far distant from town; but he thought the motion for adjournment very proper, because many gentlemen had already gone into the country, under the persuasion that the house was to be adjourned; and because some relaxation from business was usual, and even necessary.

Mr. Fox asked, whether the ministry could with the least decency plead in favour of an adjournment, under the present ignominious and afflictive situation of affairs? Could they pretend, that it was either politic or necessary to adopt this measure, previously to the institution of an inquiry into the cause of the late rencounter between admiral Kempenfelt and the French commander? Of all the examples of ignorance and inattention, so visible throughout the management and conduct of the board of admiralty, not one was more shameful, or more detrimental to the country, than their exposure of a gallant officer and his fleet to perils, from which it was almost impossible to escape. The incapacity of the first lord of the admiralty could not stand forward in a more criminal and glaring point of view, than that arising from the result of the service in which admiral Kempenfelt was engaged. It might be admitted, that the enterprize was a judicious one; and that the principle and the exigency of the expedition were sufficient justifications of it, although admiral Kempenfelt had gone out with even a smaller force, provided the admiralty board could bring convincing evidence of the impossibility of sparing more ships. But this could not be done: and as it had been universally known, that the French would send out a large squadron, as the convoy to a rich and numerous fleet of transports, designed for such important purposes, it was highly criminal in the board of admiralty not to employ a larger and more formidable armament to intercept them. As to admiral Kempenfelt, there was no ground whatever for throwing the slightest imputation upon his honour, gallantry, or conduct. He was an officer of great naval skill, judgment, and resolution; and, considering the circumstances of the action, and the exceeding great inferiority of his force, had executed his duty to the utmost. But the disgraces of the British flag called upon the house to go into an inquiry into the management of the navy. The banishment of so many brave and experienced officers, the inferiority of our fleets in every corner of the world, the loss of so many of our West India islands, and the imminent danger of the rest, the divisions and distractions in the navy, and the injuries and complaints of the officers, these were all proper subjects of parliamentary investigation. In the management of the marine department, there had been so many instances of incapacity, ignorance, or treachery, that it was indispensably necessary for that house to make immediate application to the crown, to remove the first lord of the admiralty from his station, for which he had been proved so utterly unfit, by a variety of errors and calamities. If the minister should attempt to stop an inquiry into the conduct of the earl of Sandwich, he ought to be considered as an accomplice in his guilt: nor could any thing justify attempts, by whomsoever made, to shield the basest criminality from detection and from punishment. With regard to the motion of adjournment, it was no wonder that the majority should feel an eager wish to carry it. The task, to which they were condemned in that house

muſt be extremely painful to any mind endued with the leaſt ſenſibility. They were called upon to vote in ſupport of meaſures, which their conſciences diſapproved, and which they could not do but with regret and ſelf-reproach. Their violent regard for long adjournments could, therefore, be no ſubject of aſtoniſhment: but thoſe who wiſhed to do their duty to their country, muſt be unwilling to neglect the public buſineſs, at a period of ſo much calamity and danger.

Lord North declared, that he had not the leaſt deſire to prevent an inquiry into the conduct of the firſt lord of the admiralty; and he could add farther, that Lord Sandwich himſelf, conſcious of having diſcharged his duty, was anxious for a full inveſtigation of every particular relative to his official conduct. After a fair, candid, and impartial inquiry, it would fully appear, that the firſt lord of the admiralty had not merited that load of obloquy, and of abuſe, which had been ſo liberally heaped upon him.

Lord Mulgrave defended the conduct of the board of admiralty; and aſſerted, that there had been no official neglect whatever with reſpect to the ſquadron under the command of admiral Kempenfelt. On the contrary, great exertions had been made; and, whenever the truth came out, it would be found, that from the time the orders of government were ſent to the admiralty-office, not a moment was loſt in getting ready the ſhips intended for that ſervice. Nor could more ſhips be ſpared for the expedition under admiral Kempenfelt, becauſe they were wanted for other ſervices, and particularly to go to the Weſt Indies under admiral Rodney, who was at that time preparing to ſail. As to the noble lord who preſided at the board of admiralty, a more induſtrious, indefatigable, zealous, and active man, had never been inveſted with that office; an inquiry, therefore, into his lordſhip's conduct, muſt redound greatly to his honour.

Mr. Bamber Gaſcoyne alſo vindicated the board of admiralty; and obſerved, that it ought to be remembered, that there had been a neceſſity for ſending a fleet into the North Seas, for the protection of our homeward-bound fleet, and for the obſtruction of the Dutch from ſupplying themſelves, and their allies, with naval ſtores. This ſervice had been effectually performed, though not without damage to our fleet. The ſame meaſure being to be purſued, the ſame fleet was refitted, and put to ſea with the utmoſt celerity; and as a large fleet was juſt arrived from thoſe ſeas in the Channel, conſiſting of near a hundred ſhips, and almoſt an equal number expected daily with convoy, it was thought abſolutely neceſſary to have a fleet in the Downs, as well as a light ſquadron at the mouth of the Texel, to watch the operations of the enemy, and to protect a fleet of ſuch importance to the naval armament of Great Britain: and the exertions for this purpoſe had never been exceeded. As to the fleet under admiral Kempenfelt, it had looked the great naval force of France in the face for three ſucceſſive days, and cut off a very large and important part of their convoy.

After ſome farther debate, the motion of Sir Grey Cooper was carried without a diviſion. Mr. Burke then preſented to the houſe a petition from Mr. Laurens, under the title of "the Repreſentation and "Prayer of Henry Laurens, a na- "tive of South Carolina, ſome time "recognized by the Britiſh com- "miſſioners in America, by the "ſtyle

" ſtyle and title of his excellency " Henry Laurens, Preſident of Con- " greſs, now a cloſe priſoner in the " Tower of London *."

The petition being read by the clerk, the miniſter diſputed the truth of the aſſertions it contained: but Mr. Burke pledged himſelf to prove every allegation comprehended in it. Mr. Mansfield, the ſolicitor-general, aſſerted, that the commitment of Mr. Laurens was not only lawful, but, from a variety of conſiderations, particularly requiſite; that the miniſtry had acted with much propriety, when they treated him as a ſtate-priſoner; and that, by regarding him as a priſoner of war, they muſt, indirectly, have proved the inſtruments of reſtoring him to liberty, and of enabling him to accompliſh thoſe pernicious projects, which were entirely defeated by his confinement in the Tower. The whole procedure, therefore, upon this occaſion, was legal, juſt, and politic; nor was it neceſſary to introduce any annual act, in order to afford a ſanction to the continuance of his detention. The houſe then adjourned to the 22d of January, 1782.

CHAP. VI.

Affairs of Ireland. Exertions of the Inhabitants of that Kingdom to procure important conſtitutional Reformations, and to aſſert the Independence of their own Parliament on that of Great Britain. Meeting at Dungannon, of the Repreſentatives of the Volunteers of the Province of Ulſter. Reſolutions of that Meeting. Motion made by Mr. Grattan, in the Iriſh Houſe of Commons, for preſenting an Addreſs to his Majeſty, declaratory of the Independence of the Iriſh Parliament. The Motion rejected. A ſecond Attempt made by Mr. Grattan, to procure a Parliamentary Declaration of Rights, crowned with Succeſs. Liberal Grant of the Iriſh Parliament to that Gentleman for his public Services. Laws paſſed in Favour of the Roman Catholics.

WE have ſeen, in the former volumes of our work, that the ſpirited exertions of the volunteer aſſociations of Ireland, had occaſioned a juſt attention to be paid to the grievances of that kingdom; that ſome liberal laws in favour of the Iriſh trade and commerce were paſſed by the parliament of Great Britain; and that the people of Ireland, after having armed for the defence of their country againſt foreign enemies, wiſely reſolved to deliver themſelves from domeſtic evils, from every ſpecies of miniſterial oppreſſion, and to obtain ſome important conſtitutional reformations. They even determined to aſſert the independency of their own parliament on that of Great Britain; and they repeatedly declared, in public meetings, that no parliament, but the parliament of Ireland, was competent to make laws for the government of that kingdom.

On the 13th of November, 1781, a motion was made in the Iriſh houſe of commons, by Mr. Grattan, for

* This petition may be found among our *Public Papers* for the year 1781, p. 165.

leave to bring in a bill to explain, amend, and limit the mutiny-act; but this motion was rejected by a large majority. The following month a similar motion was made in the house of peers by lord Arran; but that motion was also rejected; and a very spirited protest was entered against the rejection, signed by six peers. It was, indeed, manifest, that such methods had been employed to influence the Irish parliament, that they were not sincerely disposed to promote those constitutional reformations, which the public at large were so anxious to obtain. In consequence of this conduct of the parliament, the volunteer associations thought it necessary to give the most decisive evidence, that the people of Ireland were not to be trifled with by those who pretended to be their representatives. Accordingly at a meeting of the representatives of one hundred and forty-three corps of volunteers, of the province of Ulster, held at Dungannon, on the 15th of February, 1782, it was resolved, that a claim of any body of men, other than the king, lords, and commons of Ireland, to make laws to bind that kingdom, was unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance; that the powers exercised by the privy-councils of both kingdoms, under colour or pretence of the law of Poynings, were unconstitutional, and a grievance; that a mutiny-bill, not limited, in point of duration, from session to session, was unconstitutional, and a grievance; and that the ports of that country were, by right, open to all foreign countries, not at war with the king; and that any burthen thereupon, or obstruction thereto, save only by the parliament of Ireland, was unconstitutional, illegal, and a grievance. It having been asserted, that volunteers, as such, could not, with propriety, debate, or publish their opinions on political subjects, or on the conduct of parliament, or parliament-men, they resolved, that a citizen, by learning the use of arms, did not abandon any of his civil rights; and they declared, that it was their decided and unalterable determination, to seek a redress of the public grievances, and to use all constitutional means to make such their pursuit of redress speedy and effectual. They knew, they said, their duty to their sovereign, and were loyal; but they knew themselves, and were resolved to be free. They fought for their rights, and no more than their rights; and, in so just a pursuit, they should doubt the being of a Providence, if they doubted of success.

The representatives of the volunteers at this meeting, also thought proper to bear their testimony in favour of the most liberal religious toleration. They declared, that they held the right of private judgment, in matters of religion, to be equally sacred in others, as in themselves; and, therefore, that as men, and as Irishmen, as Christians, and as Protestants, they rejoiced in the relaxation of the penal laws against their Roman Catholic fellow-subjects; and that they conceived the measure to be fraught with the happiest consequences to the union and prosperity of the inhabitants of Ireland.

One of the most firm, vigorous, and eloquent assertors of the independence of the parliament of Ireland, was Mr. Grattan; who had before exerted himself in opposition to the perpetual mutiny-bill. That gentleman, a few days after the meeting of the representatives of the volunteers was held at Dungannon, moved, in the Irish house of commons, a long and spirited address to

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his majeſty, declarative of the rights of Ireland, and aſſerting, that no other power but the king, with the lords and commons of Ireland, were competent to make laws for Ireland, though the Britiſh parliament had aſſumed ſuch a power. This motion, after a long debate, was rejected by a large majority.

This repulſe did not prevent Mr. Grattan from continuing to urge his countrymen, with the utmoſt ardour, not to deſiſt from their attempts, till they had obtained the object of their purſuit. Accordingly, on the 16th of April following, he again moved a declaration of rights, under the form of an addreſs to the throne. In his ſpeech on this occaſion, he pronounced an animated panegyric on the volunteers, and the late conduct of the Iriſh nation. He remembered Ireland, he ſaid, when ſhe was a child; he had beheld her progreſs from injuries to arms, and from arms to liberty. The Iriſh were no longer afraid of the French, nor of any kingdom, nor of any miniſter: no longer a divided colony, but an united land, manifeſting itſelf to the reſt of the world in ſignal inſtances of glory. If men turned their eyes to the reſt of Europe, they found the ancient ſpirit expired; liberty yielded, or empire loſt; nations living upon the memory of paſt glory, and under the care of mercenary armies. But in Ireland, the inhabitants had departed from the example of other nations, and had become an example to them. They had exceeded modern, and equalled ancient Europe. Liberty, in former times, and in other nations, was recovered by the quick feelings, and rapid impulſe of the populace; but in Ireland, at the preſent period, it was recovered by an act of the whole nation, reaſoning for three years on her ſituation, and then reſcuing herſelf by a ſettled ſenſe of right pervading the land. The meeting of the military delegates at Dungannon was a great event; it was an original meaſure; and, like all original meaſures, matter of ſurprize, until it became matter of admiration. The Engliſh convention parliament was not in the ordinary courſe of things, nor was the manner of obtaining the great charter. The barons met king John, not in parliament, but in the field, and were in array when they formed the baſis of Engliſh freedom. Great meaſures ſuch as theſe, the meeting of the Engliſh at Runny Mead, and the meeting of the Iriſh at Dungannon, were original tranſactions, not flowing from precedent, but containing in themſelves precedent and principle. All the great conſtitutional queſtions had been loſt, and the public cauſe had been loſt, if they had depended only on parliament; but they fell into the hands of the people, and by the people would be preſerved. The meeting at Dungannon had reſolved, that the claim of the Britiſh parliament to bind Ireland was illegal; and this was a conſtitutional declaration. The Iriſh volunteers were aſſociated for the preſervation of the laws; but the claims of the Britiſh parliament were the ſubverſion of all law. The Iriſh volunteers had ſupported the rights of the Iriſh parliament, againſt thoſe temporary truſtees who would have relinquiſhed them. It ſhould at the ſame time be obſerved, that England had no reaſon to fear the Iriſh volunteers. They would die for England, and her majeſtic race of men. Allied by liberty, as well as by allegiance, the two nations formed a conſtitutional confederacy. The perpetual annexation of the crown was one great bond, but Magna Charta was a greater bond. It would be

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eaſy to find a king, but impoſſible for the Iriſh to find a nation who could communicate to them a great charter, ſave only England; and it was this which made England their natural connection. Ireland was planted by Britiſh privileges, as well as by Britiſh men: it was a connection, not, as had been falſely aſſerted, by conqueſt, but by charter. Every true Iriſhman would ſay, Liberty with England, but at all events liberty. Thoſe, therefore, who would make the connexion quadrate with the fixed paſſion of the country, contended for the Britiſh nation, and for the unity of empire. The Iriſh nation were too high in pride, character, and power, to ſuffer any other nation to claim a right to make their laws. England had, indeed, brought forward the queſtion, not only by making laws for Ireland the preceding ſeſſion, but by enabling his majeſty to repeal all the laws which England had made for America. Had ſhe conſented to repeal the declaratory act againſt America, and would ſhe retain the declaratory act againſt Ireland? Was ſhe ready to acknowledge the independency of America, and would ſhe not acknowledge the liberty of the ancient kingdom of Ireland? But if Great Britain were capable of refuſing to repeal the declaratory act againſt Ireland, after ſhe had enabled his majeſty to repeal that which was made againſt America, if ſhe were capable of impoſing that diſtinction, the Iriſh nation was incapable of ſubmitting to it.

After ſome debate, Mr. Grattan's motion was agreed to, without a diviſion, in the very ſame ſeſſion in which a majority of that houſe had before voted againſt any ſuch meaſure; ſo much were the Iriſh parliament enlightened, by the ſpirit which the people at large exhibited, and by the various public reſolutions of the armed aſſociations. In the addreſs, which was agreed to on this occaſion, it was declared, that his majeſty's ſubjects of Ireland were a free people; that the crown of Ireland was an imperial crown, inſeparably annexed to the crown of Great Britain, on which connection the intereſt and happineſs of both nations eſſentially depend; but that the kingdom of Ireland was a diſtinct kingdom, with a parliament of her own, the ſole legiſlature thereof; that there was no body of men competent to make laws to bind that nation, except the king, lords, and commons of Ireland; nor any other parliament, which had any authority or power of any ſort whatever in that country, ſave only the parliament of Ireland. They aſſured his majeſty, that they humbly conceived that in this right the very eſſence of their liberty exiſted: it was a right which they, on the part of all the people of Ireland, claimed as their birth-right, and which they could not yield but with their lives. They declared, that they conſidered the claims of the parliament of Great Britain, in the act paſſed for the better ſecuring the dependency of Ireland, to be irreconcileable to the fundamental rights of that nation, and a great and principal cauſe of the diſcontents and jealouſies in that kingdom. Among the grievances of Ireland, they likewiſe mentioned, the perpetual mutiny-act, and the practice of ſuppreſſing their bills in the council of Ireland, or altering the ſame any where. They remained, they ſaid, in humble expectation of a redreſs of theſe grievances; and they added, that they had a high ſenſe and veneration for the Britiſh character, and, therefore conceived, that the proceedings of the people of Ireland, founded as they

they were in right, and tempered by duty, muſt have excited the approbation and eſteem, inſtead of wounding the pride of the Britiſh nation; and they were the more confirmed in that hope, inaſmuch as the people of that kingdom had never expreſſed a deſire to ſhare the freedom of England, without declaring a determination to ſhare her fate likewiſe, ſtanding and falling with the Britiſh nation.

Theſe proceedings of the Iriſh parliament, and this aſſertion of their independency, occaſioned the utmoſt joy and exultation in that country; and ſo high was the public opinion of the ſervices of Mr. Grattan, that the parliament voted a grant of fifty thouſand pounds, for purchaſing an eſtate for that gentleman, and building him a manſion: a far more honourable reward, than any thing of a ſimilar nature could have been, which had proceeded only from the influence of a miniſter, or the will and pleaſure of a prince.

At the ſame time that the civil liberty of Ireland was ſo much enlarged, the principles of religious toleration began to be generally admitted; and this circumſtance greatly contributed to unite them in the ſupport of their common rights. Acts were paſſed this ſeſſion in the Iriſh parliament, by which the Roman Catholics were delivered from various legal penalties and diſabilities, by which they were enabled to poſſeſs landed property, allowed a free toleration of their religious worſhip, and reſcued from the reſtraints that had been laid upon the education of their children.

CHAP. VII.

Affairs of Holland. Diſcontents on Account of Duke Lewis of Brunſwick Wolfenbuttle. Speech of the Baron Vander Capellen, in the Aſſembly of the States of Guelderland. Letter from the Deputies of the States of Friezeland to the Stadtholder. Memorial preſented to the States-General by Mr. Adams, as Miniſter Plenipotentiary from the United States of North America. The Memorial taken into Conſideration by the States-General, who publickly admit that Gentleman in the Character of Ambaſſador from America. Unhappy Situation of the Republic of Geneva, in Conſequence of its internal Commotions, and the Interpoſition of other Powers. Application of the Citizens of Geneva to the Earl of Abingdon. Generous Behaviour of the Inhabitants of Ireland to the diſtreſſed Geneveſe. Conduct of the Emperor of Germany. Viſit of the Pope to his Imperial Majeſty at Vienna.

THE diſſatisfaction which prevailed in Holland, at the conduct of duke Lewis of Brunſwick Wolfenbuttle, field-marſhal of that republic, and ſome public proceedings thereupon, have already been noticed in our preceding volume. The placards, which were publiſhed to prevent all paſquinades, or libels againſt him, were far from producing their intended effect. New attacks ſtill appeared from the preſs, and new placards were iſſued to reſtrain them, and to prohibit their publication. But truth will force its way, notwithſtanding all the efforts of power

power and of authority. Nor were the attempts to ſilence and to ſuppreſs the accuſations againſt the duke of Brunſwick, conſidered by impartial men as affording any evidence of his innocence. That the affairs of the republic were ill-managed, and its marine ſhamefully neglected, was ſufficiently apparent to all Europe; and it was not eaſy to conceive, that this miſmanagement could exiſt, without ſome criminality on the part of thoſe to whom the powers of government were entruſted. In a ſpeech made in the aſſembly of the ſtates of Guelderland, on the 3d of November, 1781, by baron Vander Capellen, lord of Marſch, a very ſpirited, eloquent, and enlightened ſenator, he obſerved, that it was highly proper that the Dutch nation, though remarkable for their patience, ſhould require an account from their adminiſtration of the cauſes of the bad ſtate of their affairs. Diſcontent and miſtruſt, ſaid he, prevail univerſally; and who can remain without apprehenſion of the conſequences likely to reſult from a general diſſatisfaction? Do we not hear it remarked, from the higheſt to the loweſt, how unfortunate it is, that after having paid, for ſeveral ſucceſſive years, exorbitant ſums for the building of ſhips, our marine ſhould not be put upon a proper footing to protect our trade and navigation; and that commonly our naval forces have been either too far aſunder, or too weak to make head againſt the enemy; from which has ariſen the moſt fatal conſequences? Has not the bulk of the nation a right to complain, that the protection has been refuſed, which alone could ſecure ſuch an extenſive trade, as has been authorized by treaties? We have been promiſed, indeed, that an inquiry would be made concerning the cauſes of the exceſſive ſupineneſs of our government, in protecting the country againſt an enemy equally vigilant and formidable; but has this promiſe been duly fulfilled? Are we now making the neceſſary preparations to attack the enemy in a more deciſive manner, and with becoming ſpirit? Do we properly oppoſe the intrigues of Great Britain, both abroad, and in the very heart of our own country? But, to ſpeak with more clearneſs and preciſion, are not all the United Provinces unanimous, in attributing the principal cauſe of our diſaſters and misfortunes, to that conſtant influence which the duke of Brunſwick, field-marſhal of this ſtate, has ever preſerved over the mind of the prince-ſtadtholder? Does not the whole nation inſiſt daily more and more on his being removed? Are not the averſion and hatred, which the people at large bear to him, wound up to ſuch a pitch, as to make it equally prudent and political for government, to hearken to the voice of the people; and the more ſo, as the ſaid duke has not cleared himſelf to the nation of the charges exhibited againſt him, by ſeveral eminent members of the union? Can the nation at large reſt ſatisfied, with that kind of abſolution which has been granted him by their high mightineſſes, in ſo vague and indefinite a manner? Indeed, ſince the duke himſelf, who is thought a profound politician, may eaſily conceive that his preſence is far from being uſeful to the ſtate, it is a matter of ſurprize that this prince, after the example of other ſtateſmen, has not long ago, by withdrawing from the republic, fulfilled the unanimous wiſh of the people.

The baron alſo ſtrongly recommended, in this ſpeech, the compliance with a requiſition from the French king of a loan of five millions

tions of florins; and he likewiſe urged the neceſſity of entering into a treaty with the thirteen United States of America. A mean condeſcenſion, ſaid he, a fawning compliance to England, ought no longer to prevent us from acknowledging the independence of a republic, which, after our own glorious example, has acquired its freedom by arms, and is daily ſtriving to ſhake off entirely the galling yoke of our common enemy. Where is the obſtacle which can oppoſe our entering into a treaty of the ſtricteſt amity, with thoſe powerful and virtuous men, who certainly reſpect us above all other nations, and have given us proofs of their friendſhip? How widely do we differ in this particular from our anceſtors, who, convinced of the neceſſity they were under, of acting in conjunction with the foes of their foes, firſt joined iſſue with the Portugueſe, when they ſhook off the Spaniſh yoke? Who does not ſee at once, that the entering into an union, ſo evidently neceſſary, with the foes of our foes, would ſoon reſtrain the fury of our enemies, and would accelerate the concluſion of a general peace, upon laſting and honourable terms?

The general diſſatisfaction, on account of the duke of Brunſwick, continued to increaſe in every part of Holland; ſo that the deputies of Friezeland, on the 11th of March, 1782, in a letter to the ſtadtholder, expreſſed themſelves to the following purpoſe: "It is notorious to every member of the ſtate, that, in the preſent criſis of the republic, there prevails amongſt all orders of citizens, an univerſal miſtruſt and diſcontent reſpecting the manner in which the affairs of the nation have been hitherto conducted, eſpecially in regard to the navy department. The delays this has experienced, and the inſignificant protection afforded to trade, previouſly and conſequent to the declaration of war made by the court of England, have daily increaſed this miſtruſt and diſcontent. Hence has proceeded an almoſt univerſal deteſtation againſt the perſon and adminiſtration of the duke of Brunſwick, who, being looked upon as the adviſer of your ſerene highneſs, is conſidered as the cauſe of ſuch delays, and of the mal-adminiſtration of affairs. From ſuch diſpoſitions of the true citizens, the worſt conſequences may be apprehended; and ſuch as are every way prejudicial to public tranquillity, and the lawful conſtitution of this republic. We, therefore, cannot refrain from intreating, in the moſt friendly, but earneſt manner, that you will be pleaſed to perſuade the duke of Brunſwick, not to meddle with the affairs of the republic, but to withdraw himſelf from its territories." The ſtadtholder returned an anſwer, containing general aſſertions, that the duke was innocent of the charges brought againſt him.

In the courſe of the year 1781, a memorial was preſented to the States-General, by John Adams, eſq. as miniſter plenipotentiary from the United States of North America. In this ſtate-paper, he vindicated the American declaration of independency, and aſſured their high mightineſſes of the unalterable reſolution of the United States to abide thereby. He repreſented it as the intereſt of all the powers of Europe, and eſpecially of the ſtates-general, to maintain the independence of America; he pointed out the political and natural grounds of a commercial connexion between the two republics; and informed their high mightineſſes, that he was inveſted with full powers from the congreſs, to treat with them for the reciprocal bene-

benefit of both countries. He obſerved in his memorial, that the American declaration of independency was not the effect of any ſudden paſſion or enthuſiaſm; but a meaſure which had been long in deliberation among the people, maturely diſcuſſed in ſome hundreds of popular aſſemblies, and by public writings in all the ſtates. It was a meaſure which the congreſs did not adopt, until they had received the poſitive inſtructions of their conſtituents in all the ſtates. It was then unanimouſly adopted by the congreſs, ſubſcribed by all its members, tranſmitted to the aſſemblies of the ſeveral ſtates, and by them reſpectively accepted, ratified, and recorded among their archives: ſo that no decree, edict, ſtatute, placard, or fundamental law of any nation, was ever made with more ſolemnity, or with more unanimity or cordiality adopted, as the act and conſent of the whole people, than this declaration of independence. And it had been held ſacred to that day by every ſtate, with ſuch unſhaken firmneſs, that not even the ſmalleſt had ever been induced to depart from it; although the Engliſh had waſted many millions, and vaſt fleets and armies, in the ineffectual attempt to invalidate it. On the contrary, each of the thirteen ſtates had inſtituted a form of government for itſelf, under the authority of the people; had elected its legiſlative in the ſeveral branches; its executive authority with all its offices; its judiciary departments and judges; its army, militia, revenue, and ſome of them their navy: and all thoſe departments of government had been regularly and conſtitutionally organized, under the aſſociated ſuperintendency of congreſs, for five years paſt; and had acquired a conſiſtency, ſolidity, and activity, equal to the oldeſt and moſt eſtabliſhed governments. Mr. Adams farther remarked, that if there was ever among nations a natural alliance, one might be formed between the two republics of Holland and America. There were no two nations, whoſe worſhip, doctrine, and diſcipline, were more alike than thoſe of the two republics; and although their conſtitutions of government were not perfectly alike, there was yet analogy enough between them to make a connection natural and eaſy. The originals of the two republics were alſo ſo much alike, that the hiſtory of the one ſeemed but a tranſcript from that of the other: ſo that every Dutchman, inſtructed in the ſubject, muſt pronounce the American revolution juſt and neceſſary, or paſs a cenſure upon the greateſt actions of his immortal anceſtors; actions which had been approved and applauded by mankind, and juſtified by the deciſion of heaven.

The memorial of Mr. Adams was taken by the States-general *ad referendum*; and, in conſequence of that ſloweſs of deliberation, which prevails in the councils of the republic, no ſpeedy anſwer was returned. Many publications, however, appeared in favour of a treaty with America, and aſſerting the neceſſity of acknowledging its independence. On the 9th of January, 1782, Mr. Adams preſented an addreſs to the States-general, referring to his memorial, and demanding a categorical anſwer. The ſtates of the ſeveral provinces thereupon took the matter into immediate deliberation; and inſtructed their ſeveral deputies in the States-general, to concur in the admiſſion of Mr. Adams, in quality of miniſter plenipotentiary of the United States of North America. This was done by a reſolution, paſſed by their

their high mightineſſes on the 19th of April following; and on the 22d of the ſame month, Mr. Adams was admitted accordingly, with all the uſual ceremonies.

The diſſenſions and commotions at Geneva, of which we have formerly made mention, not only continued to increaſe, but to be attended with the moſt ruinous conſequences to that republic. By the original conſtitution of Geneva, the ſovereign power of the ſtate was inveſted in the general council, which conſiſted of all the citizens and bourgeois aſſembled together: but, by degrees, the magiſtrates and ſenate had greatly increaſed their own power, and diminiſhed the privileges of the people. Repeated complaints were made by the people, that the magiſtrates had exceeded their authority, and encroached upon their privileges. The ſenate occaſionally impoſed taxes, without the conſent of the general council; and the ſeverity, with which the magiſtrates and ſenate ſometimes puniſhed thoſe who had oppoſed and cenſured their attempts to extend the bounds of their authority, had contributed to increaſe the number of malcontents. Such a ſtate of things naturally occaſioned frequent conteſts: and to prevent a continuance of diſputes, the democratical party required a regular code of laws, which ſhould be for the rulers the foundation of their authority, and for the people the known ſtandard of their obedience. Mutual confidence was going to reſt upon this baſis of public order and common ſecurity, when, by the intrigues of the ariſtocratic party, this ſalutary project was defeated. The magiſtrates not only employed the moſt unjuſtifiable practices for the ſupport of their authority, and made the moſt exaggerated repreſentations of the oppoſition made to them by the other citizens; but, rather than have their authority abridged, they endeavoured to make foreign powers interfere, and in this fatal meaſure were unhappily ſucceſsful. The interference of the court of France, and the two ariſtocratic cantons of Zurich and Bern, greatly increaſed the troubles of the republic. Theſe mediators could not agree; and the French king, in 1781, declared that he ſhould leave to the cantons of Zurich and Bern, the care of reſtoring peace to the republic of Geneva. However, in May, 1782, a body of 12,000 troops, belonging to the king of France, the Swiſs Cantons, and the king of Sardinia, formed the blockade of that city. In this ſtate of things, the citizens were at length obliged to admit the troops within their walls; and the mediating powers prepared a new code of laws for the republic of Geneva, but ſo little conſiſtent with the liberties of the people, or the independence of the republic, that prodigious numbers of the citizens immediately reſolved to quit their country, and to ſeek ſome other region where freedom might be enjoyed. Many of the houſes which have been abandoned by the citizens, are converted into barracks for ſoldiers; and a great part of Geneva, once ſo flouriſhing, now affords little better than the dreary repreſentation of a deſart. It is a juſt ſubject of regret, that the ambition of ſome individuals, who aimed at a degree of power to which they had no juſt claim, ſhould have thus put a period to the proſperity of a republic, which had been the abode of ſo much liberty and happineſs.

The earl of Abingdon, who had formerly reſided at Geneva, made ſome attempts to intereſt the Britiſh miniſtry in the fate of that republic;

lic; and on the 10th of June, this year, a letter was ſent to that nobleman, from the commiſſaries of the citizens and repreſentative burgeſſes of Geneva, in which they expreſſed their acknowledgments to him for his ſervices, and their ſenſe of his attachment to the cauſe of liberty and juſtice, and to the common rights of mankind. They alſo beſought his lordſhip, to continue to watch over the ſituation of a little ſtate, whoſe ſtruggles muſt prove intereſting to all in whom the fine feelings of humanity were not totally extinguiſhed, and which was on the point of being ſacrificed to the principles of deſpotiſm. His lordſhip, in reply, teſtified much regret, that his applications to the Britiſh miniſtry had been hitherto unſucceſsful, and that there was too much reaſon to fear they would continue to be ineffectual. This he attributed to the preſent ſituation of Great Britain, rent by diviſions at home, and ſurrounded by enemies abroad. There was, indeed, a time, his lordſhip ſaid, when the fleets of England were the ſpeaking trumpets of juſtice to the whole world. At that period their grievances would have been liſtened to, and their redreſs would have been certain. But there was a ſad reverſe in the affairs of Great Britain; which was no longer in a capacity to ſpeak to the enemies of the liberties of mankind in its wonted tone of authority.

Many of thoſe citizens of Geneva, who had reſolved to quit their country, after it ceaſed to be a free republic, formed a deſign of fixing their reſidence in Ireland, where they expected to meet with a ſpirit of liberty congenial to their own. Agents were accordingly employed to procure them ſettlements in that kingdom, where they met with the moſt liberal encouragement from the government, from the nobility, and from the nation at large. And at an aſſembly of the delegates of thirty-four different corps of volunteers of the province of Leinſter, it was unanimouſly reſolved, "That the virtuous citizens of Geneva, who wiſhed for an aſylum in that kingdom from the hand of tyranny and oppreſſion, deſerved their higheſt commendation; and that ſuch of them as eſtabliſhed themſelves amongſt them, ſhould upon every occaſion receive their utmoſt attention and ſupport."

In Germany, the emperor continued to be employed in promoting, by a variety of ſalutary reformations, the intereſt and happineſs of his ſubjects. By new regulations, which have lately taken place, his imperial majeſty has ſuppreſſed all thoſe religious orders of both ſexes, who devote themſelves entirely to a contemplative life, and are totally uſeleſs to ſociety; ſuch as the Carthuſians, the Camaldules, the Hermits, the Benedictines, the Bernardins, the Dominicans, the Franciſcans of different claſſes, the Minims, and others. The female religious orders which have been ſuppreſſed, are thoſe not employed in the education of young perſons of that ſex; namely, the nuns of Mount Carmel, of St. Clare, of St. Francis, and others. An eſtimate has been taken of their effects, and penſions granted to them, provided they do not quit the Auſtrian dominions. It is ſaid, that above fifty-three uſeleſs convents have been ſuppreſſed in Auſtria only, and that great treaſures have been diſcovered. But the ordinances of the emperor in favour of religious toleration have met with ſome oppoſition from the bigotry of his popiſh ſubjects, and particularly from the ſtates of Brabant.

It was on the 27th of February, 1782, that the pope set out from Rome, on his projected visit to the emperor: a visit which his imperial majesty, from his regard for the pope's health, would willingly have excused his holiness from the trouble of undertaking. But zeal for the interests of the holy catholic church, and a desire to put some stop to the heretical innovations of the emperor, induced Pius VI. to encounter all the fatigues of this journey. Before he left Rome, he suppressed the bull *ubi Papa ubi Roma*, that in case he should die before his return, the conclave might be held at Rome. His holiness took with him all his pontifical garments, the tiara, and two rich mitres, that he might be able to officiate pontifically in the cathedral of Vienna. He also took with him eight hundred gold medals, struck on purpose, to be presented at different places, on the one side of which were represented the apostles St. Peter and St. Paul, and on the other his own head. He arrived at Vienna on the 22d of March. His imperial majesty, accompanied by the archduke Maximilian, went to meet his holiness through Neustadt to Neukirken, where the first interview took place. After staying some time at the military academy at Neukirken, the holy father went in a coach with the emperor, and was received without the lines by a detachment of noble Hungarian and Galician guards, who escorted him in the midst of an innumerable concourse of people of all ranks, forming a line to the entrance of the imperial palace, where his holiness arrived in the afternoon. On descending from the coach, the holy father was received by the apostolic nuncio, the ministers of state, the privy counsellors, and chamberlains; and conducted by his imperial majesty and the archduke Maximilian, through the grand apartment, to the oratory of the chapel of the chamber, where, in the presence of the whole court, a solemn *Te Deum* was performed, by way of thanksgiving for the happy arrival of his holiness, the host being exposed. The following day the sovereign pontiff paid his first visit to the emperor, and the archduke Maximilian, and performed mass in the chapel of the chamber. The same day, he went out in a coach, accompanied by two domestic prelates, preceded by two crosier-bearers, followed by the master of the ceremonies, and escorted by the noble Hungarian and Galician guards on horseback, and repaired to the church of the Capuchin friars, where, having paid adoration to the holy sacrament, he celebrated mass at the collateral altar of the blessed Virgin. His holiness afterwards descended to the tombs of the imperial house, and prayed before that of the late empress Maria Theresa. At the request of some ladies of the superior nobility, he then repaired to the refectory of the convent, where the ladies were admitted to kiss his feet. The same favour was afterwards granted to the Capuchin friars. The holy father then returned to the apartments of the court, where he gave audience. On Easter-day, he celebrated high-mass in the church of St. Stephen. From the great eagerness of all pious Catholics to see the sovereign pontiff, and the immense crowd that attended on the occasion, many persons unfortunately had their arms and legs broken. As this was a circumstance with which the pope could not be unacquainted, it is said, that some devotees had a firm expectation, that his holiness would have healed and restored the limbs of those persons who had met with accidents in consequence of their pious

curiosity: but unluckily nothing of that kind happened.

The pope and the emperor had several conferences, in one of which his holiness is said to have addressed to his imperial majesty the following observations: "I have neither the power, nor the will, to defend by force the rights which the sovereign pontiffs formerly enjoyed. I am far also from pretending to oppose the execution of the ordinances, which any potentates judge proper to give to their subjects. But I desire that they should equally respect whatever appertains to the holy see for so many ages, its immunities, prerogatives, and rights. It will be absolutely necessary, in order to avoid degrading the pontifical dignity, that the catholic courts of Europe should irrevocably fix, in a general assembly of ambassadors, that part of the ancient rights which they are willing to leave to the pope." The ministers of the Protestant powers at the court of Vienna, Sir Robert Keith for England, the count de Walmoden for the electorate of Hanover, M. de Rietezel for Prussia, and the count de Wasenaer for the United Provinces, were each of them conducted to the pope's audience as private gentlemen. His holiness conversed with them in French, and particularly on the propriety of visiting Italy, in order to acquire a just taste for the study of antiquities.

Whatever representations or remonstrances the pope might make to the emperor, during his stay at Vienna, relative to the late regulations of his imperial majesty, they do not appear to have made much impression upon the latter. On the contrary, it might almost be suspected from some circumstances, that the emperor had rather made a convert of the pope, than the pope of the emperor. For after the pontiff's return to Rome, he summoned all the generals of the different religious orders to that city, in order to give them new instructions and regulations: and it is said, that his holiness will now permit but one convent of men, and one of women, of each respective order, in any one kingdom; into each of which only forty persons are to be admitted, of the age of twenty five years; who shall neither lose their liberty, nor their estates, if ever they should be inclined to come into the world again.

CHAP. VIII.

Meeting of Parliament after the Recess. Motion made by Mr. Fox, to inquire into the Causes of the Want of Success of his Majesty's Naval Forces. Mr. Burke presents to the House a Petition from Mr. Holben, the Jew, who had been deprived of all his Property by the British Commanders at the Island of St. Eustatius. Motion made by the Duke of Richmond, that Papers should be laid before the House of Peers, relative to the Execution of Colonel Haynes in South Carolina. The Motion rejected. Reports from the Secret Committee, appointed to inquire into the Causes of the War in the Carnatic, and into the Condition of the British Possessions in those Parts. Remarkable Facts stated in those Reports, and particularly respecting Sir Thomas Rumbold, late Governor of Madras.

THE first debate, of any consequence, which took place in the house of commons, after the Christmas recess, was occasioned by a motion made by Mr. Fox, on the 23d of January, 1782, "That it should

ſhould be referred to a committee, to inquire into the cauſes of the want of ſucceſs of his majeſty's naval forces during this war, and more particularly in the year 1781." In ſupport of his motion, it was urged by that gentleman, that the meaſures of the firſt lord of the admiralty had been, in almoſt every particular, liable to the charge of either neglect, ignorance, or want of policy. Our naval armaments were always too late for the purpoſes they were intended to ſerve; and the earl of Sandwich had uniformly neglected to ſend fleets, at the opening of the ſeveral campaigns, to prevent the junction of the French and Spaniſh ſquadrons; nor had he, at the concluſion of thoſe campaigns, made any attempts to attack or to annoy their ſeparated force. The confederated fleets, amounting to ſixty ſail of the line, under the count d'Orvilliers, had appeared in the Channel, with every mark of triumph, for two campaigns, not only unreſiſted, but even ſhunned by our naval armaments. The chevalier de Ternay had alſo been ſuffered to proceed unmoleſted with his ſhips to America, when he tranſported thither thoſe French troops which afterwards ſerved under general Waſhington, and aſſiſted in the capture of lord Cornwallis and his army. Captain Moutray, and the large fleet of Eaſt and Weſt Indiamen under his convoy, had been betrayed into the hands of the enemy, by being directed to repair to Madeira; whereby they were of neceſſity obliged to proceed in that track, which could not fail to conduct them to the naval armaments of the enemy. Indeed, the firſt lord of the admiralty had acted uniformly as the ally and ſervant of the houſe of Bourbon; and ſo had the reſt of his majeſty's miniſters; without whoſe aid, the wiſdom of a Franklin, the valour and the prudence of a Maurepas, the vigilance of a Sartine, the craft of a De Caiſtres, the policy of America, and all the vigour and reſources of France and Spain, though doubly formidable from their confederacy with Holland, could never have attained the power of overwhelming our once invincible dominions with ſo much diſgrace and calamity.

The earl of Sandwich was defended by captain John Luttrel; who maintained, that this nobleman had applied, in the very beſt manner, the liberal grants of parliament for the maintenance of the navy; and he doubted whether, at any period ſince England had been poſſeſſed of a navy, her yards had ever been ſo completely filled as at preſent, with timber, and with all ſtores for the purpoſes of building and equipment. The greateſt evil, he ſaid, reſpecting our fleets, was, that the violence of diſcontent, jealouſy, and party rancour, had torn the bonds of naval union aſunder; and almoſt every officer had ceaſed to place the ſlighteſt confidence in the companions of his ſervice. But as to the propoſed inquiry into the management of our naval affairs, the preſent was a very improper time for ſuch a buſineſs. Such a ſcrutiny muſt neceſſarily involve in it many of the naval operations of the war, in which the nation was now engaged; and there would be occaſion for not a few of the officers, now employed in the ſervice of their country, to be ſummoned before that houſe. A period ſhould, therefore, be previouſly put to the preſent war. When a peace took place, the houſe might have every perſon before them, who could be a party to ſuch an inquiry; and it would then be a fit ſeaſon to puniſh delin-

quency, and to reward merit. But the fact was, that no military, or naval inquiry, inſtituted ſince the commencement of the preſent war, had ended either ſatisfactorily for the parties, or advantageouſly for the public.

Lord Sandwich was defended by lord North and lord Mulgrave; but, after ſome farther debate, Mr. Fox's motion was agreed to by the houſe. He then moved, that the propoſed inquiry ſhould be referred to a committee of the whole houſe on the Thurſday following. This likewiſe was agreed to, as were alſo ſeveral other motions for different official papers, requiſite for the purpoſes of the inquiry. But the farther proſecution of the buſineſs was afterwards deferred to a future day.

On the firſt of February, ſome debate took place relative to the ordnance eſtimates; in which it appeared, that a very improper and extravagant agreement had been made by the board of ordnance with a gentleman who was both a member of parliament and a bank-director, relative to the purchaſe of ſalt-petre; which occaſioned ſome ſevere obſervations to be thrown out upon the conduct of that board. On the 4th of the ſame month, Mr. Burke preſented to the houſe a petition from Mr. Hohen, the Jew, ſome of whoſe misfortunes he had related in a preceding debate. It was ſtated in this petition, that Hohen was of the Hebrew nation, and a native of Amſterdam; and that he had been a reſident of St. Euſtatius from the year 1756. That he had carried on a reputable and extenſive trade, until, on the ſurrender of that iſland, without reſiſtance, to Sir George Rodney and general Vaughan, he came under the protection of his majeſty's government. That, after having delivered in an inventory of his effects, in obedience to the proclamation publiſhed by the commander in chief, on a ſudden, without any crime on his part either charged or ſuſpected, he received notice, without one day's delay, to quit the iſland, where he had been ſettled twenty-five years, where his whole ſubſtance was lodged, and where alone he could find any means of ſubſiſtence. On this precipitate expulſion from his houſe and ſettlement, before he embarked, to go he knew not whither, he was obliged to paſs through a weigh-houſe, where his trunk was rifled, the coat he wore ripped open, and a ſmall ſum of money, which in his diſtreſs he had ſecreted and hoped to retain, in order to preſerve him from famine in his exile, was taken from him, with outrage and inſult. Stripped in this manner, and with only a very few pieces of his own money returned to him, he was conveyed to the iſland of St. Chriſtopher's. Being, after ſome time, permitted to return to St. Euſtatius, he found that his ſtock in trade, in which his whole property was veſted, had been ſold by public auction for a third of its real price, no part of which was reſtored to him. His own property amounted to 4000l. currency in value, beſides that of his correſpondents, lying in his poſſeſſion, to an equal amount. Thus was he delivered from baniſhment, for no other purpoſe, than to behold his warehouſes pillaged of all his goods, and himſelf, after a life of long and laborious induſtry, ſuddenly reduced, in his old age, from an eaſy and proſperous condition, to poverty and abſolute want. It was farther declared in the petition, that his trade at St. Euſtatius was wholly confined to articles of what are called dry goods, and that he had never dealt

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in any naval ſtores, except in ſome aſſortments of ſail-cloth, or in any article whatſoever of military ſtores, or which could be prejudicial to this, or any other country; and that he had no correſpondence of any kind, or any intercourſe whatſoever, with his majeſty's enemies in America. Theſe allegations the petitioner offered to make good at the bar of the houſe, from the juſtice and humanity of which he humbly ſolicited relief. The cauſe of this oppreſſed and injured Jew was pleaded by Mr. Burke with his uſual eloquence, but without effect, though the petition was referred to a committee.

The ſame day a motion was made in the houſe of peers, by the duke of Richmond, for the production of papers relative to the execution of colonel Iſaac Haynes, who had been executed in Auguſt, 1781, in South Carolina, in conſequence of the determination of a court of inquiry, conſiſting of Britiſh officers, and authorized by lord Rawdon and lieutenant-colonel Balfour. This caſe his grace ſtated to be a proper ſubject of parliamentary inquiry; and obſerved, that it would be honourable to that houſe, that their lordſhips ſhould give evidence to all the world, that they would not give the leaſt countenance to ſuch a line of conduct in Britiſh officers, as might expoſe to reproach our national pretenſions to juſtice and to clemency. It appeared, that this execution had excited ſo much indignation in America, that general Greene had iſſued a proclamation, in which it was ſtated, that "Colonel Haynes, commanding a regiment of militia in the ſervice of the United States of America, had been taken priſoner, and, after a rigorous confinement in the priſon of the provoſt at Charlestown, had been condemned and executed, in the moſt cruel and unjuſtifiable manner; in open violation of a cartel, agreed upon between the two armies for the releaſe and exchange of priſoners of war." This proclamation alſo contained menaces from general Greene, that he would hang up the firſt Britiſh officer who ſhould fall into his hands, by way of retaliation. The ground upon which colonel Haynes was put to death, without any previous trial, and without even the deciſion of a court-martial, and without being ſuffered to make any legal defence, was, that he had been found under arms, and employed in raiſing a regiment to oppoſe the Britiſh government, though he had become a ſubject, and had accepted the protection of that government after the reduction of Charles-town.

The proceedings againſt colonel Haynes appear to have been very harſh and ſevere, if not totally indefenſible; and the duke of Richmond's motion was vigorouſly ſupported by the earl of Shelburne; but it was rejected, after ſome debate, under the pretence, that government was not in poſſeſſion of any *official* information, relative to the execution of colonel Haynes; and that the intelligence, which the duke of Richmond had received upon the ſubject, was chiefly from American news-papers, and not ſufficiently authenticated. Some attempts were alſo made to vindicate the tranſaction itſelf, admitting the information concerning it to be well grounded.

As the execution of colonel Haynes had excited ſo much indignation in America, and occaſioned ſo remarkable a proclamation from general Greene, it was certainly a very proper ſubject of parliamentary inquiry. But the duke of Richmond's motion gave ſo much offence

to lord Rawdon, who had returned from America, and afterwards paſſed ſome time in Ireland, that on that nobleman's return to England, he ſent a letter to his grace, complaining of the injury he had done him, couched in very high and aſſuming language, and amounting to little leſs than a challenge. After ſome meſſages between them, the duke at length agreed to make a declaration in his place, in the houſe of peers, that he did not intend any perſonal attack on the juſtice or humanity of lord Rawdon, in the ſpeech by which he introduced his motion reſpecting the execution of colonel Haynes. There was not, indeed, the moſt diſtant reaſon to ſuppoſe, that the duke's conduct had been the reſult of any private or perſonal malignity; and it would have been more honourable to his lordſhip to have publiſhed an authenticated ſtate of facts, and thereby cleared himſelf from any charges brought againſt him on account of the caſe of colonel Haynes. Indeed, the conduct of his lordſhip on this occaſion had in it much more of the violence of the ſoldier, than of the politeneſs and urbanity of a gentleman. His lordſhip ſeemed to be of opinion, that the only proper criterion of right and wrong, was an appeal to the ſword. More than one duel had, indeed, lately taken place, on account of parliamentary debates: but ſuch Gothic and ſavage practices are a diſgrace to a poliſhed and enlightened age and nation. Perhaps the authority of parliament had not been properly exerted, in thoſe recent inſtances of a ſimilar kind which have been referred to, in which challenges were ſent to members, in a very indefenſible manner, on no other account, but becauſe thoſe members had diſcharged their duty in parliament with proper ſpirit, and ſpoken of perſons and things with a freedom becoming Britiſh ſenators. Such violent and unjuſtifiable attempts to hinder the freedom of debate in parliament, ought to receive ſome powerful check from the wiſdom and authority of the legiſlature.

On the 6th of the month, a report was brought up by the lord-advocate of Scotland, from the ſecret committee appointed to inquire into the cauſes of the war in the Carnatic, and into the condition of the Britiſh poſſeſſions in thoſe parts; and he took this opportunity of obſerving to the houſe, that this committee had ſpared no pains whatever to accompliſh the object of their inſtitution, and had extended their reſearches, as far as their privileges and powers would permit them, into a variety of material and important points.

From the report which was now brought up, and from ſome others which were produced afterwards, it appeared, that a proper attention had not been paid, by the preſidency of Madras, to thoſe ſovereign princes of India, whoſe friendſhip or enmity was of the utmoſt importance to that ſettlement, and to the general intereſts of the Britiſh nation in Hindoſtan. An amicable treaty might have been entered into with Hyder Ally; but the opportunity of being upon friendly terms with this able and active prince, which would have been extremely advantageous to the company, was very imprudently neglected. He had been unneceſſarily exaſperated, and too much reaſon was given him to complain, that former treaties were not obſerved; and before the commencement of the war, ſome of the troops of the Eaſt India company had been ordered to march through his country, without his con-

conſent. The treaties of the company with the native princes of the country were not, indeed, adhered to as they ought; and after Hyder Ally had been rendered hoſtile, and ſufficient evidence appeared of his deſign to attack the poſſeſſions of the company, no proper meaſures were adopted to oppoſe his operations. Beſides a variety of particulars reſpecting the cauſes and progreſs of the war in the Carnatic, it alſo appeared from theſe reports, that large ſums had been extorted from ſome of the zemindars, or hereditary landholders, in Bengal, to make up which their tenants had been cruelly oppreſſed. It likewiſe appeared, that Sir Thomas Rumbold, as governor of Madras, had impoſed conſiderable hardſhips on ſome of the zemindars, and ſuch as they had not experienced under former governors, and which were eventually very prejudicial to the intereſts of the Eaſt India company; that ſome of his tranſactions with the principal natives had been carried on in a private and underhand manner; that he had violated his agreements and contracts with the Eaſt India company; and that he had diſregarded the inſtructions of the court of directors, and the regulations which they had endeavoured to eſtabliſh: that he had ſent, on his own account, in different ſhips, 58,000l. from Madras to China, no part of which was entered on the boatſwain's books, according to the uſual cuſtom; that he had alſo tranſmitted very large ſums of money to Europe, in different ſhips, in a private and irregular manner, and without the uſual entries; and that he had made remittances to his agents in England, at ſundry times, of ſums of money, which in the whole amounted to more than 150,000l.

CHAP. IX.

Debate on a Motion of the Marquis of Carmarthen, that it ſhould be reſolved, that it was derogatory to the Honour of the Houſe of Peers, that Lord George Germain ſhould be raiſed to a Seat in that Houſe. The Motion rejected, by the Majority voting for an Adjournment. Debate in the Houſe of Commons on the Management of the Navy in the Year 1781. A Vote of Cenſure moved for by Mr. Fox. The Motion rejected by a ſmall Majority. Motions made by the Duke of Chandos, for the Production of Papers relative to the Operations of the Britiſh Army in America. Second Debate in the Houſe of Peers, on the Diſhonour ſuſtained by that Houſe, in conſequence of the Promotion of Lord Viſcount Sackville. Proteſt entered againſt his Advancement to the Peerage.

THE ill ſucceſs which had attended the American war, on the part of Great Britain, occaſioned it to be thought expedient, that Lord George Germain ſhould reſign the poſt of ſecretary of ſtate for the American department. It was, however, reſolved by his majeſty, to reward his *ſervices*, by raiſing him to the peerage. This being known, before the promotion had actually taken place, gave riſe to a debate, in the houſe of peers, rather of a ſin-

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gular nature, and not very honourable to the American ſecretary. The marquis of Carmarthen obſerved to the houſe, that a ſtrong rumour prevailed, that a certain perſon, high in office, yet labouring under the ſevere and heavy ſtigma of the conviction of a court-martial, for diſobedience of orders from his commanding officer, and not hitherto exonerated from the public declaration, that he was incapable of ſerving his majeſty in any military rank whatever, would very ſpeedily be called up into that houſe. He had not the leaſt intention, his lordſhip ſaid, of attempting to abridge the crown of the free exerciſe of its indiſputable prerogative. He was far from queſtioning the right of the crown to make what number of peers it pleaſed. But the ſole motive of his addreſſing their lordſhips upon this occaſion was, to alarm and warn them of that ignominy, which ſo ſtrange and unprecedented a creation muſt bring upon their hitherto unſullied honour. He truſted, that thoſe indignant feelings, which had ariſen in his own breaſt, on this extraordinary occaſion, were congenial with thoſe of their lordſhips; and that here, at leaſt, a difference of opinion would not exiſt. He proteſted, that he was not actuated by any motive of either a political, or invidious, or perſonal nature. He looked with a ſincere compaſſion on the unhappy individual, whoſe military reputation had been covered with ſuch a load of ſhame; but as it had been thrown upon it by the cool, deliberate ſentence of a court-martial, and by ſubſequent public orders, the admiſſion of the perſon, thus criminated and puniſhed, into the aſſembly of the peers, would debaſe their dignity, and contaminate their honour. If, in conſequence of a reviſion of facts, ſtated during the courſe of the trial, the ſentence had been done away on the ground of its extreme ſeverity; or if the deep diſgrace which it affixed upon the perſon who was the object of it, had been removed in any manner whatſoever, he ſhould then have ſuppoſed, that all objections ceaſed to exiſt, and that his advancement to the peerage would neither caſt a ſtain upon the houſe, nor be a violent exertion of the prerogative. But as this ſentence remained in full force, it would certainly operate as a ſufficient reaſon to induce their lordſhips, to paſs ſuch a reſolution, as might expreſs the ſentiments they had formed of this ſingular creation. He, therefore, moved, that it ſhould be reſolved, "That it was highly derogatory to the honour of that houſe, that any perſon, labouring under the heavy cenſure, comprehended in the following ſentence of a court-martial, and public orders given out in conſequence thereof, ſhould be recommended to the crown as a proper perſon to be raiſed to the dignity of a peerage.

SENTENCE.

"This court, upon a due conſideration of the whole matter before them, is of opinion, that Lord George Sackville is guilty of having diſobeyed the orders of prince Ferdinand of Brunſwick, whom he was, by his commiſſion and inſtructions, directed to obey, as commander in chief, according to the rules of war; and it is the farther opinion of this court, that the ſaid Lord George Sackville is, and he is hereby adjudged, unfit to ſerve his majeſty in any military capacity whatſoever."

PUBLIC ORDERS.

"It is his majeſty's pleaſure, that the above ſentence be given out in public

public orders, that officers being convinced, that neither high birth nor great employments can ſhelter offences of ſuch a nature; and that, ſeeing they are ſubject to cenſures much worſe than death, to a man who has any ſenſe of honour, they may avoid the fatal conſequences ariſing from diſobedience of orders."

The motion was oppoſed by the chancellor, as irregular and diſorderly; and his lordſhip obſerved, that it would be exceedingly oppreſſive, and very inconſiſtent with the uſual liberality and candour of their lordſhips, to annex ſo ſevere a cenſure, as the cenſure of that houſe, to the ſentence of a court-martial, ſuppoſed to have paſſed upon a certain perſon therein named, at a particular given time; but to all which facts, the ſitting of the court-martial, the declaration of judgment, or the public orders, their lordſhips were, in point of *parliamentary form*, to all intents and purpoſes, *entire ſtrangers*.

The earl of Denbigh alſo oppoſed the motion; and ſaid, that he hoped the houſe would not conſider lord George Germain as unworthy of being elevated to the peerage, when they reflected, that at the time of the court-martial, a particular ſyſtem of politics prevailed within the cabinet; and that, in the ſhort ſpace of four years from that period, when new miniſters were appointed for the management of public affairs, they recommended and procured the reſtoration of the noble lord, who was the object of the preſent motion, to his ſeat among the privy counſellors of the realm; and he had ſince been particularly diſtinguiſhed by his ſovereign, and choſen to fill the poſt of ſecretary for the American department. Theſe circumſtances ſufficiently evinced the impropriety of entering into the merits of the queſtion; and he, therefore, deemed it neceſſary, to move that the houſe ſhould now adjourn.

Lord Stormont oppoſed the motion of the marquis of Carmarthen; and remarked, that there could be no diſqualification for the peerage ſhort of legal diſability; and that, of courſe, every endeavour within thoſe walls to inſinuate, that there exiſted other diſqualifying principles, with reſpect to the creation of peers, was an unconſtitutional infringement upon the authority of the crown. The marquis replied, that when the noble viſcount maintained, that there was no diſqualification for the peerage ſhort of legal diſability, he appeared to have forgotten the extent to which this mode of reaſoning might eaſily be carried. It involved within its tendency the ludicrous poſition, that it was legal to advance the king's chimney-ſweeper to the peerage; and, doubtleſs, the right of proceeding even to ſo extraordinary a creation, was inherent in the prerogative of the crown. But did it follow, that ſuch a creation ought, at any time, to take place? He was by no means of opinion, that the houſe of peers ought never to interpoſe in oppoſition to the exerciſe of the prerogative of the crown. Their lordſhips were the hereditary counſellors of the crown; and it behoved them to offer their advice to it, on all neceſſary occaſions, when the character, the honour, and the dignity of the empire, were on the point of being tarniſhed and impaired. The miniſtry, his lordſhip added, might get rid of his motion for the preſent, by an adjournment; but they would egregiouſly deceive themſelves, if they imagined that they

ſhould

ſhould completely evade it by ſuch a procedure: for he would renew it, in different ſhapes, from day to day, until ſome meaſure, amounting to a deciſion on the caſe, ſhould receive the ſanction of the houſe.

The earl of Derby aſked, whether it was poſſible, that any of their lordſhips could ſeriouſly imagine, that the advancement to the peerage of a perſon, whoſe military offences, and ſubſequent diſgrace, were entered on the orderly books of every Britiſh regiment in exiſtence, would not prove an ignominious inſult to the houſe, and a mockery in the diſtribution of honours, of which no former ſtretch of the prerogative could furniſh an example? As to the prerogative of the crown, that might poſſibly be carried to an improper length; and it would then become the duty of that houſe to check the violence of its career, and to fix it within that boundary, from whence it could not paſs without injuring the great principles of the conſtitution.

The earl of Shelburne ſaid, that it was an indubitable doctrine, that the crown poſſeſſed a right of exerciſing its prerogatives in their fulleſt extent; nor had he, although convinced that his idea muſt appear unpopular, the ſmalleſt objection that the king ſhould be his own miniſter. Perhaps, a king, having an opinion of his own, and feeling his intereſt in the management of the affairs of the realm, might act with more advantage to the general weel, than if he remained the type of a mere king of the Marattas. As poſſibly ſome of their lordſhips might be at a loſs to know what a king of the Marattas actually was, he would beg leave to inform them, that he was merely a nominal monarch; that he had his *Pechaw*, an efficient cabinet, who, to all intents and purpoſes, held and directed the reins of government, whilſt they kept their ſovereign locked up, and nearly in a ſtate of ideotiſm. His lordſhip declared, that in every moment of his life, he had ever endeavoured to treat his majeſty with that profound reſpect due to his perſon, and with that reverence ſo abſolutely due to his ſituation. His loyalty had remained the firmeſt principle in his boſom; and, in all ſituations, and on all occaſions, he had ſtudiouſly kept the duty of a faithful and reſpectful ſubject in view. He might, therefore, be permitted to ſay, without indecency, that when the prerogative was exerciſed to its fulleſt extent, he wiſhed alſo to ſet the parliament free. A ſtronger ſymptom of confirmed deſpotiſm could not exiſt, than a high-toned prerogative prince, and a ſervile and corrupted parliament. It was on this ground, therefore, that he wiſhed anxiouſly for the introduction of a perfect repreſentation of the people; and when this important point ſhould be accompliſhed, he ſhould look forward with more certainty to the return of fairer proſpects. It ſeemed to be the opinion of ſome, that the houſe of peers was not inveſted with the power of controuling the moſt violent exertions of the prerogative. But this idea ſeemed to be erroneous. The lord-chancellor Weſt, a learned author, and of no inconſiderable authority, in a book written by him concerning the right of creating peers, had eſtabliſhed upon ſtrong and argumentative deductions this doctrine, that the Houſe of Lords was poſſeſſed of latent powers, which, if called forth by occaſions particularly ſtriking, and duly and ſpiritedly exerciſed, were equal to the correction of any abuſes of the prerogative, to which the crown might wantonly proceed. It was

not improbable, but that the motion of the marquis of Carmarthen might determine them, at ſome future opportunity, to inveſtigate the nature, the extent, and the poſſible uſe of thoſe powers, to which the lord-chancellor Weſt ſo pointedly and judiciouſly adverted. His lordſhip farther obſerved, that in appointing the perſon, who was the object of the motion, to the office of ſecretary of ſtate for the American department, and entruſting him with the management of the war, they had in fact commenced the war with the groſſeſt inſult to America that could poſſibly have been deviſed. Yet it appeared, that ſuch indignities were not to ſtop here, but even to reach the houſe of peers, by the admiſſion of a man amongſt them, with whom any corps in Europe would, in their military capacity, refuſe to aſſociate. If the adminiſtration had determined, that the crown ſhould thus wantonly diſtribute titles to the undeſerving, it might be juſtly ſaid, that this afflicted and inſulted empire reſembled a ſhip, expoſed, without aſſiſtance, to the violence of the tempeſt, and juſt ſinking to the bottom of the ocean, whilſt the captain, retired to his cabin, was engaged in heaping honours, penſions, and rewards, upon the officers around him.

The marquis of Carmarthen's motion was at length rejected, by the queſtion for adjournment being carried, upon a diviſion, by a majority of 75 to 28.

The ſame day a debate took place in the Houſe of Commons, in a committee of the whole houſe, relative to the management of the affairs of the navy, in conſequence of a motion of Mr. Fox. That gentleman obſerved, that the mere examination of the papers, which had been laid by order before the houſe, would thoroughly convince impartial men, that the official proceedings of the firſt lord of the admiralty, and of his colleagues, were extremely reprehenſible: but this examination had been purpoſely obſtructed, by care being taken, that few important papers ſhould reach that houſe, time enough for the members of it to become ſo far maſters of the ſubject, as to proceed, without the toil of ſubſequent enquiries, to inſtant and effectual reſolutions. Mr. Fox then proceeded to ſtate a variety of facts, tending to ſhew, that it was the intereſt of the nation, that the earl of Sandwich ſhould be immediately removed from his preſidency at the board of admiralty, where he had become the inſtrument of ſcattering calamity and diſgrace, through nearly all the operations which were connected with the management of the buſineſs of the navy. He complained, that the moſt ſhameful negligence had been exhibited by the board of admiralty, and by the miniſtry in general, in not ordering ſir Charles Hardy to prevent the junction of the fleets of France and Spain. Orders were, indeed, afterwards ſent to admiral Geary to prevent this junction; but theſe orders did not reach the admiral, till the French and Spaniſh armaments had actually joined. It was alſo, he ſaid, a melancholy and an opprobious fact, that from the commencement of the year 1779, to the cloſe of the month of February 1781, the board of admiralty did not ſtation even a ſingle frigate off Breſt, for the purpoſe of watching and diſcovering the motions of the French. The count de Graſſe, from whoſe intended enterprizes the worſt conſequences were to be apprehended, was ſuffered by the earl of Sandwich to ſail off with his fleet in triumph; which greatly contributed to the ſurrender of earl Cornwallis and his army. The papers

pers on the table afforded a deciſive proof, that the firſt lord of the admiralty received the earlieſt, the fulleſt, and the moſt authentic intelligence relative to the equipment, the force, and the actual deſtination, of the naval armaments under the count de Graſſe. The papers teſtified, beyond the reach of contradiction, that the noble earl was apprized of nearly the exact time, when it was intended by the French court that the count de Graſſe ſhould ſail; yet not a ſingle preparation had been made, either for blocking up the port of Breſt, or giving battle to the enemy directly ſubſequent to their departure; though admiral Darby was out at ſea with thirty ſhips of the line. Monſieur de la Mothe Piquet had alſo been ſuffered to depart, without the ſmalleſt interruption from our ſquadrons, on his ſucceſsful expedition. The whole nation had heard, with indignation, aſtoniſhment, and concern, how eaſily he accompliſhed the capture of the St. Euſtatia fleet; a fleet laden with all the valuable plunder of that iſland. The fleet under admiral Darby was at that time cruiſing near the coaſt of Ireland; yet no inſtructions were ſent to him, in order that he might prepare to intercept the French admiral, the object of whoſe enterprize was to capture the St. Euſtatia fleet. Sir George Rodney had, with great juſtice, called it the richeſt ever bound for England; though, indeed, when it was recollected, by what abandoned means theſe treaſures were acquired, no perſon in whoſe breaſt the feelings of humanity, of juſtice, and of honour, were not abſolutely ſtifled, would even for a moment regret the loſs of them. Yet, notwithſtanding that ſpoils ſo baſely won, might be regarded as contaminating the public property with which they would afterwards intermingle, it did not follow, that the firſt lord of the admiralty was leſs criminal, for having neglected to provide in time for the ſecurity of the convoy from the iſland of St. Euſtatius. The ſame ſhameful negligence had been diſplayed in the caſe of admiral Kempenfelt: for at the very time when that officer was ſent out, with an inſufficient ſquadron, to intercept the Breſt fleet, about twenty ſail of Britiſh men of war of the line were abſolutely unemployed, and yet, in all reſpects whatever, prepared for ſervice. After various other obſervations, Mr. Fox moved, that it ſhould be reſolved, "That it was the opinion of that houſe, that there had been a ſhameful miſmanagement of the naval affairs of Great Britain, during the courſe of the year 1781." He acquainted the houſe, that if this motion paſſed, he ſhould follow it up with a motion for an addreſs to his majeſty, for the purpoſe of obtaining the diſmiſſion of the earl of Sandwich from the royal councils for ever.

Mr. Fox's motion was ſupported by lord Howe, who ſtrongly expreſſed his abhorrence of the ſhameful prodigality of lord Sandwich, and his colleagues, in the expenditure for the navy; and admiral Keppel ſaid, that as he was thoroughly convinced of the criminal miſconduct of the firſt lord of the admiralty, and his aſſociates, in their mode of managing the buſineſs of the navy, he ſhould give his full concurrence to the motion.

The motion was oppoſed, and the earl of Sandwich vindicated by lord Mulgrave, and lord North; and it was obſerved by the latter, that the firſt lord of the admiralty had, on all occaſions, approved himſelf the faithful and active ſervant of the crown,

crown, and the ſincere and ardent friend and lover of his country. Nor could it, his lordſhip ſaid, be juſtly denied, that, ſince his firſt entrance into the marine department, he had procured a better ſupply of timber, and augmented the fleet of Great Britain with a more conſiderable number of ſhips, than were employed during the whole courſe of the laſt war. The motion was at length rejected, upon a diviſion, though only by a ſmall majority, the numbers for it being 183, and againſt it 205.

On the 11th, ſundry motions were made, by the duke of Chandos, for the production of papers relative to the operations of the Britiſh army in America, and particularly to the ſurrender of earl Cornwallis, and the troops under his command. Theſe motions occaſioned debates of conſiderable length, but which were not very intereſting. Some of the motions were agreed to, and others rejected.

After lord George Germain had been raiſed to the peerage, and had actually taken his ſeat in the houſe, under the title of lord Viſcount Sackville, a ſecond debate took place relative to the diſhonour which the peers ſuſtained, by his admiſſion into their houſe. It was moved by the marquis of Carmarthen, that, "it was reprehenſible in any miniſter, and highly derogatory to the honour of that houſe, to adviſe the crown to exerciſe its indiſputable right of creating a peer, in favour of a perſon labouring under the heavy cenſure of a court-martial, as contained in the following ſentence;" which was particularly ſtated in the motion, and alſo the public orders given out on the occaſion by the late king. The marquis prefaced his motion, by remarks ſimilar to thoſe which he had made in the former debate; and urged, that the houſe of peers, being a court of honour, it behoved them moſt carefully to preſerve that honour uncontaminated, and to endeavour to mark out, as forcibly as poſſible, the diſapprobation which they felt at receiving into their aſſembly, as a brother peer, a perſon ſtigmatized in the orderly books of every regiment in the ſervice.

Feb. 18.

The earl of Abingdon ſupported the motion; and obſerved, that he could not help conceiving, that although there was not a right of election, there was and muſt be a right of excluſion veſted in that houſe, when the admiſſion of any peer happened to be againſt the ſenſe of their lordſhips. His judgment of this aroſe not only from the idea, that that houſe was poſſeſſed of original rights, as independent of the crown as of the people; but from the circumſtance of that houſe being the hereditary counſellors of the crown, againſt the ſenſe of whom, he held, the crown could not of right exert itſelf. His lordſhip declared, that he conſidered the admiſſion of lord George Germain to a peerage, to be no leſs an inſufferable indignity to that houſe, than an outrageous inſult to the people at large. It was an indignity to that houſe, becauſe it was connecting them with one whom every ſoldier was forbidden to aſſociate with. It was an inſult to the people; for what had the perſon raiſed to the peerage done, to merit honours ſuperior to his fellow-citizens? He had only one claim to any kind of promotion; and that was, that he had undone his country, by executing the plan of that accurſed, inviſible, though efficient cabinet, from whom, as he had received his orders, ſo he had obtained his reward.

Lord Sackville now roſe in his own vindication; and obſerved, that with

with reſpect to that dignity, which his ſovereign had graciouſly conferred upon him, and which it was not vain in him to conſider as the teſtimony of the royal approbation of his humble ſervices, he muſt declare, that he neither knew by whoſe advice he had been raiſed to it, nor thought, that, in a point of this nature, the recommendation of any miniſter was in the leaſt needful. To beſtow honours was the peculiar, the indiſputable, and the univerſally admitted prerogative of the crown, provided that the parties advanced to them were competent to receive them. Thus attacked, he regarded it as his duty to contend that he was, in all reſpects whatſoever, competent to enjoy that peerage to which his royal maſter had condeſcended to exalt him; and he was not merely willing, but eagerly deſirous, to reſt the whole of the preſent queſtion, and all the conſequences which could poſſibly accrue from it to himſelf, on his ability to prove, in any manner, in any place, at any time, and on any occaſion which might ariſe, that he was ſtrictly competent to retain ſuch honours as his majeſty had thought proper to beſtow upon him. In the motion now ſubmitted to the deciſion of their lordſhips, the ſentence of the court-martial was ſtated as the ground of the objection againſt his elevation to the peerage; but, even on this point, he was prepared to meet the argument, and to inſiſt, that ſuch a ſentence did not amount to any legal diſability whatſoever. Twenty-three years had elapſed, ſince the court-martial which ſat upon him had pronounced that ſentence; and he ſhould naturally ſuppoſe, that ſuch of their lordſhips, and of the public in general, as were at all acquainted with the peculiarly hard and unfair circumſtances which accompanied his trial, had been long accuſtomed to behold this buſineſs in its proper point of view. It could not be neceſſary, that he ſhould either remind their lordſhips of the temper of the times when this event aroſe, or call up to their recollection the predominancies, at the period to which the motion referred, of clamour and of faction; the violence with which the torrent had been turned againſt him; and that unparalleled perſecution to which he had been made the victim. Aſſailed by an exceſs of acrimony, at leaſt equal to any that a Britiſh officer could have experienced from enemies at once implacable and unjuſt, he was condemned unheard, and puniſhed previouſly to his trial. In conſequence of mere rumours, and the inveterate ſuggeſtions of unprincipled calumniators, he had been ſtripped of all his military honours and emoluments; and whilſt his perſecutors were not called upon to exhibit even the ſlighteſt proof, in the ſupport of vague aſſertions, and virulent invective, he remained marked out to the world, with equal cruelty and injuſtice, as a defenceleſs object, and as a ſacrifice which it was politic to offer at the ſhrine of faction. In theſe circumſtances, it was well known, that he had challenged his accuſers to come forward; that he provoked enquiry; and that he inſiſted upon a trial. He was aſſured at the time, that if the determination of the court-martial ſhould even prove capital, it would be carried into execution; but no intimations of this kind could diſſuade him from inſiſting that a trial ſhould take place: and he flattered himſelf, that the candour and equity of their lordſhips would lead them to conclude, that ſuch behaviour, under ſuch circumſtances, could only reſult from a conſciouſneſs of innocence. As to the iſſue of the trial, he was well aware,

aware, that it behoved him to remain ſilent concerning the court-martial and its proceedings. To the ſentence of it he had ſubmitted; and, as the reſult of ſuch ſubmiſſion, he thought, that he had then acquitted himſelf to his country, and to the public. At the preſent moment, it was extremely ſingular, that although neither the charge, nor the defence, nor the evidence, nor in ſhort, any one part of the proceedings on the trial was before their lordſhips, they were called upon to put the ſentence a ſecond time in force againſt him. Happy ſhould he be, if there could be a complete reviſion of the trial, and of the ſentence which ſucceeded it; and if the whole of the proceedings could fall under the inveſtigation of their lordſhips. He truſted, however, that whilſt their lordſhips reflected on the proceedings of the court-martial, and the ſentence with which it cloſed, they would carry their attention ſtill farther, and call to mind the occurrences which had taken place, with reſpect to himſelf, ſubſequent to that period. In 1765, not more than four years after the trial, he was appointed to an office in adminiſtration. Previouſly to his acceptance of the propoſitions then made to him, that he ſhould bear a part in adminiſtration, it was agreed for him to become a member of the council-board. There he accordingly took his ſeat; and, thenceforward, conſidered ſuch a circumſtance as virtually a repeal of the ſentence of the court-martial. Throughout the courſe of ten years had he remained in office, and a member of the privy-council; yet never, during the whole period, had he heard a ſingle ſyllable advanced, with reſpect to the proceedings of the court-martial; and leaſt of all could he ſuppoſe, that they would be brought againſt him as the grounds of a diſqualification. Several years had expired, ſince his majeſty was pleaſed to honour him with the poſt of ſecretary of ſtate for the American department; yet never, from the time of his appointment until the preſent hour, had he heard a ſingle obſervation exceptionable againſt himſelf, and relative to the ſentence of the court martial. Such being the caſe, the liberal diſpoſition of their lordſhips would certainly incline them to conſider it as an hardſhip, that the very ſentence ſhould be urged againſt him, as a diſqualification for his enjoyment of a peerage, which was not regarded as a diſqualification, either for a ſeat at the board of privy-council, or for the poſt of ſecretary of ſtate: two ſituations which, notwithſtanding the acknowledged dignity and conſequence of the members of the upper houſe of parliament, were doubtleſs more elevated and important than that of any nobleman in the realm, conſidered merely in that particular capacity.

His lordſhip proceeded to obſerve, that the juſtice, the candour, and the generoſity of that houſe muſt render their lordſhips incapable of ſanctifying, confirming, and aggravating a ſentence of a court-martial, without having before them every particle of the caſe. Such a proceeding would render the military law, already, in the opinion of the world, ſufficiently ſevere, ſtill more hard and ſevere, by annexing to its judgment the cenſure of a civil court of judicature. He believed he was not ſingular in his opinion, that the part of the motion, which joined to the ſentence of the court-martial the comment unwarrantably ſuperadded by the executive branch of government, was glaringly repugnant to the principles of juſtice. He felt,

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that he was bound, by military laws, to ſhew a full ſubmiſſion to the ſentence of a court-martial; and thus far he had ſubmitted. But ſurely it could not be the ſerious opinion of any man of honour, that he was affected by that comment, with which the executive branch of the government, through the channel of a judge-advocate, had taken upon itſelf to accompany the ſentence. It was the court-martial, and not the executive branch of the government, by whom he had been tried; and, therefore, the former alone was competent to pronounce upon his conduct. A reviſion of the proceedings of the court-martial was now unattainable; for during the ſpace of twenty-three years, the period of time which had elapſed ſince the trial, every member who had ſat upon it, except one, had been dead and buried. An attempt, therefore, to inveſtigate the motives, which actuated the ſeveral members of the court, was abſolutely impracticable. His lordſhip added, that from the time he was called to the privy council, until the preſent hour, and eſpecially ſince he had filled the office of ſecretary of ſtate for the American department, he had endeavoured to ſerve his king and country by all the means within his power. He could ſafely venture to aſſert, that no perſon, holding an employment in the ſtate, had given proofs of more indefatigable attention to the duties of his office, more attachment to the intereſts of his country, and more zeal and ardour in his endeavours to advance its welfare, than he had exhibited, from the firſt hour of his entering upon the poſt which he had lately filled, until his reſignation of it. He hoped, therefore, their lordſhips would be of opinion, that he was fully competent to receive the title which his ſovereign had been graciouſly pleaſed to beſtow upon him; and that it was neither expedient, neceſſary, nor becoming for that houſe to fly in the face of the crown, or to oppoſe its indiſputable prerogative, becauſe it had advanced an old and faithful ſervant to the dignity of a ſeat among their lordſhips.

The duke of Richmond defended the motion, and obſerved, that it might be proper for their lordſhips to examine how far it belonged indubitably to the prerogative of the crown to exerciſe, without reſtraint, the power of conferring peerages; and alſo to inquire, whether, admitting that the prerogative extended to the length to which it had been carried in the creation of the noble viſcount, it was either expedient or proper in this manner to exert it. As to the firſt of theſe points, their lordſhips would find, by an attention to the ancient patents of the peerage, that, from the reign of Edward III. to the time of Henry VII. it was expreſsly ſtated, in every new patent of the creation of a peer, that ſuch creation was made *with the conſent of parliament*; nor did a ſingle inſtance occur, during the whole of this period, of any title being granted without the particular acquieſcence of the houſe of lords. After the reign of Henry VII. the crown carried with a conſiderably leſs reſtraining hand this exerciſe of the prerogative; and, during the latter æras, it had been generally regarded as an inconteſtable and eſtabliſhed right. It appeared, however, that the antient principles of the Britiſh conſtitution had ſet boundaries to reſtrain this exerciſe of the prerogative; and that formerly a legal diſability was not the only circumſtance which might amount to a diſqualification for the peerage.

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His grace then proceeded to remark, that he was extremely apprehenſive, that the army would conſider the advancement of the noble viſcount to the peerage, as an inſult to themſelves, and that they would look, with indignation, upon a circumſtance ſo impolitic and ſo dangerous, as that of heaping the higheſt honours in a civil line, upon a perſon who had been degraded from all honours in a military line. Some inſinuations had been thrown out, reſpecting the deciſion of the court-martial, which were far from being well grounded. When the court-martial took place, for the purpoſe of determining the criminality or the innocence of the noble viſcount, the times were not, as had been repreſented, remarkable for the predominance of clamour, or of faction. On the contrary, the kingdom was engaged in a juſt and neceſſary war; in a war of which the ſucceſſes were at once glorious and deciſive. Animated by the triumph of their fleets and armies over the enemy, in every quarter of the globe, the people, far from being rent aſunder by animoſity and party-rage, were united in their zealous wiſhes for the proſecution of hoſtilities, which led, on our ſide, to conqueſt, honour, and national proſperity.

The duke then adverted to the circumſtances, which attended the behaviour of Lord Sackville at the battle of Minden, an action in which his grace was himſelf preſent. He obſerved, that their lordſhips were not ignorant, that the noble viſcount reſted a conſiderable part of the vindication of his behaviour, at the battle of Minden, upon the ſuppoſed exiſtence of a ſtriking variation, in the orders delivered from prince Ferdinand to the commander of the cavalry. It was underſtood, that the firſt order was, that *the cavalry* ſhould advance; and the ſecond, that *the Britiſh cavalry* ſhould advance. Yet, even under theſe ſuppoſed contradictory orders, the ſpirit of either order was, that the noble lord ſhould advance; and, certainly, the diſtance being ſhort, he enjoyed a ſufficient ſpace of time for obedience to his inſtructions. Lord Southampton, who delivered one of the meſſages, was now preſent in the houſe; and it ſhould ſeem, that he had no choice, on this occaſion, but to acknowledge, either that he did not properly deliver ſuch orders to the noble viſcount, or that the noble viſcount, having properly received them, neglected to obey them. But whatever difficulties might have ariſen, during the endeavours to determine exactly how much time had actually been loſt, in conſequence of the non-compliance of the noble viſcount with the orders which he received, his grace ſaid, that he could with much facility have ſolved, what all the witneſſes examined as to this point were not able poſitively to determine. If, as he was ſummoned to appear upon the trial, his depoſition had been called for, he could have proved, becauſe he held all the while his watch within his hand, and ſeldom ceaſed to look at it, that the time loſt when the noble viſcount delayed to advance, under pretence, that, receiving ſuch contradictory orders, it was impoſſible for him to diſcover whether he ought to advance with the *whole* cavalry, or only with the Britiſh cavalry, was *one hour and a half*. It was, therefore, extremely evident, that the noble lord had it in his power to have brought up the cavalry, from the diſtance of a mile and a quarter; in conſequence of which, by joining in the battle, they might have rendered the victo-

ry more brilliant and decisive. But, before the arrival of this cavalry, the engagement was concluded. Such was the testimony, his grace said, which, having had the honour to serve, at the battle of Minden, under prince Ferdinand of Brunswick, he must have borne, if, being summoned, the members of the court-martial had thought proper to have examined him on the trial. Under such circumstances, the noble viscount could have little reason to complain of the sentence of the court-martial, of the orders which followed, or of the loss of his commission.

His grace also maintained, that the noble lord could have no just claim to any promotion on account of his services as American secretary. He had, indeed, accepted of that office, at a time, when, perhaps, no person living but himself could have submitted to the pain and the disgrace of filling it; when Great Britain had scarcely a single inch of an external territory which she could call her own; when not a single chance presented itself for our reducing the colonies to obedience; when every hope was fled; and when calamities, rushing upon calamities, had plunged us in despair. These were the circumstances under which the noble viscount came into office; and it might, indeed, be admitted, that he had been sufficiently adventurous, in undertaking the management of affairs, with which all others seemed uninclined to intermeddle. But as he had not prospered in his endeavours, as he had secured no advantage whatsoever for the public, but had left them in a situation more ignominious and unfortunate than that in which he found them, he could not make the slightest claims upon his country for either thanks or approbation; and had abundant reason to be astonished at his good luck, that, having nearly filled up the whole measure of our distress, and, too probably, torn asunder Great Britain from America, he should not only escape from all inquiries with impunity, but even be rewarded by an advancement to the dignity of the peerage.

In the course of the debate, the earl of Southampton seemed inclined to vindicate the proceedings of the court-martial, in the case of the noble lord who was the subject of the present motion; but he declined entering into any circumstantial narration of facts respecting the battle of Minden. The earl of Shelburne supported the motion; and observed, that there was a striking instance of the interference of the parliament, in opposition to the improper exercise of the prerogative with respect to the creation of peers, in the allegations of incompetency against the earl of Bedford, in the seventeenth year of the reign of Henry the Fourth; nor was their interference less manifest, when, in the Sixteenth year of the reign of Henry the Sixth, they objected to a creation for no other reason but because they considered it as unnecessary. Another memorable example of the opposition of the house of lords against the improper advancement of persons to the peerage, was exhibited in the case of the duke of Buckingham, the favourite of James I. and Charles I. who was represented, in one of the articles of impeachment against him, as having criminally advised his sovereigns to augment, by fresh creations, the number of the nobles of the realm. It could not, indeed, reasonably be questioned, but that the parliament had a right, in a variety of cases, to complain against, and

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to endeavour to oppoſe, the immoderate and detrimental exerciſe of the prerogative, in the advancement to the peerage of individuals unworthy to enjoy a rank ſo full of dignity, of conſequence, and honour. The prerogative of creating peers could not be veſted in the crown for any other purpoſe, than the advancement of the proſperity of the people, and in the moment of its departure from this important end, it ought to meet with the conſtitutional oppoſition of parliament.

The motion was alſo vigorouſly ſupported by the earl of Derby, and by the marquis of Rockingham; but was oppoſed by lord Stormont, lord Walſingham, the earl of Denbigh, and the lord-chancellor. It was maintained by the latter, that it was an intolerable hardſhip, that the ſentence of the court-martial ſhould be brought forward, in order to convert it into a ſecond ground of crimination; and that the houſe ſhould be adviſed, in oppoſition to their uſual juſtice, to ſanctify, confirm, and even aggravate the ſentence of the court-martial, without having before them every particle of the caſe. It was the uſual practice of that houſe, in caſes where inquiries were thought neceſſary, firſt to inveſtigate the point in queſtion with coolneſs, deliberation, and impartiality; to ſtate the charge; to liſten attentively to the defence; and ultimately to ground their proceedings upon the aſcertainment of a ſeries of facts, of which the formal depoſition was immediately before them. But this could not now be ſaid to be the caſe. It was alſo evident, that the orders, ſuperadded to the ſentence of the court-martial, were cruelly unjuſtifiable, and carried to a ground of crimination whereon the former never was deſigned to reſt. The miniſters, who had aſſumed the liberty of recommending to the ſovereign the publication of ſuch extraordinary orders, were guilty of having driven the crown into the perpetration of an act of violent injuſtice; an act, which ſtrove to fix upon the noble viſcount a ſtigma more indelible and ſevere, than any which was conveyed againſt him either in the charge or in the ſentence. The charge proceeded to accuſations which were capital in their nature. Of theſe the noble viſcount was acquitted by the court-martial, the members of which had, with particular circumſpection, tied down the ſentence to a deſcription of criminality leſs aggravated in its kind, and amounting ſolely to a *diſobedience of orders*. From what a variety of cauſes, not bordering on the extremes of guilt, and frequently not in the leaſt involved in it, might diſobedience of orders be diſcovered to originate? On ſome particular occaſions, a diſobedience of orders, ſo far from meriting a puniſhment, might entitle the perſon diſobeying to praiſe and rewards. Diſobedience of orders might ariſe from inadvertency, from incompetency of judgment, or from an ignorance of the military profeſſion. And would any man ſeriouſly contend, that an officer, falling under either of theſe predicaments, would deſerve to be covered with ſo much diſgrace as was now attempted to be heaped upon the noble viſcount. The chancellor concluded by remarking, that he hoped their lordſhips would conſult the dictates of their wiſdom, juſtice, candour, and humanity; and, as the natural reſult of thoſe dictates, reject a motion which militated ſo violently againſt them.

The motion was rejected by a majority of 93 againſt 28. But a

proteſt was entered, ſigned by nine peers, in which the ſentence, and the public orders, were particularly ſtated, and in which they declared, that they "could not look upon the raiſing to the peerage a perſon ſo circumſtanced, in any other light, than as a meaſure fatal to the intereſts, as well as to the glory of the crown, and to the dignity of that houſe, inſulting to the memory of the late ſovereign, and likewiſe to every ſurviving branch of the illuſtrious houſe of Brunſwick; repugnant to every principle of military diſcipline, and directly contrary to the maintenance of the honour of that houſe, and to that honour which has for ages been the glorious characteriſtic of the Britiſh nation, and which, as far as could depend on them, they found themſelves called upon, not more by duty than inclination, to tranſmit pure and unſullied to poſterity."

CHAP. X.

Debate, in the Houſe of Commons, relative to the Mutiny Act. Remarks on the Promotion of General Arnold in the Britiſh Service. Motion made by General Burgoyne, that an Amendment ſhould be made in the Mutiny-act, in order to render it practicable for him to be brought to Trial. The Motion withdrawn. Debate on a renewed Motion of Mr. Fox, relative to the Miſmanagement of the Affairs of the Navy.

ON the 19th of February, a debate took place, in the Houſe of Commons, relative to the Mutiny-act, in conſequence of a motion made by the ſecretary at war. It was obſerved by that gentleman, that the act for the puniſhment of mutiny and deſertion was hitherto ſo limited in its power, that, although it inveſted the crown with the important right of making articles of war, it did not take the proper cognizance of ſome military crimes committed within the dominions of Great Britain, and particularly in the iſlands of Jerſey, Guernſey, Alderney, Sark, and Man. For offences perpetrated in thoſe parts againſt the martial law, no puniſhment as yet extended to either life or limb: a circumſtance which had eſcaped the general attention, until the trial of lieutenant-governor Corbett, when it was diſcovered, that no military act of guilt, committed on the iſland of Jerſey, was puniſhable with death; and the utmoſt penalties which could be inflicted, on deliquencies of this nature, amounted only to diſmiſſion. But it muſt be admitted, that no place ought to prove a ſhelter, from the ſtroke of juſtice, to cowards and to traitors. Impreſſed with this idea, he, therefore, begged leave to propoſe to the houſe, that a clauſe ſhould be added to the mutiny-act, for the purpoſe of puniſhing with death all thoſe who might, hereafter, either deſert to the enemy, at any time, or fly from them in the day of battle, or ſhamefully ſurrender their military truſt, or give up any fortreſs, town, citadel, or poſt committed to their charge, or abet and encourage others to become guilty of the like crimes and miſdemeanours, in Great Britain, the

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ſlands of Jerſey, Guernſey, Alderney, Sark, and Man, as well as every other part of the dominions belonging to his majeſty.

Mr. Burke declared, that he ſhould not agree to the amendment propoſed by the ſecretary at war, until he perfectly underſtood its meaning; and knew the length to which it was reſolved to carry it. Reformations of any kind, he ſaid, came with an aukward grace from the preſent miniſters, who, as political delinquents, appeared determined never to reform themſelves. To heap rewards upon the coward and the traitor, and yet make laws to puniſh puſillanimity and perfidiouſneſs, was ſo ridiculous an inconſiſtency, that it could only provoke laughter, if the reſult of it did not render it a theme for indignation and abhorrence. A recompenſe was now at hand, for every kind of guilt which either ſeemed, or really proved ſerviceable to the wretched views of an abandoned miniſtry; and preferments, honours, and creations, were multiplied, in proportion to the diſgrace and calamity with which the nation had been overwhelmed. As a return for the decline of power, opulence, and commerce, the nation had been amuſed with augmentations of the peerage, and with the advancement of obnoxious individuals to the higheſt dignities of the realm.

Mr. Burke then adverted to the caſe of general Arnold; and obſerved, that the clauſe, which the ſecretary at war was ſo anxious to add to the mutiny-act, would ſcarcely operate as an incentive to this extraordinary convert, to perſevere in the diſcharge of duties, which had but little, unleſs it were their novelty, to recommend them. No man could venture to deny, that Mr. Arnold had accepted of a command from thoſe who were called rebels; that he had received from them his pay; and had proved faithleſs to the truſt which they repoſed in him: thus becoming, in the full meaning of the expreſſion, a rebel to rebels. Could it be ſeriouſly believed, that ſuch a perſon either merited a ſingle grain of confidence, or would be worked upon, by any laws whatever, to ſerve with ſtrict fidelity the people and the ſovereign againſt whom he was before in arms, and to whom he fled, in the very midſt of acts of treachery to the ſtates whoſe cauſe he had deſerted? A promotion of conſequence in the Britiſh army had, however, been beſtowed upon this man, whoſe conduct had been marked by glaring ſtrokes of cruelty and perfidiouſneſs, and which had furniſhed an indubitable proof, that he who would, on one ſide, have ſacrificed an army, was too dangerous a man to be entruſted with the command of troops belonging to the oppoſing party. But with the ſame prodigal hand with which great military honours were ſcattered, without diſtinction, at leaſt as much upon the worthleſs as the worthy, civil dignities and preferments, of the firſt conſequence in the nation, were beſtowed on men, much more conſpicuous for their good fortune than their merit, and ſome of whom had no inconſiderable ſhare in the promotion of thoſe meaſures, which tended to the diſgrace and ruin of their country.

Mr. Fox alſo made ſome remarks relative to the caſe of general Arnold, and to the advancement of Lord George Germain to the peerage. With reſpect to the former, he ſaid, that he felt conſiderable apprehenſions when he heard, that this convert from the Americans had been promoted to the rank of

brigadier-general; but when reading a Gazette, publiſhed ſoon after this extraordinary event, he diſcovered, with how unbounded a freedom, the ſame character diſperſed his panegyrics, and ſcattered his abuſe and cenſure, upon thoſe Britiſh officers whom he preſumed to make the objects either of the one or of the other, he felt a different and a new ſenſation; and he ſhuddered at the predicament in which his gallant countrymen ſtood, when, in their military capacity, they were marked out, without meriting ſo ignominious a degradation, for either the applauſe or the reproaches of general Arnold. Being little accuſtomed to regard military men in a light favourable to the principles of the conſtitution, he had, hitherto, conſidered them with fear and jealouſy; but they were now become much leſs objects of his apprehenſion than of his pity. However, as ſuch officers as general Arnold were employed, the amendment to the mutiny-bill, propoſed by the ſecretary at war, might be very neceſſary. As Mr. Arnold, in the character of an American officer, had treacherouſly abandoned the command with which he was entruſted, and as he was now rewarded with an active military promotion in the Britiſh ſervice, he might not improbably proceed hereafter to ſimilar tranſgreſſions, and ſacrifice our own troops for lucre to the enemy. Hence might originate the propoſed amendment for the mutiny-bill; unleſs, perhaps, it took its riſe from a recollection of the battle of Minden, and the circumſtances which attended a late advancement to a ſeat in the firſt aſſembly of the legiſlature. After ſome farther debate, the amendment, propoſed by the ſecretary at war, was agreed to by the houſe.

By the mutity-bill, no officer is liable to be tried for any offence committed more than three years prior to the iſſuing of the warrant for ſuch trial. When this clauſe came to be read, general Burgoyne moved, that the following words ſhould be added as an amendment; "Lieutenant-general Burgoyne only excepted, who, by being a priſoner under the convention with the enemy, and engaged to the enemy by a ſpecial parole, has been precluded from taking his trial within the term of three years." The general obſerved, that it was not poſſible that the military law, under its preſent powers of extenſion, could reach him for any delinquencies, of which he might have been ſuppoſed guilty, during the campaign which cloſed with the convention of Saratoga. But, from the day of his return to England, he had courted, provoked, and purſued, by all the means within his power, an inquiry relative to every particular of his conduct throughout the whole of that campaign. He was ſtill ardently deſirous of being brought to a trial, and that the fulleſt inveſtigation of his military conduct in America ſhould take place; and that it might be effected by an act of parliament on purpoſe, if other means were inſufficient.

The motion, for a particular exception in the limitation clauſe of the mutiny-act, in the caſe of general Burgoyne, was oppoſed even by that gentleman's friends, as a dangerous precedent. Very high compliments, however, were beſtowed upon the general in the courſe of the debate: but it was obſerved by Mr. Dunning, that the clauſe, as propoſed by Mr. Burgoyne, would fall extremely ſhort of that efficacy to which he meant that it ſhould reach. No power what-

whatſoever, not even the omnipotence of parliament, could place the general within the conſideration of the mutiny-bill. He had exceeded the time preſcribed by it, and no reference could bring him back within the cognizance of the law. He, therefore, hoped, that his honourable friend would withdraw a motion, which could not, conſiſtently with any legal principle, take place as to himſelf, whoſe capture happened in 1777, and who was certainly not amenable to a trial, after the expiration of three years from that period.

The following day another debate took place, on the miſmanagement of the affairs of the navy in the year 1781, in conſequence of a motion made by Mr. Fox, ſimilar to one that he had formerly made, and of which we have already given an account; but which he now renewed, in order that it might ſtand recorded upon the journals of the houſe; which was not the caſe before, the motion having been negatived in a committee. It was his wiſh, he ſaid, not merely to convince the nation, and all the powers of Europe, but alſo to deliver down to poſterity, an authentic evidence of the fact, that after a year, during the courſe of which the naval operations of Great Britain were wretchedly planned, and fatally conducted, exciting the aſtoniſhment of all mankind, ſuch public virtue was ſtill remaining in the houſe of commons, that one of the repreſentatives of the people brought the particulars of the miſmanagement of the earl of Sandwich, and his colleagues, under the ſerious and deliberate diſcuſſion of that aſſembly, and that one hundred and eighty-three honeſt and independent members, awakened to a full ſenſe of what was owing to their conſtituents and to their country, with noble and unſullied patriotiſm, ſupported the motion, for the purpoſe of reſolving, that they were not blind to that which all the world conſidered with ſurprize, if not with indignation. Indeed, at a period leſs profligate and corrupt than the preſent, adminiſtration would not have dared to keep the earl of Sandwich in his place, for even a ſingle day, after the laſt diviſion upon the motion, which was now again brought before the houſe. In better times, a minority like that which had appeared on that diviſion, would have had all the effect of a majority. But the miniſters now carried things with ſo imperious and inſolent a hand, that they ſcrupled not to fly in the face of the people. That the bulk of the kingdom regarded the miniſterial conduct of the firſt lord of the admiralty with indignation and abhorrence, could not be doubted by thoſe who ſeriouſly conſidered of whom the minority, on that memorable occaſion, were formed; a minority which abſolutely declared the real ſenſe of the people, and were equal to the fulleſt evidence, that it was the general ſenſe of the nation, that the affairs of the navy were ſhamefully miſmanaged by the miniſter of that department, during the courſe of the year 1781; and that he ought immediately to be removed from the office of firſt lord of the admiralty.

In the courſe of the debate, ſome of the ſame particulars were diſcuſſed, reſpecting the management of the navy, which had been canvaſſed in the preceding debates; and of which, therefore, we ſhall not now make any repetition. But ſundry other topics were introduced, of which it may be proper that we ſhould take ſome notice.

It was contended by earl Nugent, on behalf of lord Sandwich, that the points of naval miſmanagement, alleged againſt that nobleman, were of ſuch a nature, that none could be conſidered as competent to decide upon them, who, to a perfect familiarity with profeſſional and technical practice, had not added a thorough knowledge of maritime affairs, and of the comparative importance of the different objects of the war. His lordſhip alſo maintained, that the noble earl, who preſided at the board of admiralty, had diſcovered ſuch an active, indefatigable, and fortunate attention to the execution of his duty, that he merited not the cenſure and reſentment, but the reſpect and approbation of his country. In particular, it was well known, that, at the preſent period, the king's yards contained more timber, than they had been ſtocked with at any preceding epoch, ſince Great Britain became the miſtreſs of a navy. If the enterprizes of our fleets were not crowned with ſuch ſucceſs as men of ſanguine hopes had been accuſtomed to expect, the circumſtance ſhould be aſcribed ſolely to the chance of war, and to thoſe interventions which the noble earl could not foreſee, and for which conſequently he was not reſponſible. His lordſhip alſo earneſtly recommended unanimity to the houſe; and wiſhed that the members of it, throwing aſide, upon the preſent occaſion, all unbecoming contention for places and for power, and too ſtrong a propenſity for cenſuring, where not a ground for finding fault exiſted, but, on the contrary, where there was much to praiſe, would ſtruggle to extinguiſh all diſſenſion; that they would act with the united force of the collected talents of the kingdom; and not increaſe, by violent and ineffectual diſputes, the danger of a ſituation, which cried aloud for help from every quarter where it was poſſible to procure it.

General Conway defended the motion; and remarked, that there were occaſions, and the preſent was one of them, in which the unanimity ſo much recommended, was an attainment of all others the leaſt to be deſired. Thoſe who felt a virtuous anxiety, for the preſervation of their country, could not wiſh for unanimity under the preſent miniſtry, who, with an inflexible and atrocious perverſeneſs, ſtill proſecuted thoſe meaſures, which had reduced this country to the brink of ruin. Under ſuch circumſtances, unanimity muſt become criminal, and contention was a virtue. At the preſent alarming and diſgraceful period, it was the duty of every honeſt man, not to coaleſce with the miniſters, but to oppoſe them. Political unanimity ſhould be ſuppreſſed, until the eſtabliſhment of thoſe political ſyſtems, in which wiſdom, fortitude, and juſtice, might prevail, and lead the nation back to its habitual ſplendor, proſperity, and honour. Unanimity had often been recommended in that houſe; and on ſome of theſe occaſions, even the advocates of the preſent miniſtry had ventured to mention the adminiſtration of the earl of Chatham. But was it poſſible, that men of any claſs could have forgotten, the wide and the amazing difference between the aſpect of the preſent times, and the complexion of thoſe under the reſplendent and ſucceſsful adminiſtration of that great ſtateſman? Then, indeed, had unanimity ariſen to its utmoſt height. The gallant efforts of our fleets and armies were crowned with victory: freſh territories were added to the dominions of the empire; the vigour and the extent

tent of commerce increaſed beyond the precedent of any former epoch in the annals of the Engliſh hiſtory; and the nation roſe, at the concluſion of a glorious war, to the enjoyment of uninterrupted peace, of opulence, felicity, and honour. But as to the preſent miniſtry, ſuch had been their miſconduct, their folly, and their obſtinacy, and ſuch the pernicious tendency of their meaſures, that the Britiſh empire was covered with ſhame and with miſfortune.

Sir Horace Mann ſpoke on the ſame ſide of the queſtion, and declared it to be his opinion, that the board of admiralty might have exerted themſelves with much more vigour and effect, than they had hitherto diſcovered, in providing for the ſupport and the increaſe of our fleets; and that if they had co-operated to this important end, by all the means which fell within their graſp, the Britiſh navy would not have loſt that illuſtrious pre-eminence, which was, in former times, ſupported by the ſuperiority of its power, and by the frequency of its conqueſts. The unanimous opinion of perſons on the continent, from which, ſir Horace ſaid, he had lately arrived, was, that the concerns of the marine of England were miſerably neglected. When he converſed abroad, in relation to this ſubject, with an imperial officer, the latter obſerved, that the Engliſh nation, in conſequence of thoſe fatal meaſures in which their miniſtry ſo obſtinately perſevered, was degraded in the eyes of every foreigner of ſenſe and underſtanding. At former periods, the mere name of an Engliſhman procured a man reſpect abroad, and operated as powerfully as a letter of recommendation; but, ſince the preſent ſyſtem of adminiſtration prevailed, ſir Horace ſaid, he had himſelf experienced the melancholy reverſe. Upon the whole, he ſhould be aſhamed to return to his conſtituents, without being able to aſſure them, that he had voted in ſupport of the motion, for cenſuring the management of the affairs of the navy.

Mr. William Pitt ſolemnly proteſted, that, in his heart and conſcience, he firmly believed, that the miniſter of the marine department had been guilty of ſcandalous neglect in his attempts to ſuperintend the great buſineſs of the navy. Indeed, on this occaſion, but one ſincere opinion could exiſt; and every member of the houſe, in ſpite of thoſe connexions, thoſe intereſts, thoſe perſonal prejudices, and a variety of other motives, which often warped men's conduct within thoſe walls, muſt think alike concerning the miſmanagement ſo viſibly predominant in all the meaſures of the board of admiralty. They who properly attended to the papers on the table, muſt be compelled to declare, that nothing ſhort of the removal of the miniſter of the marine department, from that poſt, which he was incapable of filling, either with credit to himſelf, or with advantage to his country, could retrieve the laſt from ſhame and from misfortune. Thoſe who examined, thoroughly and impartially, into the particulars of the conduct of the firſt lord of the admiralty, muſt conſider him as one of the chief authors of the calamity and the diſgrace of this devoted country; as an obſtacle to the reeſtabliſhment of its proſperity and ſplendor, and as a dangerous miniſter, the continuance of whoſe influence muſt overwhelm the ſtate with irretrievable deſtruction.

Lord Howe aſſerted, that the ſavings which might have been made,

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during a preceding courſe of years, out of the ſums voted by parliament for the maintenance of ſeamen, amounted to four millions ſterling; with which money the board of admiralty might have conſtructed fifteen or twenty men of war of the line. The navy extraordinaries, for the preſent year, alſo ſurpaſſed, in an aſtoniſhing degree, and ſuch as could not juſtly be accounted for by any particularity of circumſtances, all thoſe of any former æra whatſoever. They were greater than in the laſt year by the enormous ſum of two hundred and fifty thouſand pounds. It was certain, that, by judicious management, our fleets might have been rendered more powerful and numerous; and it was alſo manifeſt, that the men of war, of which Great Britain was actually poſſeſſed, were not employed for thoſe important and beneficial purpoſes, to which it was the duty of the miniſter of the marine department to have applied them.

The lord-advocate of Scotland vindicated the earl of Sandwich; and entered into ſome minute diſquiſitions reſpecting the conduct of the board of admiralty. Theſe were ridiculed, in a very ſarcaſtic manner, by Mr. Dunning; who complimented the learned lord upon his exhibiting ſuch ſtriking evidence of his being equally a great lawyer and an accompliſhed ſeaman. The extreme accuracy and depth of his reſearches into maritime affairs muſt, Mr. Dunning ſaid, have aſtoniſhed the houſe: ſuch, indeed, were his nautical accompliſhments, that if, for any length of time, he ſhould continue on his courſe, improving as rapidly towards the cloſe of it as at the time of its commencement, it would not prove at all ſurprizing, were he to gain and to deſerve the appellation of the firſt great naval advocate of England. After a long debate, the motion was rejected, by a majority of 236 to 217.

CHAP. XI.

Debate on a Motion of General Conway, that an Addreſs ſhould be preſented by the Houſe of Commons to his Majeſty, beſeeching him to take into his Conſideration the Calamities of the American war, and to adopt the proper Meaſures for putting a ſtop to any farther Proſecution of it. The Motion loſt only by a ſingle Vote. The Budget opened by the Miniſter. Upwards of Twenty-two Millions required for the Service of the Year 1782. A Loan propoſed of Thirteen Millions Five Hundred Thouſand Pounds. The Miniſter's Requiſitions agreed to by the Houſe.

THE ruinous tendency of the American war was now ſo ſtrikingly apparent, that it became neceſſary for thoſe, who had a juſt ſenſe of the dangerous ſituation of their country, who wiſhed well to its intereſts, or even to prevent its deſtruction, to exert their moſt vigorous efforts to put an end to ſo fatal a conteſt. Accordingly on the 22d of February, a motion was made by general Conway, "That an humble addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, earneſtly imploring his majeſty, that, taking into his royal conſideration the many

many and great calamities which had attended the preſent unfortunate war, and the heavy burthens thereby brought on his loyal and affectionate people, he would be graciouſly pleaſed to liſten to the humble prayer and advice of his faithful commons, that the war on the continent of North America might no longer be purſued for the impracticable purpoſe of reducing that country to obedience by force: and expreſſing their hope, that the earneſt deſire, and diligent exertion, to reſtore the public tranquillity, of which they had received his majeſty's moſt gracious aſſurances, might, by a happy reconciliation with the revolted colonies, be forwarded and made effectual; to which great end, his majeſty's faithful commons would be ready moſt chearfully to give their utmoſt aſſiſtance." In the ſpeech by which he introduced this motion, the general aſked, Whether it were poſſible to avoid reprobating that horrid war, of which the characteriſtic features were cruelty and tyranny, and of which the progreſs had been written in characters of blood? Could any man, who uttered the real ſentiments of his heart, refrain from execrating thoſe hoſtilities, which had been the cauſe of the fruitleſs waſte of millions of the public treaſure, and of the loſs, more dreadfully irreparable, of thouſands of men who were the flower of the Britiſh fleets and armies? That individual, who, having contemplated the preſent ignominious and unfortunate ſituation of affairs, could ſtill plead in favour of the proſecution of the war, muſt be a mere body without a ſoul; devoid of every feeling which dignifies mankind, and which places them above the level of the brute creation. He muſt be ſteeped in folly, and in barbarity, who, having traced the footſteps of this frantic war, in all the violence of deſolation, in the mercileſs demolition of towns, and in the murder of private families, in ſavage outrages through every quarter of America, and in the quick increaſe of the interior calamities of this devoted iſland, would not with ardour wiſh for the return of reconciliation, and think that it was ſcarcely poſſible to buy it at too dear a price. All hopes of ſucceſs in the war, on the part of Great Britain, were now at an end. Notwithſtanding the inſidious repreſentations that had been made of the ſtate of affairs in America, the fact was, that not a ſingle friend to the Britiſh government could be diſcovered, amongſt the inhabitants of North America, from one end of the country to the other. Whatever real friends there might have been to the Britiſh miniſter, they had been converted, by the depredations, the rapes, and the murders, of which the Britiſh troops had ſo frequently proved guilty, into malignant enemies. We had, indeed, at preſent, no object to contend for: for if it could be admitted, for a moment, even for the ſake of argument, that it were poſſible we might conquer at the laſt, what benefits would repay the ſtruggle for the victory? We ſhould then only gain a deſart, a country depopulated by the war, which our deſpotiſm and barbarity, our avarice and ambition, our antipathy for freedom, and our paſſion for injuſtice, had kindled in her boſom. But all expectations of this kind were in the higheſt degree vain and abſurd; though he had received intelligence, the general ſaid, from a perſon lately arrived from America, in whoſe veracity, experience, and diſcernment, he could implicitly confide, that the people of that country, although in arms againſt

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ns, were ſtill anxious for the accompliſhment of peace. He was alſo aſſured, that certain individuals, at no conſiderable diſtance, were impowered, on the part of the congreſs, to treat with the miniſters of Great Britain, for the attainment of ſo eſſential an object. Theſe circumſtances were not unknown to government; and a noble lord, who had lately retired from the office of ſecretary of ſtate for the American department, had been particularly applied to on this intereſting occaſion. What reaſon could the miniſters aſſign, why they had neglected to improve this ſingular advantage, and ſeemed to ſpurn at all ideas of negociation? Could it be poſſible, that a ſeries of ignominious miſcarriages and defeats, had not yet operated as a cure for the inhuman and deſtructive love of war? Such was the ſituation of the nation, that it behoved the miniſters to negociate for peace, almoſt on any terms. But as they had hitherto done nothing of this kind, it was indiſpenſibly neceſſary that the parliament ſhould interfere, and put an immediate end to a war ſo calamitous, ſo fatal, and ſo deſtructive.

The motion was ſeconded by lord John Cavendiſh, who remarked, that the American war had been a war of malice and reſentment, without either dignity in its conduct, probability in its object, or juſtice in its origin. It had been deſtructive to Great Britain in all its conſequences, it had reduced us to the ignominious alternative of either laying down our arms, or perſiſting in a conflict, which muſt inevitably lead us to irrecoverable ruin. But though almoſt all men were convinced of the neceſſity of putting an end to this unhappy war, yet it was obſervable, that, during the whole of the preſent ſeſſion, the miniſters had worded, with ſuch artful circumſpection, their intimations to the houſe concerning the intended mode of proſecuting the war againſt America, that no man could diſcover what their real ſentiments were upon the ſubject. They ſeemed, however, determined to carry on the war in ſome mode or other; though the madneſs of their conduct, and their perſeverance in hoſtilities, of which even the ſucceſſes were accompanied by diſaſters, would give a ſanction to the idea, that they ſuppoſed, in conformity to the ſentiment of the Greek poet, that the *whole* was not ſo much as the *half*; and that they ſtill determined, becauſe a portion of the Britiſh empire had been diſmembered, by the calamities of war, to try experiments, and to ſee whether an additional amputation might not impart freſh vigour to the mutilated remainder. But it was high time that the parliament ſhould interfere, and by an immediate application to the crown, prevent the farther proſecution of theſe frantic projects.

Mr. Welbore Ellis, the new ſecretary of ſtate for the American department, now roſe, and declared, that peace with America was one of the firſt wiſhes of his heart; and that no perſon whatſoever could feel a more ſincere anxiety for the return of it than himſelf. It was not his opinion at any period, either before or after the commencement of the war, that force alone could have brought back the colonies to their obedience; but he had conceived, that ſuch judicious exertions of our fleets and armies in that quarter of the globe, as would have afforded a full protection to the friends of government, might have accelerated that reconciliation, for the accompliſhment of which all parties were ſo exceedingly deſirous. That there

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were numbers in America, who were attached to our cauſe, he could aſſert from indiſputable authority. There was reaſon to imagine, that the power of the ſword, with all its naturally expected efficacy, would not have more contributed to the re-union of America with Great Britain, than the abhorrence and deteſtation, with which a very conſiderable part of the inhabitants of the former regarded the oppreſſive tyranny of the congreſs. As to the firſt mode of conducting the naval and military operations againſt America, he had been once of opinion that it was the moſt eligible; but he now confeſſed, that he regarded it as abſolutely requiſite to proſecute hoſtilities by ſuch means as were diſſimilar from the paſt. A ſtriking change of circumſtances had taken place, and theſe of courſe demanded a change of meaſures. The war, now raging in America, was not ſo properly a war againſt the colonies, as with France. The American army was now led on by French generals, and incorporated with French troops. Not leſs, therefore, might it be conſidered as a French war in America, than the laſt war had been regarded as a French war in Germany. In order to obtain peace with America, we muſt vanquiſh the French. A conqueſt of this nature would inevitably root out the faction now prevalent in that unhappy country; a faction, which had continued in reſiſtance to the government of this kingdom, either from motives of ambition, or from a diſlike to monarchy. That this faction, however powerful, was leſs numerous than the party of the loyaliſts, appeared from advices received from the moſt reſpectable authorities. However, at the preſent juncture, adminiſtration were conſcious of the neceſſity of contracting the ſcale of war in North America; and for the truth of this aſſertion, the houſe need not depend on the mere declarations of the ſervants of the crown. They might diſcover, from the army eſtimates which were lying on the table, that though the nation had experienced a ſevere calamity, in conſequence of the capture of the army in Virginia under earl Cornwallis, yet no intention had been conceived of ſending out freſh military forces in order to replace it. No man, who reflected on this circumſtance, could entertain a doubt, but that it was the real deſign of adminiſtration to draw into a narrow compaſs the future operations of the war againſt the colonies. The reverſe happened after the convention of Saratoga. The loſs of our army, on that calamitous occaſion, was almoſt immediately repaired, and the military eſtimates increaſed in their amount, proportionably to the misfortune which had given riſe to the alarming diminution of our military force. Thus, equally after the capture at Saratoga, and after the ſurrender at York-town, the miniſtry diſcovered by the eſtimates, that, in the firſt inſtance, they were determined to preſerve the ſame extended ground of war; and, in the ſecond, to reduce it within a ſmaller circle. He knew not that any overtures had been made relative to pacification; and he was confident, that all his fellow-miniſters aſſented to the idea, that re-union with America was devoutly to be wiſhed for; and that, in this laudable diſpoſition, they would attend to all propoſals which might appear of ſufficient weight and authority to deſerve their notice. But as to the motion now before the houſe, it only tended to enfeeble and to impede the efforts of the executive power to obtain, by

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proper means, the re-eſtabliſhment of that peace which was ſo ardently deſired.

The ſpeech of the new American ſecretary was attacked by Mr. Burke with his uſual wit and eloquence. He remarked, that the obſervations of the right honourable gentleman had convinced him, that he was, in the ſtricteſt meaning of the expreſſions, the miniſterial heir, the ſucceſſor, and the reſiduary legatee, of that noble viſcount, who, quitting his political life, had now ceaſed from an exiſtence in the ſecretary-ſhip of ſtate for the American department. He had entered into full poſſeſſion of all the parliamentary doctrines, the qualities, the antipathies, the reſentments, and the obſtinate adherence to every former and deſtructive plan, for which the meaſures of his noble predeceſſor were ſo particularly and ſo fatally conſpicuous. Theſe aſſets were, undoubtedly, a mine of wealth; yet far from inexhauſtible; and, therefore, it behoved this freſh inheritor to beware of prodigality, nor waſte, for fear of fatal conſequences, the treaſure which had ſo fortunately devolved to him. The right honourable gentleman was, doubtleſs, an old member converted into a young miniſter; yet, notwithſtanding the metamorphoſis, he was ſo truly the ſame thing in the ſame place, that juſtly might it be ſaid of him, *Alter et idem naſcitur*. That no difference ſhould exiſt between ſuch celebrated miniſterial characters, could ſcarcely prove a matter of aſtoniſhment to thoſe who recollected that he ſtudied, not merely at the feet of Gamaliel, but abſolutely in contact with him; and that, having ſerved an apprenticeſhip to the American war, a war at leaſt productive of one new ſtateſman, and moſt amazingly fertile in the growth of new peers, he could ſcarcely avoid delivering the ſentiments of the noble viſcount, by whoſe ſide, he, for a length of time, was generally ſeated. Being of the caterpillar ſpecies, he had remained within the ſoft and ſilken folds of an extremely valuable employment, till, having burſt his ligaments, he fluttered forth the miniſter of the day: an inſect, as to exteriors, tranſformed; but, inwardly, and at heart, the ſame. As to the late ſecretary, he appeared uniformly to have deceived both himſelf and the nation. He had been ſo wedded to the preſent, unnatural, mad, and unavailing conflict with our injured and exaſperated fellow-ſubjects, that he had conſtantly amuſed himſelf with ſanguine expectations of ſuch deciſive victories, as muſt abſolutely have brought it to a concluſion, at once glorious and beneficial to Great Britain, and ignominious and humiliating to the colonies. On this extravagant deluſion had he feaſted his imagination, even at the diſgraceful period when the captivity of earl Cornwallis, and the troops under his command, became abſolutely inevitable: and his right honourable ſucceſſor appeared to be haunted by ſimilar phantoms of the brain.

Mr. Burke afterwards proceeded, in a more ſerious and direct manner, to defend the motion of general Conway; and he obſerved, that if the miniſtry, relinquiſhing thoſe arts, by which they uſually attempted to impoſe upon the houſe, would candidly declare the real ſentiments and feelings of their hearts, they muſt confeſs, that the inhabitants of the colonies, in arms againſt Great Britain, whom they had ventured to repreſent as a contemptible banditti, were men; men, in the nobleſt ſignification of the word; who, having armed for the defence of their

their invaded rights and liberties, would either periſh in the cauſe, or never ſheathe the ſword, until they ſhould have carried into full accompliſhment the purpoſe of their drawing it. Indeed, who was there who could ſeriouſly venture to aſſert, that perſeverance in this unequal conflict with America was not the height of madneſs, the frantic act of abſolute deſpair? It behoved the parliament, and it behoved the people at large, with firmneſs to inſiſt, that this deſtructive war ſhould inſtantly be relinquiſhed. Were we ſo infatuated as to precipitate ourſelves, without a ſtruggle to eſcape, into the gulf of ruin? Nothing could now ſave us but putting an immediate end to the American war; to effectuate this was the object of the preſent motion; and it ſhould therefore meet with his warmeſt ſupport.

Mr. Adam oppoſed the motion, and aſſerted, that a concurrence in it would not only be unprecedented, but impolitic and dangerous in the extreme. It would amount to an abſolute interference of the legiſlative with the executive power; an interference repugnant to the great principles of the conſtitution. It ſhould alſo be remembered, that no revolution in the national affairs could juſtify a public declaration, that the calamities which ſurrounded us had rendered us incapable of continuing the war. Avowals of this alarming nature amounted to a confeſſion, that we were plunged into an impotent inferiority, by ſea and land, to thoſe combined and formidable powers which were in arms for our deſtruction. Remarks ſo injudicious could only ſerve to ſink us in the eſtimation of all the ſtates of Europe, and would even render our enemies leſs inclined to peace than they were at preſent.

The motion was alſo oppoſed by lord North, by the paymaſter of the forces, and by the ſecretary at war; but was vigorouſly ſupported by Mr. Fox, and ſeveral other gentlemen. On a diviſion, there appeared for the motion 193, and againſt it 194. Thus was it rejected only by a ſingle vote; ſo that though the oppoſition had not carried their point, they had nearly obtained a victory; and little doubt could be entertained of the ſpeedy downfal of the miniſtry. Accordingly Mr. Fox immediately gave notice, that the queſtion reſpecting the farther proſecution of the American war, would be brought before the houſe again, in another form, in the courſe of a few days.

After this debate, ſome altercation aroſe between lord North and colonel Barrè, relative to the time of opening the budget; and ſeveral expreſſions, which were made uſe of by the miniſter, reſpecting the colonel, occaſioned him to be called to order by the ſpeaker, who declared that his lordſhip's words were highly diſorderly. The miniſter thereupon made ſome conceſſions, which were accepted by the colonel as a ſufficient apology, and thus the affair terminated.

The 25th of the month was the day fixed by the miniſter, and acceded to by the houſe, for opening what is called the budget; and on that day his lordſhip ſtated the yearly accounts of the nation, conſiſting of the ſeveral heads of ſupply, and ways and means, as well thoſe exiſting as thoſe projected, in order to ſhew how they both ſtood, and as a ground of juſtification for propoſing a loan, for the ſervice of the current year. He accompanied his ſtatement of the ſeveral amounts with explanations, as to the cauſes of their exceeding, or falling ſhort.

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of the expences of the preceding year for the ſame ſervices. He began with the navy, and ſtated the vote of 100,000 ſeamen and their wages, the vote of the ordinary expences of the navy, the vote for building ſhips, for repairs, and other extra works, and the ſeveral votes exiſting or projected, the amount of which had been applied to the diſcharge of the navy debt. The whole of the ſupply, already voted for the navy, he ſtated to amount to upwards of eight millions. In the ſame manner he then recited all the ſupply, granted and to be granted, for the army ſervice, the total of which exceeded ſeven millions. He next recited the ſeveral votes for the ordnance ſervice, to pay off exchequer bills, and for miſcellaneous ſervices exiſting or projected, arguing upon each, and making the ſupply required for the year to amount to upwards of twenty-two millions. His lordſhip having finiſhed the head of ſupply, went into a ſimilar explanation of the ways and means, and recapitulated the amount of the land tax, the malt, mum, cyder, and perry-tax, what was likely to be the ſurplus of the ſinking fund, and to reſult from other ways and means that were to be expected. He then compared the amount of the ways and means with the amount of the ſupplies, and informed the houſe, that it would be neceſſary he ſhould propoſe a loan of thirteen millions five hundred thouſand pounds, which would leave a ſurplus of eighty-two thouſand pounds, over and above the known exigencies of the year. After this he went into a diſcuſſion of the terms of the loan, and the manner in which it was to be negociated. An unintereſting debate of ſome length then took place, after which the miniſter's propoſitions were agreed to by the houſe.

CHAP. XII.

A ſecond Motion made by General Conway, againſt any farther Proſecution of the American War. The Motion agreed to by the Houſe. A ſuitable Addreſs preſented to the King. His Majeſty's Anſwer. A ſecond Addreſs to his Majeſty. Reſolution of the Houſe, in Conſequence of a Motion of General Conway, that all thoſe would be conſidered by that Houſe as Enemies to his Majeſty and this Country, who ſhould adviſe, or by any Means attempt, the farther Proſecution of offenſive War on the Continent of North America, for the Purpoſe of reducing the revolted Colonies to Obedience by Force. Motions made in the Houſe of Peers, by the Duke of Chandos, relative to the Surrender of Earl Cornwallis and his Army.

THE important motion, which had been made by general Conway on the 22d of February, and which was then ſo nearly carried againſt the miniſtry, was again revived, in a ſomewhat different form, on the 27th of the ſame month, agreeably to the intimation given by Mr. Fox. On that day a petition from the city of London was preſented to the houſe, ſoliciting the houſe to interpoſe in ſuch a manner,

manner, as ſhould prevent any farther proſecution of the American war: after which general Conway moved, that it ſhould be reſolved, "That it was the opinion of that houſe, that the farther proſecution of offenſive war on the continent of North America, for the purpoſe of reducing the revolted colonies to obedience by force, would be the means of weakening the efforts of this country againſt her European enemies, and tend, under the preſent circumſtances, dangerouſly to increaſe the mutual enmity, ſo fatal to the intereſts both of Great Britain and America, and, by preventing a happy reconciliation with that country, to fruſtrate the earneſt deſire graciouſly expreſſed by his majeſty to reſtore the bleſſings of public tranquillity."

In the ſpeech, by which he introduced this motion, the general took notice of ſome objections that had been made to his former motion, under the idea, that it was unconſtitutional in that houſe to interfere with its advice, in thoſe things which eſpecially and indiſputably belonged to the executive power. But objections of this kind, he ſaid, none could be hardy enough to make, who were at all verſed in the hiſtory of parliament. The misfortune was, that the miniſtry, and many members of parliament, could not find time enough to look into the Journals of the Houſe. They confined their ſtudy entirely to one book, in the contents of which they were certainly well verſed. The book to which he referred was the red book, the Court Calendar. It was in that they found the greateſt comfort, amuſement, and aſſiſtance. It was there they found the calendar of their ſaints, whoſe patronage they experienced on all occaſions. But if they could have ſpared a ſmall portion of their time for the reading of the Journals, they would have found that all the objections againſt his motion, which aroſe from the idea of its militating againſt the principles of the conſtitution, were wholly groundleſs. For it appeared from the Journals, that from the days of Edward III. down to the preſent reign, parliament had at all times given advice to the crown, in matters relating to war and peace. In the reign of Richard II. it was frequently done; and alſo in that of Henry IV. One remarkable inſtance of this was in the reign of Henry VII. when that prince conſulted his parliament, reſpecting the propriety of ſupporting the duke of Britanny againſt France, and alſo of declaring war againſt the latter; and he told his parliament, that it was for no other purpoſe than to hear their advice on theſe heads, that he called them together. In the reign of James I. the parliament interfered repeatedly with their advice reſpecting the Palatinate, the match with Spain, and a declaration of war againſt that power. In the time of Charles I. there were ſimilar interferences; and in the reign of his ſon, Charles II. the parliament made repeated remonſtrances, but particularly in 1674 and 1675, on the ſubject of the alliance with France, which they urged ought to be renounced, and at the ſame time recommended a ſtrict union with the United Provinces. To ſome of theſe remonſtrances, indeed, anſwers were returned not very ſatisfactory; and the parliament were informed, that they were exceeding the line of their duty, and encroaching upon the prerogative of the crown. But ſo little did the commons of thoſe days reliſh theſe anſwers, that they addreſſed the king to know who it was that had adviſed his majeſty to re-

turn ſuch anſwers to their loyal and conſtitutional remonſtrances. In the reign of king William, repeated inſtances were to be found in the Journals, of advice given by parliament relative to the Iriſh war, and the war on the continent. The like occurred frequently in the reign of queen Anne; that princeſs, in an addreſs from the parliament, was adviſed not to make peace with France, until Spain ſhould be ſecured to Auſtria; and alſo, not to conſent to peace, until Dunkirk ſhould be demoliſhed. In ſhort, it was manifeſt, from the whole hiſtory of Engliſh parliaments, that it was ever conſidered as conſtitutional for parliament to interfere, whenever it thought proper, in all matters ſo important as thoſe of peace and war.

The general urged other arguments in ſupport of his motion, which was ſeconded by lord Althorpe; and petitions from the mayor, burgeſſes, and commonalty of the city of Briſtol, and from the merchants, tradeſmen, and inhabitants of that city, againſt the American war, were read. A debate enſued, of conſiderable length, into the particulars of which we ſhall not enter, as we have had ſuch repeated occaſion to ſtate the arguments for and againſt the American war. In order to evade coming to any immediate determination on the queſtion, a propoſition was made by Mr. Wallace, the attorney-general, that a truce ſhould be entered into with America; and that a bill ſhould be prepared to enable his majeſty's miniſters to treat on this ground: and under the pretence of allowing time for this meaſure, he moved, "that the preſent debate ſhould be adjourned for a fortnight." The houſe divided upon this motion, when there appeared for it 215, and againſt it 234; ſo that there was a majority of nineteen againſt the miniſtry. The original motion of general Conway was then put, and carried without a diviſion. The general immediately followed up his firſt motion with another, for an addreſs to the king, in which the American war was ſpoken of preciſely in the ſame terms made uſe of in the motion, and in which his majeſty was ſolicited to put a ſtop to any farther proſecution of offenſive war againſt the colonies. This motion was agreed to, and it was alſo reſolved, that the addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty by the whole houſe. The addreſs was accordingly preſented on the firſt of March, when his majeſty returned an anſwer, in which he declared, that there were no objects nearer to his heart than the eaſe, happineſs, and proſperity of his people; and that the houſe of commons might be aſſured, that, in purſuance of their advice, he ſhould take ſuch meaſures as ſhould appear to him to be moſt conducive to the reſtoration of harmony between Great Britain and her revolted colonies, ſo eſſential to the proſperity of both; and that his efforts ſhould be directed, in the moſt effectual manner, againſt our European enemies, until ſuch a peace could be obtained, as ſhould conſiſt with the intereſts and permanent welfare of his kingdoms.

This parliamentary determination, againſt any farther proſecution of the American war, was a moſt important event. It appeared to render a change of meaſures, and of counſels, immediately and abſolutely neceſſary; and it diffuſed no inconſiderable degree of joy throughout the kingdom, as it had ſo manifeſt a tendency towards the accelerating that peace, which the intereſts of the nation ſo indiſpenſably

ſably required; and as almoſt all men were now become weary of that unhappy conteſt with the colonies, which had been productive of nothing but national calamity and diſgrace, an enormous weight of taxes, and an immenſe augmentation of the public debt.

But though the proceedings of the houſe of commons, in addreſſing his majeſty againſt any farther proſecution of the American war, gave general ſatisfaction, yet the royal anſwer was not thought ſufficiently explicit. It was, therefore, obſerved by general Conway, in the houſe of commons, on the 4th of March, that he hoped he ſhould be ſupported by the houſe, in his deſire of ſecuring the nation againſt the poſſibility of a doubt, that the American war was not now completely concluded. Something, perhaps, might yet be wanting, to confirm the reſolution of the houſe of the 27th of February; ſomething by which miniſters might be ſo expreſsly bound, that however deſirous of evaſion, they would not have it in their power to evade the injunction of that houſe. He, therefore, moved, "That an humble addreſs ſhould be preſented to his majeſty, to return his majeſty the thanks of that houſe, for his gracious anſwer to their addreſs preſented to him on Friday laſt, and for the aſſurances he had been pleaſed to give them of his intention, in purſuance of the advice of that houſe, to take ſuch meaſures as ſhould appear moſt conducive to the reſtoration of harmony between Great Britain and the revolted colonies; and that his efforts ſhould be directed in the moſt effectual manner againſt our European enemies, until ſuch a peace could be obtained, as ſhould conſiſt with the permanent welfare and proſperity of his kingdoms: that houſe being convinced, that nothing could, in the preſent circumſtances of this country, ſo eſſentially promote thoſe great objects of his majeſty's paternal care for his people, as the meaſures which his faithful commons had moſt humbly, but earneſtly recommended to his majeſty." This motion was agreed to, *nemine contradicente*; after which the general made a ſecond motion, that it ſhould be reſolved by that houſe, "That, after the ſolemn declaration of the opinion of that houſe, in their humble addreſs preſented to his majeſty on Friday laſt, and his majeſty's aſſurance of his gracious intention, in purſuance of their advice, to take ſuch meaſures as ſhould appear to his majeſty to be moſt conducive to the reſtoration of harmony between Great Britain and the revolted colonies, ſo eſſential to the proſperity of both, that houſe would conſider as enemies to his majeſty, and this country, all thoſe who ſhould endeavour to fruſtrate his majeſty's paternal care for the eaſe and happineſs of his people, by adviſing, or by any means attempting, the farther proſecution of offenſive war on the continent of North America, for the purpoſe of reducing the revolted colonies to obedience by force." The motion was ſeconded by lord Althorpe.

It was obſerved by lord North, that though he ſhould not oppoſe the general's motion, he conſidered it as entirely unneceſſary. In his opinion, it had for its object only to ſtrengthen that which was ſufficiently ſtrong already. The majority of that houſe had reſolved, that peace ſhould be made with America: they had carried up a correſpondent addreſs to his majeſty, to which an anſwer had been returned, which he conſidered as ſatisfactory. He was not of the diſpoſition of thoſe who complained of majorities in that

houſe; who condemned them; and, by factious and ſeditious miſrepreſentations, held them out to the public in the moſt odious colours. A majority of that houſe was, in parliamentary language, the houſe itſelf. It could never make him change a ſingle opinion, yet he bowed to that opinion which was ſanctioned by the majority. Though he might not be a convert to ſuch opinion, ſtill he held it to be his indiſpenſable duty to obey it, and never once to loſe ſight of it, in the advice, which, as a ſervant of the crown, he ſhould have occaſion to give his ſovereign. It was the right of that houſe to command; it was the duty of a miniſter to obey its reſolutions. Parliament had already expreſſed its deſires, or its orders; and as it was ſcarcely poſſible, that a miniſter ſhould be found ſufficiently hardy, daring, and infamous, to adviſe his ſovereign to differ in opinion from his parliament, ſo he could not think that the preſent motion, which muſt ſuppoſe the exiſtence of ſuch a miniſter, could be at all neceſſary. After ſome debate, the motion was agreed to, without a diviſion.

The following day a motion was made by the attorney-general, "for leave to bring in a bill, to enable his majeſty to conclude a truce or peace with the revolted colonies in America." The motion was ridiculed by Mr. Fox, on account of the quarter from whence it came, but no ſerious oppoſition was made to it.

On the 6th of the month, after a number of papers had been read, in the houſe of peers, relative to the ſurrender of earl Cornwallis and the army under his command, the two following motions were made by the duke of Chandos. Firſt, "That it was the opinion of that houſe, that the immediate cauſe of the capture of the army under earl Cornwallis, in Virginia, appeared to have been the want of a ſufficient naval force, to cover and protect the ſame." Secondly, "That the not covering and protecting the army under earl Cornwallis, in a proper manner, was highly blameable in thoſe who adviſed and planned the expedition." After ſome debate, the motions were rejected, upon a diviſion, by a majority of 72 to 37.

The ſame day, lord North gave notice in the houſe of commons, that it would be neceſſary for him to poſtpone, for ſome days, laying before the houſe the new taxes, which were to pay the intereſt of the loan: upon which he was ſeverely attacked by Mr. Burke, who obſerved, that it was ſomewhat extraordinary, that the noble lord ſhould now come forward, and inform them he was not prepared with his taxes, to pay the intereſt for a loan which had been voted above a week. If the noble lord, who, by the nature of his office, could procure every information poſſible, was not prepared with reſpect to the taxes he meant to produce, was it reaſonable or juſt to ſuppoſe, that perſons totally unacquainted with them, could, with any degree of juſtice to their conſtituents, vote thoſe taxes at firſt ſight? He had been lately taking a view of the bleſſed fruits of the noble lord's adminiſtration; and he had found, that we were loaden with ten new taxes, viz. beer, wine, ſoap, leather, houſes, coaches, poſt-chaiſes, poſt-horſes, ſtamps, and ſervants. It was, indeed, no wonder, that the miniſter ſhould be at a loſs about new taxes; for what freſh burthen could he add to this unhappy nation? We were already taxed, if we rode, or if we walked; if we

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ſtaid at home, or if we went abroad; if we were maſters, or if we were ſervants; if we drank wine, or if we drank beer; and, in ſhort, we were taxed every way poſſible. In the courſe of the noble lord's adminiſtration, we had expended one hundred millions of money, and ſacrificed many thouſand valuable lives; all which had not produced the leaſt benefit to the nation; but, on the contrary, had been employed in depriving the nation of thirteen colonies, to which might be added the loſs of Senegal, Penſacola, Minorca, and ſome of our beſt Weſt India iſlands.

CHAP. XIII.

Debate on a Motion of Lord John Cavendiſh, intended to precede others, imputing the public Calamities to the Want of Foreſight and Ability in his Majeſty's Miniſters. The Motion rejected, upon a Diviſion, by a Motion for the Order of the Day being carried by a ſmall Majority. New Taxes propoſed by the Miniſter. A Motion made by Sir John Rous, declaring that the Houſe of Commons could have no farther Confidence in the Miniſters who had the Direction of public Affairs, rejected by a ſmall Majority. A ſimilar Motion intended to have been made by the Earl of Surrey, but withdrawn, in Conſequence of a Declaration of Lord North.

NOTWITHSTANDING the majority which had lately appeared againſt the miniſtry in the houſe of commons, and the pernicious conſequences which had attended their meaſures, they ſtill diſcovered a great unwillingneſs to retire from power; and the firſt lord of the treaſury, in particular, ſeemed determined not to reſign, till he ſhould be compelled to it by the moſt abſolute neceſſity. The members of the oppoſition, however, continued to employ the moſt vigorous efforts, in order to effectuate a change of adminiſtration. On the 8th of March, a motion was made, in the houſe of commons, by lord John Cavendiſh, that it ſhould be reſolved, "That it appeared to that houſe, that ſince the year 1775, upwards of one hundred millions of money had been expended on the army and navy, in a fruitleſs war." He alſo informed the houſe, that if this motion were carried, he meant to follow it up with the three following reſolutions:

"Reſolved, That it appears to this houſe, that during the above period we have loſt the thirteen colonies of America, which anciently did belong to the crown of Great Britain (except the poſts of New York, Charles-town, and Savannah), the newly acquired colony of Florida, many of our valuable Weſt India and other iſlands, and thoſe few that remain are in the moſt imminent danger.

"That it appears to this houſe, that Great Britain is at preſent engaged in an expenſive war with France, Spain, and Holland, without a ſingle ally.

"That it appears to this houſe, that the chief cauſe of all theſe misfortunes is want of foreſight and ability in his majeſty's miniſters."

In the ſpeech by which he introduced his motion, his lordſhip obſerved, that when he reflected on

the ſingular, the alarming, and the calamitous ſituation of our country, he felt himſelf impelled by every principle of duty to his conſtituents, and by every emotion of regard for the remaining part of the dominions of Great Britain, to call the ſerious attention of that houſe to the real ſtate of public affairs. The great and ſplendid empire of Britain was nearly overturned; calamity, diſgrace, and diſaſter, were pouring upon us from every quarter; and the meaſure of our misfortunes was likely to be ſoon completed, by the loſs of all our dominions in America and the Weſt Indies. When he looked round for the cauſes of our calamities, the firſt thing that ſtruck him was, the profuſion with which the public ſupplies had been voted. The ſums already voted for the preſent diſaſtrous and diſgraceful war, under the three heads of navy, army, and ordnance, amounted to the immenſe total of one hundred millions. To this ſum might be added the difference between the navy debt at the end of the year 1774, and that of the preſent year; which, with a few items ſtill to be voted for the ſervice of the current year, would ſwell the total to one hundred and three millions. The taxes, which the war had made it neceſſary to impoſe, already exceeded three millions annually. In the laſt glorious war we had been led on from victory to victory, from conqueſt to conqueſt; and the taxes laid on, during the war, amounted to no more than 2,500,000l. What a difference in the ſums! What a difference in the conſequences of the expenditure of both! At the end of the laſt war, the whole world was at our feet; and there was not in the world a navy but our own. In this diſgraceful war, we had already ſpent infinitely more money, and purchaſed nothing but loſſes and diſgrace. America was gone, Minorca was no more in our poſſeſſion, and our dominion in the Weſt Indies was nearly annihilated; while our navy was every where inferior to that of our numerous and combined enemies.

The motion was ſeconded by Mr. Powys, member for Northamptonſhire; who remarked, that the noble lord, to whom the chief direction of public affairs was at preſent entruſted, had made a declaration, that if parliament ſhould withdraw its confidence from him, he would reſign. That period was come; the confidence of parliament was withdrawn; and it was therefore neceſſary that he ſhould retire from power. And whenever the happy moment ſhould arrive, in which the noble lord, to the unſpeakable joy of the nation, ſhould really go to his ſovereign to reſign his employments, he hoped he would not forget to lay before the king a fair repreſentation of the flouriſhing ſtate in which he found his majeſty's empire, when the government of it was intruſted to his hands, and the ruinous condition in which he was about to leave all that remained of it.

The ſecretary at war acknowledged, that the fact ſtated in the motion before the houſe, that an hundred millions had been expended in the war, was unqueſtionably true; but ſtill it would, in his opinion, be very impolitic in parliament to come to ſuch a reſolution. It would tend to make known to our enemies every ſecret relative to our finances, with which they were not already fully acquainted; and it would expreſs a degree of impatience under our diſtreſſes, which muſt neceſſarily be detrimental to us in a negociation for peace. To ſtate our heavy and

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accumulated expences, would argue a moſt heart-felt wearineſs of the war; and, of courſe, would imply an impatience to get rid of it. From ſuch a preliminary to peace, no good was to be expected. It would declare to the enemy, that being ſick of, and exhauſted by the war, we were ready to purchaſe peace on any terms. This would be dangerous language to hold to an enemy; and the more true, the more dangerous. As to the war in which we were engaged with America, it was undoubtedly unſucceſsful: but it was not on that account the leſs juſt in its principle. It was undertaken to defend the rights of parliament; and the general voice of the people had concurred in the juſtice of that meaſure. If we found ourſelves now, after a tedious and unſucceſsful war, obliged to relinquiſh the object of it, we were exactly in the ſame ſituation in which the moſt wiſe and powerful nations had ſtood in their turn. Auſtria, and the houſe of Bourbon, had ſtood in ſimilar predicaments with the empire of Great Britain. Each, approaching to the plenitude of power, became expoſed to the attacks of hoſts of enemies, who never reſted till they had accompliſhed at leaſt a tranſient diminution of their ſplendour and importance. This country, in its turn, was humbled; and in its turn would, doubtleſs, riſe again to its accuſtomed grandeur. Upon the whole, he diſapproved of the motion of the noble lord; and therefore moved, "for the order of the day."

The motion of Lord John Cavendiſh was alſo opppoſed by the ſecretary of ſtate for the American department; who remarked, that the French, the Spaniards, the Dutch, and the Americans, endeavoured to conceal the real ſtatement of their ſupplies for war; and, certainly, they would conſider the man either as a knave or an ideot, who ſhould adviſe them publicly to declare that their reſources were exhauſted; that they felt it impoſſible to deviſe the abſolutely wanted number of productive taxes; that thoſe already levied had ſunk the people into the deepeſt miſery; that their armies were daily waſting; their ſquadrons rapidly decreaſing; their arts, their manufactures, and their commerce, withering at the root; and that peace only, immediate peace, could ſave them from perdition. It was true, that our enterprizes by ſea and land had frequently miſcarried: but did it follow, that the cabinet who planned the naval and military operations ſhould be conſidered, from the moment of their failure, as criminal and reſponſible? Was it certain, that thoſe directed to carry them into execution were in no reſpect cenſurable? He did not mean to inſinuate, that the officers of either the fleet, or the army, were in the leaſt to blame; but he maintained, that it was a very fallacious poſition, that whenever a plan does not ſucceed, the miniſters who ſuggeſted it are abſolutely reſponſible for all the conſequences. In a variety of caſes, neither the cabinet deviſing enterprizes, nor the commanders and officers in the marine and military departments directed to conduct them, and failing in the attempt, had merited the leaſt diſapprobation. The beſt concerted projects muſt fall before the will of Providence, againſt which the moſt ſtrenuous exertions of human fortitude and wiſdom were impotent and unavailing. The annals of all nations, both in the modern and the earlier ages, were filled with records of calamities in war, which human penetration could not foreſee; and, therefore, they were inevitable. As to the motion of the

noble lord, it was improper in a variety of views, and must therefore meet with his disapprobation. It would cast an unjust censure upon the ministry, and would be making a very impolitic representation of the state of our affairs to the world at large.

The motion was supported by Mr. Burke, who observed, that it was not so much the idea of the noble lord, with whom it originated, to lay before the public the description of calamities, with which they were too well acquainted, as to point out the causes and the authors of their sufferings, and to inculcate the opinion that an immediate change of men might, probably, bring on a salutary change of measures. The conduct of the servants of the crown had been invariably criminal from the first hour of their administration to the present, which ought to be, but, most unfortunately, was not the last. All public documents, relative to the disposition of the finances, exhibited an iniquitous example of the mismanagement, the profusion, and, in short, the general enormities of an unprincipled administration. Among the many exorbitant charges in the papers on the table of that house, he found that the sum of 57,000l. was set down in the year's expences for presents to Indians, and other sums for services performed by them, the whole amounting to one hundred thousand pounds. He was, therefore, rather of opinion, that these Indian savages set too high a value upon their labours; for it appeared, that for this great sum they had only massacred twenty-five women and children. Either the British administration were too generous to their respectable and compassionate allies, or these good creatures had estimated the blood of females, and of infants, at prices more exorbitant than what they usually demanded. Mr. Burke also pointed out sundry other instances of great extravagance in the expenditure for the war; and then adverted to a declaration which had formerly been made by the minister, that he would never quit his office, until he could quit it with honour. The nation then, Mr. Burke said, had the fullest reason to rejoice, and might congratulate themselves upon the glorious prospect of participating, for a length of time, in all the blessings which must inevitably result from his continuance in power; for if the noble lord did not retire, till he could quit the helm of government with honour, he would remain in it from the present moment to the hour of his death.

After a debate of considerable length, the house divided on the motion for the order of the day; when the numbers for it appeared to be 226, and against it 216; so that, on this occasion, there was a majority of ten in favour of administration.

On the 11th of the month, lord North proposed to the house his new taxes, which were, a new duty on small beer, an additional duty upon tea-licences, a duty of three farthings per pound on soap, an additional import duty on tobacco, an additional duty on brandy, an additional duty on salt, a duty on medicinal salts, an annual duty on all sums of money insured on houses and goods from fire, a duty on inland bills of exchange, on all places of public entertainment, and on the carriage of goods. Some of these taxes were agreed to by the house, but others of them were vehemently opposed, both in the house, and out of it; particularly the tax on soap, on the carriage of goods, and on places of public entertainments.

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They were, indeed, ſo much diſliked, that they contributed greatly to increaſe the unpopularity of the miniſter, and were finally rejected by the houſe.

A few days after, another motion was made in the houſe of commons, March 15. by Sir John Rous, member for the county of Suffolk, the deſign of which was to accelerate a change of adminiſtration. It was moved by that gentleman, that it ſhould be reſolved, "That that houſe (taking into conſideration the great ſums voted, and the debts incurred, for the ſervice of the army, navy, and ordnance, in this unfortunate war, to the amount of upwards of one hundred millions; and finding that the nation, notwithſtanding theſe extraordinary exertions, had loſt thirteen ancient colonies belonging to the crown of Great Britain, the newly acquired province of Weſt Florida, and the iſlands of Dominica, St. Vincent, Grenada, Tobago, and Minorca, beſides ſeveral commercial fleets of the utmoſt importance to the wealth of this country; and that we were ſtill involved in war with three powerful nations in Europe, without one ſingle ally) could have no farther confidence in the miniſters, who had the direction of public affairs." In the ſpeech, by which he introduced this motion, Sir John Rous obſerved, that he was originally much attached to the noble lord who took the lead in the preſent adminiſtration, and had ſupported many of his meaſures; but he conſidered it as wiſe and honeſt to leave the miniſterial ſtandard of the noble lord, when the deteſted ſyſtem of his politics was upon the point of plunging the empire of Great Britain into irrecoverable calamity and ſhame; a period, at which it was impoſſible for any man, who knew the nature of his duty to the prince, and to the people, and who diſdained the turpitude of ſwerving from its dictates, to continue the ſupporter of thoſe executive ſervants of the crown, who, having perſiſted in a frantic war, diſſipating, without ſervice, an enormous portion of the public treaſure, and ſpilling, to as little purpoſe, the blood of thouſands of our choiceſt mariners and ſoldiers, were ſtill farther from the attainment of their object than when they firſt entered upon hoſtilities againſt the colonies of America. Neither the repreſentatives of the people, nor the nation at large, had any confidence in the preſent executive ſervants of the crown; and they ought, therefore, to be immediately removed from office.

A long debate enſued, in the courſe of which Sir James Marriot, judge of the court of admiralty, made a ſpeech in oppoſition to the motion, in which he introduced ſundry topics, and urged various arguments in ſupport of adminiſtration. Among other things, he maintained, that the American war was juſt in its origin; and to ſhew that it was ſo, he informed the houſe, that though it had been frequently pretended, that the inhabitants of the colonies were not repreſented in the Britiſh parliament, yet the fact was otherwiſe; for they were actually repreſented. The firſt colonization, by national and ſovereign authority, he remarked, was the eſtabliſhment of the colony of Virginia. The grants and charters made of thoſe lands, and of all the ſubſequent colonies, were of one tenor, and expreſſed in the following terms: "To have and to hold of the king or queen's majeſty, as part and parcel of the manor of Eaſt Greenwich, within the county of Kent,

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reddendum, a certain rent at our caſtle of Eaſt Greenwich, &c." So that the inhabitants of America were, in fact, by the nature of their tenure, repreſented in parliament by the knights of the ſhire for the county of Kent. This curious legal diſcovery, that the American colonies were *part* and *parcel* of the *manor of Eaſt Greenwich*, though delivered by the learned judge with all proper gravity and ſolemnity, yet excited ſo much merriment in the houſe, that it was with great difficulty, for ſome time, that the ſpeaker could preſerve any kind of order.

Lord North endeavoured to vindicate his own adminiſtration. He affirmed, that it could not be declared with truth, by that houſe, that the loſs of the American colonies, or of the Weſt India iſlands, or our other national calamities, originated from the meaſures of the preſent adminiſtration. The repeal of the American ſtamp-act, and the paſſing of the declaratory law, took place before his entrance into office. As a private member of parliament, he gave his vote in favour of both; but, as a miniſter, he was not reſponſible for either. When he accepted his poſt, the times were ſcarcely leſs violent than the preſent. He approached the helm, when others had deſerted it; and, ſtanding there, he had uſed his utmoſt efforts to aſſiſt his country. That the American war was juſt and requiſite, and proſecuted for the purpoſe of ſupporting and maintaining the rights of the Britiſh legiſlature, was a poſition for the truth of which he would ever contend, whilſt he enjoyed the power of arguing at all upon the ſubject. As to peace, he not only wiſhed moſt earneſtly for it, but alſo for the formation of ſuch a miniſtry, as might at once prove welcome to the country, and, with unanimous cordiality, co-operate for the welfare, and the honour of the ſtate. It was not an attachment to the honours and emoluments of office which had kept him ſo long in place; and he ſhould diſdain to throw impediments in the way of any honourable and ſalutary coalition of parties, though for the adjuſtment of an adminiſtration, from which he might perceive himſelf excluded. The houſe at length divided upon the queſtion, when there appeared for it 227, and againſt it 236; ſo that there was a majority of nine in favour of adminiſtration.

Notwithſtanding this ſeemingly favourable determination, it was ſo well known that the miniſtry could not ſtand their ground, that four days after, a ſimilar motion to that made by Sir John Rous, was to have been made by the earl of Surrey; but when his lordſhip was about to riſe for that purpoſe, lord North addreſſed himſelf to the ſpeaker, and endeavoured to gain the attention of the houſe. This occaſioned ſome altercation, it being contended by many members, that the earl of Surrey ought to be heard firſt. But lord North being at length ſuffered to proceed, he obſerved, that as he underſtood the motion to be made by the noble earl was ſimilar to that made a few days before, and the object of which was the removal of the miniſters, he had ſuch information to communicate to the houſe, as muſt, he conceived, render any ſuch motion now unneceſſary. He could with authority aſſure the houſe, that his majeſty had come to a full determination to change his miniſters. Indeed, thoſe perſons, who had for ſome time conducted the public affairs, were no longer his majeſty's miniſters. They were not now to be conſidered as men holding the March 19.

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reins of government, and tranſacting meaſures of ſtate, but merely remaining to do their official duty, till other miniſters were appointed to take their places. The ſooner thoſe new miniſters were appointed, his lordſhip declared, that, in his opinion, the better it would be for the public buſineſs, and the general intereſts of the nation. He returned thanks to the houſe, for the many inſtances of favour and indulgence which he had received from them, during the courſe of his adminiſtration; and he declared, that he conſidered himſelf as reſponſible, in all ſenſes of the word, for every circumſtance of his miniſterial conduct, and that he ſhould be ready to anſwer to his country, whenever he ſhould be called upon for that purpoſe.

The earl of Surrey informed the houſe, that the motion, which he intended to have made, was deſigned to declare to the nation, and to all Europe, that the miniſtry were not diſmiſſed, becauſe they wanted to avoid the fatigues of office, but becauſe the parliament had totally withdrawn from them their good opinion, and their confidence, and were determined no longer to permit the perpetration of thoſe violent abuſes of their truſt, to which, with impunity, and to the diſgrace and detriment of the ſtate, they had for ſuch a length of time proceeded. His lordſhip, however, agreed, in conſequence of the declaration of lord North, to wave his intended motion; and, after ſome farther debate, the houſe adjourned.

CHAP. XIV.

Complete Change of the Adminiſtration. Peace the firſt Object of Attention to the New Miniſtry. The neceſſary Steps for its Attainment immediately adopted. Overtures made to the States-general. Negociations for a general Peace commenced at Paris. An Offer, from his Britannic Majeſty, to acknowledge the Independence of the United States of America. Debate in the Houſe of Commons on the Affairs of Ireland, in Conſequence of a Motion made by Mr. Eden, for repealing the Declaratory Law, reſpecting Ireland, of the 6th of George I. The Motion withdrawn.

AT the commencement of the year 1782, no proſpect appeared of any change in the adminiſtration. Notwithſtanding the very vigorous and able oppoſition which was maintained in parliament, there did not ſeem to be any rational expectation of a material alteration in that ſyſtem of public meaſures, which had been ſo pertinaciouſly adhered to, and which had proved ſo deſtructive in its conſequences. But, by degrees, the calamities occaſioned by the American war, the enormous weight of taxes, and the diminution of the value of property, opened the eyes of many of thoſe country gentlemen, who had generally voted with the miniſtry. They ſaw the dangers to which the nation was expoſed, they felt the preſſure of the public burthens, and they deſerted the ſtandard of adminiſtration. The miniſterial majorities of courſe began to diminiſh, the oppoſition became much increaſed in numbers, and a complete revolution in the adminiſtration

niſtration was at length effected. Of ſome of the circumſtances which preceded this great event, we have already given an account; but the private negociations with the ſovereign, relative to the arrangements in the new miniſtry, were naturally of ſo private a nature, and have been ſo variouſly reported, that of theſe tranſactions we cannot attempt to give a minute or particular narration. It is ſuppoſed, that the great perſonage, whoſe concurrence was neceſſary in this important political revolution, experienced no ordinary degree of agitation of mind, on being in a manner compelled to make ſo total a change in his councils. For it is underſtood, that, on this occaſion, the leading members of oppoſition were united together with great firmneſs, and would agree to no coalition with any of the oppoſite party, excepting only with the noble lord who was inveſted with the office of chancellor of the kingdom. On the 27th and 30th of March, the following arrangements took place in the adminiſtration: the marquis of Rockingham was appointed firſt lord of the treaſury; lord John Cavendiſh, chancellor of the exchequer; the earl of Shelburne and Mr. Fox, principal ſecretaries of ſtate; lord Camden, preſident of the council; the duke of Richmond, maſter of the ordnance; the duke of Grafton, lord privy-ſeal; admiral Keppel, firſt lord of the admiralty; general Conway, commander in chief of all the forces in Great Britain; Mr. Thomas Townſhend, ſecretary at war; Mr. Burke, paymaſter of the forces; and colonel Barrè, treaſurer of the navy. Other offices and honours were likewiſe conferred on different members of the oppoſition, and ſome were raiſed to the peerage, particularly admiral Keppel, ſir Fletcher Norton, and Mr. Dunning.

So complete and radical a change of thoſe, to whom the management of the affairs of the kingdom was entruſted, gave great ſatisfaction to a very large part of the nation, and afforded the moſt flattering hopes to thoſe who had a ſincere attachment to the intereſts of their country. So many men of diſtinguiſhed abilities, and who profeſſed ſuch public-ſpirited principles, had never before been united in adminiſtration; they came into power, indeed, at a period when the nation was in a ſituation extremely calamitous, difficult, and dangerous; but, at all events, ſuch a miniſtry, if they continued united, could not but be productive of ſignal advantages to the nation.

The firſt buſineſs in which the new miniſtry engaged, was the taking ſuch meaſures as were proper to effectuate a general peace. No time was loſt in the purſuit of this great object, or in taking the neceſſary ſteps for its attainment. Accordingly, the empreſs of Ruſſia having offered her mediation, in order to reſtore peace between Great Britain and Holland, Mr. ſecretary Fox, within two days after his entrance into office, wrote a letter to Monſ. Simolin, the Ruſſian miniſter in London, informing him, that his majeſty was ready to enter into a negociation, for the purpoſe of ſetting on foot a treaty of peace, on the terms and conditions of that which was agreed to in 1674, between his majeſty and the republic of Holland; and that in order to facilitate ſuch a treaty, he was willing to give immediate orders for a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, if the ſtates-general were diſpoſed to agree to that meaſure. In another letter, dated May 4, 1782, in anſwer to one received from the Ruſſian miniſter, Mr. Fox took notice of the late change in his majeſty's

jeſty's councils, and obſerved, that his majeſty was willing to allow to the Dutch the entire liberty of navigation, according to the treaty of 1674, between Great Britain and the republic; a treaty, by which the principles of the armed neutrality were eſtabliſhed, in their wideſt extent, to all the contracting parties; and that his majeſty would accept, as the baſis of a ſeparate peace between him and the ſtates-general, a free navigation, according to the principles demanded by her imperial majeſty, in her declaration of the 28th of February, 1780.

But the ſtates of Holland did not appear inclined to a ſeparate peace; nor, perhaps, would it have been agreeable to the principles of ſound policy, if they had agreed to any propoſitions of this kind. However, immediately after the change of miniſtry, negociations for a general peace were commenced at Paris. Mr. Grenville was inveſted with full powers to treat with all the parties at war; and was alſo directed to propoſe the independency of the thirteen United Provinces of America, in the firſt inſtance, inſtead of making it a condition of a general treaty. Admiral Digby and general Carleton were alſo directed to acquaint the American congreſs with the pacific views of the Britiſh court, and with the offer that was made to acknowledge the independency of the United States.

On the change of the miniſtry, the earl of Carliſle was removed from the office of lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and the duke of Portland was appointed in his ſtead; and on the 8th of April, a debate on the affairs of Ireland took place in the houſe of commons. It was opened by colonel Luttrell, who obſerved, that he had been encouraged to hope, in conſequence of an interview with which he had been honoured with two members of the new adminiſtration, that all the means which either wiſdom, liberality, juſtice, or an ardent zeal for the inviolable privileges of England and Ireland could poſſibly ſuggeſt, would be recurred to, in order to accommodate the diſputes ſubſiſting between the two kingdoms. He was informed, that the preſent miniſtry intended to treat a point of ſuch extreme importance, in that manner which ſhould be the moſt conducive to the advancement of the mutual proſperity and honour of Ireland and Great Britain; and that they only wiſhed for the indulgence of a few days, in order that they might inveſtigate every particular to the bottom, and thence proceed to the moſt conciliating and beneficial meaſures. He was ſenſible, that it was requiſite to give the miniſters a ſufficient time deliberately to digeſt, and cautiouſly to prepare, their plans reſpecting the concerns of Ireland. In the mean while, as he perceived in the houſe a right honourable gentleman, who held a very important poſt in Ireland, and who was in fact the prime miniſter of that kingdom, he hoped, that he would favour the houſe with ſatisfactory information reſpecting the affairs of that country, and with his opinion what ſteps it would become the Britiſh parliament to take, for the purpoſe of removing from Ireland all cauſe of complaint, and of entirely reconciling her to this her ſiſter kingdom.

Mr. Eden, ſecretary to the earl of Carliſle, as lord-lieutenant of Ireland, and who had haſtily arrived from that kingdom, in conſequence of the change of adminiſtration, now roſe, and remarked, that if he had not been called upon to deliver his ſentiments, he ſhould have regarded it as a duty which he owed both

to

to Great Britain and to Ireland, as a ſervant of the public, and as a member of parliament in both kingdoms, to ſtate, with candour and with frankneſs, whatſoever he knew reſpecting the preſent pretenſions and ſituation of Ireland. In a ſpeech of conſiderable length, he then gave the houſe an account of various tranſactions in that kingdom, which have already been noticed in our hiſtory. He alſo remarked, that though, in conſequence of the acts paſſed, in the year 1780, Ireland had emerged from laws, which, for a length of time, had fettered all her induſtry and commerce; yet the increaſe of the opulence of the kingdom was not equal to thoſe ſanguine expectations, which were entertained by multitudes, amidſt their firſt and too deceiving golden dreams, of the extenſive benefits which would accompany a free trade; and, therefore, they looked back with dread upon the Engliſh laws, and reſolved to aſſert the independency of their own parliament upon that of Great Britain. It was at a critical period, that the earl of Carliſle had been appointed to the poſt of lord-lieutenant of Ireland; but his lordſhip had diligently attended to the commercial and manufacturing intereſts of that nation, and had ſo conducted himſelf, as to gain the good opinion of the people. They were, however, univerſally determined to aſſert the legiſlative independency of Ireland. He ſhould not enter into an inquiry, whether this was a queſtion of right, or of power. It had undoubtedly been exerciſed, in a multitude of inſtances, for a long period of years. It was, however, become impoſſible to exerciſe it longer; nor, perhaps, could any benefit reſult from it, ſince the ſyſtem of reſtraining Iriſh commerce had been wiſely diſcontinued. Every enlightened country was beſt governed by its own laws. If the maintenance of this legiſlation were a mere queſtion of pride, he ſhould contend againſt it; and, indeed, England had loſt all pretenſions to pride. It might, indeed, deſerve conſideration, whether any new compact between the two countries could now be ſettled, to prevent any ſeparation of intereſts, in tranſactions of war and peace with foreign nations; or any introduction of laws in Ireland adverſe to thoſe of Great Britain. He was, however, convinced, from what he knew of the preſent diſpoſition of the people of Ireland, that it was abſolutely neceſſary to repeal ſo much of the act of the 6th of George I. as aſſerted a right in the king and parliament of Great Britain to make laws to bind the kingdom and people of Ireland. He, therefore, now moved, "That "leave ſhould be given to bring in "a bill, to repeal ſo much of an "act, intituled, An Act for the bet-"ter ſecuring the dependency of "the kingdom of Ireland upon the "crown of Great Britain, as de-"clares, that the king's majeſty, by "and with the advice and conſent of "the lords ſpiritual and temporal, "and commons of Great Britain in "parliament aſſembled, had, hath, "and of right ought to have, full "power and authority to make laws "and ſtatutes, of ſufficient force "and validity to bind the kingdom "and people of Ireland."

The ſpeech of Mr. Eden was ſo plauſible, that it did not at firſt appear to make any unfavourable impreſſion on the houſe. But Mr. ſecretary Fox roſe, and made a very able ſpeech, in which he ſeemed to give the fulleſt conviction to the majority of the members of the houſe, that Mr. Eden's motion was only a manœuvre to embarraſs the new adminiſtration;

miniſtration; and that this gentleman's conduct was extremely reprehenſible, in making a motion of ſo important a nature, in the preſent critical ſtate of affairs in Ireland, without having previouſly conſulted any of the preſent executive ſervants of the crown, or even uttered a ſingle ſyllable upon the ſubject to any one member of adminiſtration. Mr. Fox alſo read a letter from Mr. Eden to the earl of Shelburne, in which that gentleman refuſed to communicate his ſentiments, on the ſtate of affairs in Ireland, to the new miniſters, under pretence that they had ill treated the earl of Carliſle *. If Mr. Eden, the ſecretary obſerved, had thought proper to conſult any of the preſent miniſters, prior to the adoption of any meaſure in parliament, reſpecting Iriſh affairs, he might have diſcovered, that, notwithſtanding the ſhort period which had elapſed, ſubſequent to the entrance of the preſent miniſters on their reſpective offices, they had directed their moſt ſerious and ſtrict attention to the alarming ſtate of Ireland; and that it was not from the leaſt averſion to do ample juſtice to the ſiſter-kingdom, that they had not, on the firſt day of their appearing within that houſe as miniſters, propoſed meaſures, in their opinion, expedient and beneficial, calculated to conciliate the affections of the Iriſh, and terminate the uneaſineſſes, the jealouſies, and the tumults, which had ſubſiſted, and continued to ſubſiſt, in that oppreſſed and irritated country. It was not from the leaſt want of inclination to put Ireland in poſſeſſion of all her actual rights, that they had not yet proceeded to deciſive ſteps; but becauſe they diſdained to imitate one of the moſt reprehenſible points of conduct in their predeceſſors, who had catched, with equal eagerneſs and want of policy, at the expedient of the minute, and ſought rather to patch up a preſent difficulty, on any terms whatever, than to meet it fairly, to fathom its depth, and to diſcover, and immediately purſue, the moſt ſubſtantial and laſting modes of remedying a real evil, and preventing its return. It was with a view to ſettle the conſtitution of the two countries, in ſuch a manner as ſhould prove perfectly ſatisfactory to England and to Ireland, and ſhould promiſe to give a laſting harmony to both, that his majeſty's miniſters pauſed upon the ſubject; and not from any unfriendly diſpoſitions towards Ireland, or from any idea that her claims were either unjuſt or abſurd, or from the moſt diſtant intention of letting them remain unſatisfied. After ſome farther debate, Mr. Eden agreed to withdraw his motion.

A motion was then made by Mr. Crewe, member for Cheſhire, for leave to bring in a bill "for the bet-
"ter ſecuring the freedom of elec-
"tions of members to ſerve in par-
"liament, by diſabling certain of-
"ficers, employed in the collection
"or management of his majeſty's
"revenues, from giving their votes
"at ſuch elections." The motion was ſupported by Mr. Fox, who obſerved, that it was highly neceſſary that not an hour ſhould be loſt, in giving the public the ſtrongeſt proof, that his majeſty's miniſters were ſincerely determined to make ſuch reforms as were neceſſary, and to enforce that ſyſtem of government

* This letter may be found among the *Public Papers*, in the preſent volume of our work, p. 148, 149.

which

which they had repeatedly called for when not in place. He alſo ſaid, that he thought it right to take the preſent opportunity of declaring, that though he thought but very indifferently of the ſtate of the nation a fortnight ago, his opinion of it was much worſe at the preſent moment. His ſuſpicions of the negligence, and ſcandalous miſmanagement of his majeſty's late miniſters, were now matured into ripe judgment; and he was ſorry to have found, that things were infinitely worſe than he had imagined, and that, bad as they had been deſcribed, the deſcription given to that houſe, by him and others, from time to time, fell infinitely ſhort of the real ſituation of affairs; which ſituation was ſo manifeſtly imputable to the neglect of the late miniſters, that he ſhould not think that their ſucceſſors acted either fairly or honeſtly by the houſe, or by the people, if they did not inſtitute inquiries; and ſuch inquiries as would give the country a correct ſtate of the condition in which public matters really ſtood.

Mr. Crew's motion was agreed to, as was alſo another made by Sir Philip Jennings Clerke, that the bill for excluding contractors from the houſe of commons ſhould be recommitted: after which the houſe adjourned.

CHAP. XV.

Meſſage from the King to both Houſes, relative to the Affairs of Ireland. Meaſures adopted to conciliate the Minds of the Inhabitants of that Kingdom. The Act of the 6th of George I. for ſecuring the Dependency of the Kingdom of Ireland upon the Crown of Great Britain, repealed. Diſcontents in Scotland.

THE new miniſtry were ſo much determined to give the moſt ſatisfactory evidence, that no delay was intended in adjuſting the affairs of Ireland, or in giving every reaſonable ſatisfaction to that kingdom, that on the day immediately ſubſequent to that on which Mr. Eden made his motion for repealing the declaratory law of the 6th of George I. the following meſſage from the king was delivered to the houſe of commons by Mr. ſecretary Fox: "His majeſty being concerned to find, that diſcontents and jealouſies are prevailing among his loyal ſubjects in Ireland, upon matters of great weight and importance, earneſtly recommends to this houſe, to take the ſame into their moſt ſerious conſideration, in order to ſuch a final adjuſtment as may give a mutual ſatisfaction to both kingdoms." On preſenting this meſſage, Mr. Fox ſaid, that he hoped the houſe would give credit to his majeſty's miniſters on the ſubject of Ireland, and believe that they had not, during the ſhort interval they had been in office, in any ſhape neglected to take into their conſideration the very ſerious and alarming condition of that country; nor ſhould they ſuſpect, that the preſent meſſage was brought down, in conſequence of the very ſingular motion that had been made in the houſe the day before. His majeſty was moſt earneſtly deſirous of ſettling the diſcontents and jealouſies that ſubſiſted in the minds of his

his ſubjects of the kingdom of Ireland. The meaſures, which his Majeſty's miniſters conceived neceſſary to be taken in the preſent inſtance, and which he was to propoſe to the houſe, would require much ſerious diſcuſſion. He intended to move for an humble addreſs to his majeſty, to aſſure him, that they would, without delay, take into their moſt ſerious conſideration this important ſubject, and endeavour to aſſiſt his majeſty's earneſt and gracious wiſhes, to reſtore confidence and harmony between the two kingdoms. It was not, however, his deſire, that the houſe ſhould be urged to any haſty and precipitate meaſure, which might heal the differences for a time, without putting a final ſtop and concluſion to the buſineſs. The houſe would perceive, in the pretenſions of the Iriſh, expreſſed by the parliament and the people, that the matter contained no leſs than the conſtitution of the kingdom; that it comprehended not only the commercial rights and privileges of the kingdom, but alſo the legiſlative powers and royalty. The moſt important objects were therefore embraced, and both nations were moſt materially concerned in the diſcuſſion and ſettlement of a matter of ſuch conſequence. They were topics upon which the houſe would ſee his majeſty could not decide, without the aſſiſtance of his parliament; nor, indeed, could it be done, without the concurrence and operation of both parliaments. To come to the buſineſs, therefore, with propriety, and in a manner which would give effect to their proceedings, they muſt have full and authentic information; and both parliaments muſt take time in their deliberations, and aſſiſt each other in the progreſs and termination of the buſineſs. The haſty ſtep, propoſed by a right honourable gentleman the preceding day, would have been moſt unwiſe and impolitic. It was the duty of government to come to the matter for poſterity, as well as for the preſent day; and in quieting the exiſting jealouſies, to eſtabliſh ſuch a principle of relation and conſtitution as ſhould prevent future diſcontents from ariſing. He believed it would be eaſy for the king's miniſters to do as their predeceſſors had done, to patch up a temporary ceſſation of claims, and leave, to thoſe who were to come after them, all the dangers of an unſettled conſtitution, for the mean advantage of clearing themſelves from difficulties, which they had not the courage to meet with fairneſs; but they conſidered it as their duty to come with determined minds to the main queſtion, and ſettle the true quality and nature of the relationſhip which ſubſiſts between the two countries, to aſcertain their diſtinct conſtitutions, and to eſtabliſh ſuch an union and connection between them, as ſhould endure for ages. Mr. Fox concluded with moving for an addreſs to his majeſty, which was agreed to, *nemine contradicente*.

Two days after, the ſame meſſage was delivered to the houſe of peers, by the earl of Shelburne. After it had been read, his lordſhip obſerved, that it would be highly criminal in any miniſter, not to take the earlieſt opportunity of ſubmitting to the conſideration of their lordſhips, the very alarming ſtate of the kingdom of Ireland; but that it would be ſtill more criminal in him, who had ſo often accuſed the late adminiſtration of the moſt ſhameful neglect on that head. He thought it unneceſſary to remind their lordſhips of the ſeveral motions that had been made in that April 11.

houſe, in order to prevent affairs from coming to that criſis in Ireland, of which his majeſty's meſſage conveyed an intimation. That criſis which he had foreſeen, which he had ſo often foretold, and which he had ſo often attempted, but in vain, to prevent, was now arrived. The queſtion, therefore, now was, How the diſcontents of Ireland might be removed? When that country called for a free trade, to which ſhe certainly had a good right, England thought proper to make conceſſions, and great conceſſions they were. It might, therefore, have been expected, that the late ſervants of the crown would have availed themſelves of thoſe conceſſions ſo far as to ſtipulate for ſome ſyſtem, which ſhould in future ſecure the political connection of both countries. But that opportunity was loſt, and that connection, which had laſted ſo long, to the mutual advantage of both England and Ireland, was brought into great danger. Nothing, however, would be wanting, on the part of thoſe perſons who were now honoured with his majeſty's confidence, to bring the affairs of Ireland to a happy iſſue, to the mutual ſatisfaction of both countries. It was not, however, proper to deceive their lordſhips; it was neceſſary to inform them, that the taſk was both delicate and difficult; for the negligence of their predeceſſors in office had raiſed up obſtacles, which a vigilant adminiſtration would have prevented. It was, however, ſtill a ſubject of conſolation, that there exiſted in Ireland a fund of loyalty and attachment to England, which no misfortune or calamity of the latter had been able to ſhake. He could aſſure their lordſhips, that Ireland had not the leaſt inclination to look elſewhere for friendſhip and connexions. The people of that country were at once the brethren and the children of England. It was to England alone that they looked up, nor did there exiſt among them an idea of ſeparation: determined to ſtand or fall with her, they wiſhed to have no friends but the friends of England; and to hold all thoſe for enemies, whom England ſhould have to contend with. Though they had claims upon this country, which they appeared uninclined to relinquiſh, and though they were ſteady to their purpoſes, yet he was happy to inform their lordſhips, that they blended moderation with their ſteadineſs; and to keep them in this favourable diſpoſition would be the great object of his majeſty's miniſters. His lordſhip concluded by moving an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty, for his gracious meſſage, which was agreed to by the houſe.

It was only five days after the delivery of the royal meſſage reſpecting Ireland to the Britiſh houſe of peers, that the Iriſh houſe of commons, in conſequence of a motion of Mr. Grattan, agreed to a declaration of rights, in which they aſſerted in the ſtrongeſt manner, that no parliament, excepting the parliament of Ireland, had any power or authority in that kingdom. Of this declaration of rights, a more particular account hath already been given in a preceding chapter, which was peculiarly appropriated to the affairs of Ireland.

On the 18th of May, the Britiſh houſe of commons was reſolved into a committee of the whole houſe, in order to take into conſideration the affairs of Ireland. Mr. Fox made a ſpeech upon the occaſion, in which he took notice, that if the parliament of Great-Britain were now about to make greater conceſſions to

Ireland,

Ireland, than ſome members of that houſe might think proper, they had been reduced to that neceſſity by the conduct of the late miniſtry. Some years ago, when very modeſt and reaſonable requiſitions had been made by the Iriſh nation, in a very humble manner, to the Britiſh parliament, a deaf ear was not only turned to the prayer of their petition, but the firſt lord of the treaſury came down himſelf, for the purpoſe of giving a negative vote to what was then deſired by Ireland. But afterwards, when the Iriſh volunteers were aſſembled, and became formidable, the ſame miniſter, who had before oppoſed their humble claims, thought it neceſſary to make ſome handſome amends for his paſt error, by coming to the houſe, and voluntarily granting four times as much as he had denied before. This naturally ſuggeſted to the people of Ireland, by what means they might be ſure of being liſtened to with due attention, and that humility and moderation were not the qualities that would inſure them ſucceſs, whenever they either aſked or claimed what they imagined to be their juſt rights.

Mr. Fox proceeded to obſerve, that his own opinion of the rights of Ireland had always been, that Ireland, being a part of the Britiſh empire, was entitled to the full and equal participation of all the benefits and all the immunities enjoyed in England, and which were conſonant to the principles of the Britiſh conſtitution. But ſuch had been the conduct of the late miniſters with reſpect to Ireland, and with reſpect indeed to the government of all the dependencies of the Britiſh empire, that they ſeemed totally to have forgotten that conſtitution, of which we ſo much boaſted; and while ſomething like a ſpirit of freedom prevailed in the iſland of Great Britain, they appeared to take as much care as poſſible to exert the utmoſt oppreſſion and tyranny over thoſe unhappy ſubjects, whoſe place of reſidence was either in Ireland, or acroſs the Atlantic. His ideas of Ireland were exactly, and had been uniformly, the ſame as his ideas of America. He thought it abſurd and unjuſt for this country to pretend to legiſlate for another, without the full conſent and concurrence of that other, and in caſes to which its own internal legiſlation was perfectly applicable, and completely appoſite. In point of competency ſo to legiſlate, this country could not poſſibly be ſufficiently qualified, becauſe it muſt neceſſarily be ignorant of a variety of local circumſtances, upon a knowledge of which alone a competency for internal legiſlation could be founded. But even were this country ever ſo competent, ſtill the argument remained, that it had no right to legiſlate for another country againſt the conſent, and without the concurrence of that country; nor could it at any time ſo legiſlate to any good purpoſe whatever. As to Ireland, he made no ſcruple in the moſt unequivocal, explicit, and expreſs terms to declare, that he conſidered her preſent claims to be ſubſtantially juſt; and that he felt himſelf inclined to move the reſolutions which he was about to propoſe, in favour of Ireland, as much on the ground of juſtice, as on the ground of prudence: on which latter ground, he believed, all men would concur, who thought at all on the preſent ſituation of affairs with reſpect to war with foreign powers, and other obvious circumſtances. After making a variety of other obſervations, Mr. Fox moved, that it ſhould be reſolved, "That it was the opinion of that houſe, that

the act of the 6th of George I. intituled, An act for the better ſecuring the dependency of the kingdom of Ireland upon the crown of Great Britain ought to be repealed."

After a debate of conſiderable length, Mr. Fox's motion was agreed to, *nemine contradicente*; as was alſo the following, made by the ſame gentleman, that it ſhould be reſolved, "That it was the opinion of that houſe, that it was indiſpenſable to the intereſt and happineſs of both kingdoms, that the connection between them ſhould be eſtabliſhed by mutual conſent upon a ſolid and permanent footing." The ſame motions were alſo made in the houſe of peers, the ſame day, by the earl of Shelburne, who pointed out the propriety and neceſſity of coming to ſuch reſolutions, in an able ſpeech. The motions were oppoſed by lord Loughborough, but after ſome debate, they were agreed to by the houſe.

An act was afterwards paſſed, by which the act of the 6th of George I. for ſecuring the dependency of the kingdom of Ireland upon the crown of Great Britain, was repealed: which was, in fact, a renunciation, on the part of the Britiſh parliament, of any right to legiſlate for Ireland. The perpetual mutiny bill was alſo repealed in Ireland, and another paſſed of a temporary nature. The appellant juriſdiction of the Britiſh houſe of peers, in Iriſh cauſes, was likewiſe given up. Theſe meaſures, however, did not give univerſal ſatisfaction to the Iriſh nation; though their parliament appeared ſatisfied, and voted twenty thouſand ſeamen for the Britiſh navy; and alſo declared, in addreſſes to his majeſty, that "They could not entertain a doubt, but that the independence of the legiſlature of that kingdom, both as to internal and external objects, would be inviolably maintained." But it was contended by ſome, and particularly by Mr. Henry Flood, that the declaratory law of the 6th of George I. ought not merely to have been repealed, but the legal principle of right ſhould alſo have been formally renounced. Mr. Flood became very popular in Ireland, in conſequence of the zeal and eloquence which he diſplayed in ſupport of this opinion; and Mr. Grattan's popularity was ſomewhat diminiſhed, becauſe he contended, that the repeal of the ſtatute of the 6th of George I. with its concomitant circumſtances, amounted to a full and unequivocal renunciation of the claims of the Britiſh parliament, and that nothing farther was neceſſary to ſecure the rights of Ireland from future violation.

As diſcontents had lately prevailed thoughout almoſt every part of the Britiſh dominions, ſo it alſo appeared about this time, that even Scotland was not entirely free from ſome degree of national diſſatisfaction. One act was, indeed, paſſed this year, which gave much pleaſure to the Highlanders: this was an act, which repealed ſo much of an act, which was made in the 19th year of king George II. as reſtrained the uſe of the Highland dreſs. This repeal was the more grateful to them, becauſe, they ſaid, the nature of their country rendered the mode of their ancient dreſs the moſt convenient and uſeful that could be adopted. But in a public meeting of ſome of the natives of the Highlands, aſſembled in the Gaeliſh church at Edinburgh, they ſtill complained of the 54th act of the firſt ſeſſion of the firſt parliament of king George I. which diſarmed the inhabitants of Scotland, reſiding within

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in certain counties and limits therein deſcribed: and they ſolicited the marquis of Graham to adopt the proper meaſures for procuring its repeal. The noblemen and gentlemen of Edinburgh alſo aſſembled together in that city, on the firſt of Auguſt, 1782, to conſider of a plan for a conſtitutional, ſafe, and uſeful defence for Scotland. On that occaſion, the earl of Glencairn gave a view of the defenceleſs ſtate of that country; and held forth, in ſtrong language, the right they had to an equal and conſtitutional defence with the ſouthern part of the kingdom. He ſaid, that the laſt Scotch militia bill had not been loſt ſo much by the averſion of the Engliſh members to the plan, as by the ſupineneſs of the Scotch members, and their backwardneſs to bring forward and ſupport the meaſure. He pictured the Engliſh militia as a ſtanding army, and oppreſſive; but affirmed, that a Scotch national defence might be formed without theſe diſadvantages. He ſtated the example of Switzerland, which, by a conſtitutional and well ordered internal defence, had ſupported her liberty, and had been always too formidable for foreign invaſion. Other noblemen and gentlemen approved of a national defence being formed, but diſapproved of its being on the plan of the Engliſh militia, which, they ſaid, was in fact, not a militia, but a ſtanding army, and oppreſſive to the country, without the benefit ariſing from a ſtanding army. A committee was appointed for the farther proſecution of the buſineſs, but the opinions were ſo various upon the ſubject, that no plan was propoſed that met with general approbation.

The election of one of the ſixteen repreſentatives of the Scottiſh nobility, in the room of the earl of Loudon, which came on at Holyrood-houſe on the 4th of July, 1782, likewiſe occaſioned ſome noiſe in Scotland. The candidates were the earls of Buchan and Lauderdale. The latter was choſen by a majority of 13 to 11. It was affirmed by lord Buchan, that lord Lauderdale was ſupported by miniſterial influence, and that the latter had received a letter from the firſt lord of the treaſury, which was delivered by a king's meſſenger, and in which the miniſter expreſſed his deſire of promoting lord Lauderdale's intereſt. That nobleman peremptorily denied having received any ſuch letter, and no evidence of the fact was produced. But the earl of Buchan afterwards addreſſed a letter to the peers of Scotland, in which he ſaid, that it was well known, whatever the friends of the miniſtry, or the enemies of the conſtitution might pretend, that the elections of the peers of Scotland had been continually influenced by the ſucceſſive miniſters of ſtate ever ſince the Union, and in the late caſe as much as ever, though not ſo glaringly, and with more caution. He alſo declared, that he would never again enter the walls of Holyrood-houſe as a peer of Scotland, or accept of a ſeat in the houſe of lords on what he did not reckon an honourable footing; and that he ſhould no longer come among the Scottiſh peers as electors, or conſider himſelf as any longer connected with them, except as a relation, a friend, and a fellow-citizen of a country, which poſſeſſed his warmeſt affections.

CHAP. XVI.

Debates in the Houſe of Commons on Eaſt India Affairs. Sundry Reſolutions on that Subject moved for by the Lord Advocate of Scotland, and General Smith, Chairmen of the Secret and Select Committees, agreed to by the Houſe. Votes of Cenſure againſt Warren Haſtings, Eſq. Governor of Bengal, and Sir Elijah Impey, Chief Juſtice of the Supreme Court at Calcutta. An Act paſſed to reſtrain Sir Thomas Rumbold, and others, from going out of the Kingdom, or alienating their Effects. A Variety of other Reſolutions, relative to Eaſt India Affairs, agreed to by the Houſe.

THE affairs of the Eaſt India company, and the condition of their poſſeſſions, ſtill continued to be a frequent ſubject of parliamentary conſideration and diſcuſſion. On the 9th of April, a motion was made by the lord-advocate of Scotland, "That the ſeveral reports which had been made from the ſecret committee, appointed in the laſt and preſent ſeſſion of parliament, relating to the affairs of the Eaſt India company, ſhould be referred to the conſideration of a committee of the whole houſe." But, previouſly to his making this motion, the lord-advocate, who was chairman of the ſecret committee, entered into a detail of the cauſe and progreſs of the calamities, which attended the Britiſh poſſeſſions in the Eaſt Indies, and into a view of the preſent ſtate of affairs in that country. The tranſactions there, he ſaid, might be the better underſtood, if a retroſpect were made as far back as to the year 1765, a period which was a remarkable epoch in the annals of our Eaſtern politics, as it was the year when lord Clive went out a ſecond time to India. When that nobleman arrived in that year in Bengal, he found that the Britiſh poſſeſſions in the north of that country conſiſted, not only of the three provinces of Bengal, Bahar, and Oriſſa, but alſo of the province of Sujah Dowlah, the nabob of Oude, acquired by conqueſt. So far, however, was lord Clive from being of opinion, that it was good policy to keep too extenſive a territory, and aim ſtill farther to increaſe it by military exploits and exertions, that he put Sujah Dowlah again in poſſeſſion of his province, conſidering our remaining poſſeſſions in Hindoſtan, with thoſe upon the coaſts of Coromandel and Bombay, as ſufficient for all the purpoſes which could contribute to the real benefit of Great Britain. Happy would it have been for this country, if that policy had been adhered to, and if we had continued to act defenſively only, and to have been on good terms with the princes of the country, inſtead of carrying on offenſive military operations, with a view to conqueſt. There were four principal powers in India whoſe territories bordered upon ours: the Maratta ſtates, the dominions of Hyder Ally, the dominions of the Nizam of the Decan, and the dominions of the Rajah of Berar. Beſides theſe, there were ſeveral inferior powers, and particularly the nabob of Arcot, and the rajah of Tanjore. As to Hyder Ally, it was well known, that we were now at war with that enterpriſing and formidable prince. The Nizam of the Decan, inferior in point of power only to Hyder Ally, though

though not an open enemy, was too lukewarm an ally to merit our confidence; but he had been ſhamefully and unwiſely irritated, by a criminal endeavour to withhold from him a tribute not leſs his right, than any part of the Britiſh dominions was the right of the crown of Great Britain. The endeavour, at any time, to deprive this potentate of his property, muſt bring indelible diſgrace upon thoſe who attempted it; but, in the preſent caſe, folly became united with the crime. For this unjuſt attempt was made at the very period, when Hyder Ally had entered the Carnatic, and when it muſt have behoved us, in order to obtain his ſuccour, to cultivate the friendſhip and the attachment of the Nizam. But ſuch had been our conduct towards this prince, that he had affirmed the Engliſh to be a nation whom no promiſes could bind, nor any rules of juſtice, honour, or faith reſtrain; he had therefore been induced to invite the natives to act againſt us; and had declared, that no Indian was ſafe while the Engliſh had an inch of territory in the Eaſt. We were likewiſe in a ſtate of violent hoſtility againſt the Marattas, and had but little reaſon to expect aſſiſtance from the rajah of Berar. The preſidency of Bombay had entered into a negociation with Ragoba, a perſon who had pretenſions to be a ruler of the Maratta ſtates, promiſing to ſeat him in the government, if he would give up, when ſo ſeated, certain territories to the company. With this treaty they entered upon the war; and, ſoon after the preſidency of Bengal formed a treaty of exactly the ſame kind with Moodagee Booſla, the rajah of Berar, offering to ſeat him in the government of the Marattas, if he would cede certain diſtricts. This double dealing was diſcovered, and Moodagee Booſla reſented it as inſidious and unfaithful. Such, indeed, was the miſerable iſſue of our guilty conduct, that we were under the neceſſity of humbling ourſelves before thoſe powers whom we had offended, praying them to interfere, and negociate for a peace. As to the nabob of Arcot, and the rajah of Tanjore, they had been reduced by our conduct to the utmoſt extremities of diſtreſs, and had it not even in their power to aſſiſt us; ſo that without being able to receive ſuccours from any one ſerviceable ally, we were engaged in war againſt ſeveral of the moſt formidable powers.

The lord-advocate then proceeded to make ſome obſervations on the ſtate of the finances of the Eaſt India company in the different preſidencies. He began with an account of the revenue of Bombay, which, he declared, fell ſhort of its neceſſary civil and military inveſtments two hundred thouſand pounds annually, which was always drawn from Bengal. As to the revenue of the Madras preſidency, it appeared, that, upon an average of twelve years, from the year 1767 to the cloſe of the year 1779, there had been eight years of peace, and four of war; and, during the war, the revenue did not reach to the amount of the civil and military inveſtments; though, in time of peace, there was an exceſs of revenue amounting to nearly one half as much as the expence. But the moſt lucrative poſſeſſions in the Eaſt Indies were thoſe of Bengal, which of all the Britiſh poſſeſſions in India was the moſt fertile and productive. Such, however, had been the expences of the Maratta war, that the governor-general had been obliged to contract ſo large a debt, that it was doubtful whether the inveſtments for Eng-

land muſt be wholly or partially ſuſpended. Mr. Haſtings had proved himſelf, in many inſtances, a very meritorious ſervant of the company; but, the lord-advocate ſaid, he could not help wiſhing, that every ſervant of the Eaſt India company would conſider, that it ought to be the firſt aim of his life to prove himſelf a faithful ſteward to the company, and that he had no right whatever to fancy he was an Alexander, or an Aurengzebe, and to prefer frantic military exploits to the improvement of the trade and commerce of the country.

In the courſe of his ſpeech, the lord-advocate threw out ſome hints, in order to recommend taking from the Eaſt India company, and placing under the direction of the crown, the entire management of our territorial poſſeſſions in the Eaſt. But this idea was oppoſed by Mr. Secretary Fox, as inconſiſtent with a juſt regard to the conſtitution of this country. A meaſure of this kind, he ſaid, would afford to government ſuch ample means of corruption, and of undue influence, as might in the end overthrow the whole conſtitution, and deprive us of our beſt and deareſt rights; and, on this account, he thought it would be more prudent to leave the appointment of its own ſervants to the company; but, notwithſtanding, to keep a watchful eye over them, in order to be able to puniſh and remove thoſe, who, from their miſconduct in their government, ſhould be found to deſerve it. After ſome farther debate, the lord-advocate's motion was agreed to by the houſe.

The following day, general Smith, who was chairman of the Select Committee on India affairs, moved, that the reports of that committee ſhould be referred to a committee of the whole houſe; and on this occaſion he obſerved, that by the evidence produced to the committee, it appeared, that there had been a variety of great abuſes in India, the particulars of which might be ſeen by a peruſal of the reports. He alſo took notice, that ſir Elijah Impey, his majeſty's chief juſtice in India, had ſo far derogated from the character of a judge, as to accept a place from the Eaſt India company, which made him under their controul, and conſequently deprived him of that independence, which ought to conſtitute the character of a judge. If in England, where we enjoyed the bleſſing of trials by jury, and the duty of a judge was nothing more than to explain points of law, it was thought neceſſary for that judge to be independent; how much more was it neceſſary for a judge to be independent, who had the ſole management of all affairs of law and juſtice? The fact, indeed, was, that juſtice had been ſo partially adminiſtered in India, that ſeveral worthy and reſpectable perſons had been impriſoned; from the length of their confinement, their eſtates had been ruined; and ſome had died in jail, not being able to extricate themſelves. But parliament, it was hoped, was competent to redreſs thoſe grievances, and to puniſh the offenders. The general's motion was agreed to, after a ſhort debate.

On the 22d of the ſame month, the houſe being in a committee of the whole houſe on India affairs, came to ſundry reſolutions, ſome of which particularly related to the revenues of the company, in conſequence of motions from the lord-advocate of Scotland. Two days after, the houſe reſolved, in conſequence of a motion of general Smith, "That Warren Haſtings, eſq. governor-general of Bengal, and ſir Elijah Impey, knight, chief juſtice

tice of the ſupreme court of Fort William, in Bengal, appeared to have been concerned, the one in giving, the other in receiving, an office not agreeable to the true intent and meaning of the act of the 13th year of his preſent majeſty, intituled, "An act for eſtabliſhing certain regulations for the better management of the affairs of the Eaſt India company, as well in India as in Europe;" which unjuſtifiable tranſaction between them was attended with circumſtances of evil tendency and example." It was alſo reſolved, that the powers given to the governor-general and council of Bengal by the above mentioned act, "ought to be more diſtinctly aſcertained: and that it would be proper to reduce into one act the ſeveral acts of parliament made to regulate the Eaſt India company; and farther to explain and amend the ſame, and alſo to make new regulations and proviſions to the ſame end." Votes of cenſure were alſo paſſed againſt Laurence Sullivan, eſq. chairman of the Eaſt India company, for having neglected to tranſmit to India the act for explaining and amending the act for the regulating the affairs of the Eaſt India company, and for the relief of certain perſons impriſoned at Calcutta, under judgments of the ſupreme court; and for having impoſed an oath of ſecrecy upon Mr. Wilks, one of the clerks of the Eaſt India company, eſpecially reſtraining him from giving information to a ſelect committee of the houſe of commons.

A few days after, the houſe came to ſundry reſolutions, in conſequence of motions made by the lord-advocate of Scotland, tending to criminate ſir Thomas Rumbold; and a bill was afterwards brought in "for reſtraining ſir Thomas Rumbold, bart. and Peter Perring, eſq. from going out of the kingdom for the ſpace of one year, and, until the end of the next ſeſſion of parliament, and for diſcovering the eſtate and effects of ſir Thomas Rumbold, bart. Peter Perring, and John Whitehill, eſqrs. and for preventing the tranſporting or alienating of the ſame." This bill paſſed through both houſes, and received the royal aſſent. An addreſs was alſo preſented from the houſe to the king, requeſting his majeſty to recall ſir Elijah Impey from India, to anſwer for his conduct. And a bill was likewiſe brought in "for inflicting pains and penalties on ſir Thomas Rumbold, for high crimes and miſdemeanours."

April 29.

On the 28th of May, the houſe of commons came to a variety of other reſolutions, relative to Eaſt India affairs, in conſequence of motions of the lord-advocate of Scotland, and which were grounded on reports of the ſecret committee. Among theſe reſolutions were the following: "That the orders of the court of directors of the Eaſt India company, which have conveyed to their ſervants abroad a prohibitory condemnation of all ſchemes of conqueſt and enlargement of dominion, by preſcribing certain rules and boundaries for the operation of their military force, and enjoining a ſtrict adherence to a ſyſtem of defence upon the principles of the treaty of Illahabad, were founded no leſs in wiſdom and policy, than in juſtice and moderation."

"That every tranſgreſſion of thoſe orders, without evident neceſſity, by any of the ſeveral Britiſh governments in India, has been highly reprehenſible, and has tended

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in a chief degree to weaken the force and influence, and to diminiſh the reſources of the company in thoſe parts."

"That every interference as a party in the domeſtic or national quarrels of the country powers, and all new engagements with them in offenſive alliance, have been wiſely and providently forbidden by the company in their commands to their adminiſtrations in India."

"That every unneceſſary or avoidable deviation from thoſe well-adviſed rules ſhould be followed with very ſevere reprehenſion and puniſhment for it, as an inſtance of wilful diſobedience of orders, and as tending to diſturb and deſtroy that ſtate of tranquillity and peace with all their neighbours, the preſervation of which has been recommended as the firſt principle of policy to the Britiſh governments in India."

"That the maintenance of an inviolable character for moderation, good faith, and ſcrupulous regard to treaty, ought to have been the ſimple grounds on which the Britiſh governments ſhould have endeavoured to eſtabliſh an influence ſuperior to that of other Europeans, over the minds of the native powers in India; and that the danger and diſcredit ariſing from the forfeiture of this pre-eminence, could not be compenſated by the temporary ſucceſs of any plan of violence or injuſtice."

"That as any eſſential failure in the executive conduct of the ſupreme council, or preſidencies, would make them juſtly liable to the moſt ſerious animadverſions of their ſuperiors; ſo ſhould any relaxation, without ſufficient cauſe, in thoſe principles of good government, on the part of the directors themſelves, bring upon them, in a heavier degree, the reſentment of the legiſlative power of their country, which alone can interpoſe an effectual correction to the general miſrule."

"That the conduct of the company, and their ſervants in India, to the king and Nudjiff Cawn, with reſpect to the tribute payable to the one, and the ſtipend to the other, and with reſpect to the transfer of the provinces of Corah and Illahabad to the viſier, was contrary to policy and good faith; and that ſuch wiſe and practicable meaſures ſhould be adopted in future, as may tend to redeem the national honour, and recover the confidence and attachment of the princes of India."

"That the company's ſervants, in their preſidency of Bombay, were guilty of very notorious inſtances of diſobedience to the orders of their employers, as well in the proceedings againſt the nabob of Broach, as in the commencement of the Maratta war, by the ſeizure of the iſlands of Salſette and Coranja."

"That in forming an offenſive alliance with Ragoba, the government of Bombay violated the orders of the company againſt any connections of that nature, and againſt any interference in the quarrels of the native powers: that they undertook, without a certainty of an adequate revenue, or a ſufficient military force, and without proper communication with the ſuperior government upon which they were to depend for ſanction and ſupport, to place that chief on the Muſnud at Poona, and thereby to involve themſelves in a war with the ruling miniſters of the Maratta ſtate; while Ragoba himſelf was not in the mean time able to give the company ſecure poſſeſſion of any of the grants he had made to them for the purchaſe of their aſſiſtance."

"That it is the opinion of this houſe, That the motives, as well as

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ſucceſs of the Nizam's inſtigations, to form and animate a confederacy of the great country powers againſt the Britiſh poſſeſſions in India, and the calamitous events which enſued, may be properly attributed both to the unjuſtifiable proceedings againſt the Maratta government, and to the conduct of the Madras preſidency, in regard to the Peſhcuſh and Guntoor circar."

"That it is the opinion of this houſe, that it muſt be reckoned amongſt the additional miſchiefs, which have ariſen chiefly from the improvident war with the Marattas to the company's affairs, that the military force of the Carnatic had been weakened by reinforcements ſent to the Malabar coaſt; that the Bengal government have been under the neceſſity of ſupporting, on their confines, the army of a power, confederated (however involuntarily) againſt them; that they have been obliged to ſue for the mediation of the ſame power (the rajah of Berar), have ſubmitted to a refuſal, and purchaſed at laſt an uncertain, becauſe apparently an unauthorized, treaty, on moſt extravagant and diſhonourable conditions, with his ſon rajah Chimnagee; and finally, that, being burthened with the expences of a variety of diſtant expeditions, while their allies are in diſtreſs, and their tributaries under oppreſſion, there is alſo an alarming deficiency in their own reſources of revenue and commerce, by the accumulation of their debt, and the reduction of their inveſtment."

"That it is the opinion of this houſe, that the attempt made by the government-general, in the month of January, 1781, to form an engagement of alliance, offenſive and defenſive, with the Dutch Eaſt India company, by the means, and upon the terms ſtated in the proceedings of their council, was unwarranted, impolitic, extravagant, and unjuſt."

In ſome of the other reſolutions, which the houſe came to on this occaſion, the conduct of the directors of the Eaſt India company, in certain caſes, was cenſured as indefenſible, as well as that of their ſervants and agents. It was alſo reſolved, "That Warren Haſtings, eſq. governor-general in Bengal, and William Hornſby, eſq. preſident of the council at Bombay, having, in ſundry inſtances, acted in a manner repugnant to the honour and policy of this nation, and thereby brought great calamities on India, and enormous expences on the Eaſt India company, it is the duty of the directors of the ſaid company, to purſue all legal and effectual means for the removal of the ſaid governor-general and preſident from their ſaid offices, and to recall them to Great Britain."

CHAP.

CHAP. XVII.

Meſſage from the King to both Houſes, relative to the Retrenchment of the Civil Liſt Expenditure, and the Eſtabliſhment of a Syſtem of public OEconomy. An Act paſſed for excluding Cuſtom-houſe and Exciſe-officers from voting at Elections of Members of the Houſe of Commons. An Act paſſed to exclude Contractors from being Members of that Houſe. The Orders and Reſolutions of the Houſe of Commons, reſpecting the Middleſex Election, expunged from the Journals of that Houſe. An Act paſſed for aboliſhing the Board of Trade, the Board of Works, and the great Wardrobe; for aboliſhing the Offices of third Secretary of State, Treaſurer of the Chamber, Cofferer of the Houſhold, the Lords of Police in Scotland, and various other Offices; and for making Proviſion for the Diſcharge of the Civil Liſt Debt.

IT ſoon appeared, from the conduct of the new miniſtry, that they really intended to make ſome retrenchment in the public expenditure, and to reform various abuſes, of which they had complained when out of office. On the 15th of April, the following meſſage from his majeſty was preſented to the houſe of commons, by Mr. Secretary Fox:

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"His majeſty, taking into conſideration the ſupplies which have been given with ſo much liberality, and ſupported with ſuch uncommon firmneſs and fortitude by his people, in the preſent extenſive war, recommends to his faithful commons the conſideration of an effectual plan of œconomy through all the branches of the public expenditure; towards which important object his majeſty has taken into his actual conſideration, a form and regulation in his civil eſtabliſhment, which he will ſhortly cauſe to be laid before this houſe, deſiring their aſſiſtance towards carrying the ſame more fully into execution. His majeſty has no reſerves with his people; on whoſe affections he reſts with a ſure reliance, as the beſt ſupport of the true honour and dignity of his crown and government; and as they have hitherto been his beſt reſource upon every emergency, ſo he regards them as the moſt ſolid and ſtable ſecurity for an honourable proviſion for his perſon and family."

A motion was then made by Mr. Burke, for an addreſs to his majeſty, in anſwer to the royal meſſage; and on this occaſion that gentleman pronounced a very high panegyric on the royal virtues. He alſo obſerved, that the ſtyle of his majeſty's meſſage was the true ſtyle in which a Britiſh king ſhould ſpeak to a Britiſh people; for by ſuch language and conduct it was, that the bleſſings of union would be reſtored among us, and that foreign nations would admire and envy the conſtitution of a nation, where the intereſts of the king and people were ſo happily interwoven; and where ſuffering, as well as enjoyment, were reciprocal. It was by this conduct that a Britiſh king would acquire more true ſplendor, and more ſubſtantial power, than by the preſervation of places, which added to the dangerous influence, but not to the ſolid ſtrength of the government. Thoſe eſtabliſhments and places, to which his

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majeſty evidently pointed in his royal meſſage, were ſubverſive of his true power: for, by the maintenance of theſe, the aggrandizement and real welfare of the ſtate were prevented.

The motion for an addreſs to the king was ſeconded by Mr. Powys, and was alſo ſupported by Mr. Fox; who remarked, that his majeſty's preſent miniſters moſt anxiouſly wiſhed for the countenance and ſupport of the country gentlemen, but they deſired it no longer than while they acted in ſtrict conformity to the principles which they had maintained when out of place. An addreſs was then agreed to, at the cloſe of which it was ſaid, that "a king of Great Britain cannot have ſo perfect or ſo honourable a ſecurity for every thing which can make a king truly great and truly happy, as in the genuine and natural ſupport of an uninfluenced and independent houſe of commons."

A royal meſſage exactly ſimilar was communicated the ſame day to the houſe of peers, by the earl of Shelburne; and his lordſhip obſerved upon the occaſion, that, in the generality of caſes, the meſſages from the throne had been conſidered as the language of the miniſter; but, in the preſent inſtance, he could poſitively affirm, that the meſſage now delivered to their lordſhips was a deviation from the common practice, and comprehended the voluntary words of a conſiderate and gracious ſovereign, proceeding from his heart; and, therefore, calling for the grateful thanks and zealous loyalty, not only of the parliament, but of the whole people. It was the fulleſt and moſt brilliant evidence of the true dignity, the happily-directed wiſdom, and the tender feelings of a beneficent and parental prince. The public had long ardently deſired the conſummation of ſuch a meaſure; and, doubtleſs, it would meet with the unanimous applauſe of the collective body of the nation. The parliament would naturally give it their warmeſt patronage; the ſubjects of ſo liberal a monarch would fervently rejoice over the royal promiſe for the introduction of œconomy; and the univerſal gladneſs, which muſt ariſe throughout the kingdom, would grow redoubled at the recollection, that the ſucceſs of ſuch a ſyſtem, as was recommended in the meſſage, could not fail to add conſiderably to the happineſs of the exalted perſonage from whom it had proceeded. This ſyſtem, which certainly embraced a variety of objects, might ſeem, upon a tranſient view, almoſt inexplicably complicated; yet, at a nearer approach, and, after a minute and full inveſtigation, all impediments whatſoever would ſink before it. The leading point was an œconomical reform, of which the ſavings would be applied faithfully to the uſes of the ſtate; and thus, at one fortunate and properly directed ſtroke, every reſource of influence, derogatory to the ſpirit of the conſtitution, and deſtructive in its reſult to this country, would be totally cut up by the roots. His lordſhip concluded with moving for an addreſs to his majeſty, which was agreed to without any debate.

The following day a debate took place in the houſe of commons, on Mr. Crewe's bill for excluding cuſtom-houſe and exciſe-officers from voting at elections of members of the houſe of commons. It was urged by Mr. Crewe, among other reaſons in ſupport of his bill, that the perſons who were the objects of it would not be found to murmur againſt any of its principles. There

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was, indeed, much reaſon to believe, that the revenue officers, far from being diſpleaſed, would ſhew themſelves better ſatisfied with the bill than any other ſet of people whatever. In fact, they were kept in a great degree of ſlavery with regard to the exerciſe of their votes at elections for repreſentatives in parliament; and they were grievouſly oppreſſed if they ventured to diſobey the miniſterial mandates. A late inſtance of this had occurred in the caſe of a man, who had grown old in the faithful ſervices of the revenue during the ſpace of twenty-five years, but who was turned out of his employment, only becauſe he had not voted at an election as he had been directed by a clerk to the commiſſioners of exciſe. But the great and leading object of the bill was to correct that baneful influence, ſo long complained of at elections for members of parliament, and which it behoved the houſe particularly to reſtrain.

The bill was ſtrongly oppoſed by lord Nugent, who obſerved, that there were near 40,000 officers employed in the collection of the revenues; and he urged the injuſtice of diſfranchiſing ſo great a number of men, againſt whom no charge had been proved. The bill was alſo oppoſed by Mr. Roſewarne, Mr. Percival, Mr. Penton, and Mr. Davenport; but was ſupported by Mr. Thomas Townſhend, Mr. Frederick Montagu, ſir Philip Jennings Clerke, by the chancellor of the exchequer, and by Mr. alderman Sawbridge. It at length paſſed both houſes, and received the royal aſſent.

The bill for excluding contractors from being members of the houſe of commons did not meet with much oppoſition in that houſe, excepting from lord Nugent and alderman Harley; but it was more vigorouſly oppoſed in the houſe of peers, and eſpecially by the lord-chancellor, who diſcovered a great animoſity againſt all plans of reformation introduced or countenanced by the new miniſtry; and if the arguments uſed by the noble lord, on this occaſion, were totally deſtitute of ſolidity, they were at leaſt characteriſed by much art and ſubtilty. The bill was alſo oppoſed by lord Mansfield, and by Dr. Porteus, biſhop of Cheſter. It was obſerved by that right reverend prelate, that he had diſcovered no proofs whatever of corruption in thoſe members of parliament who were contractors; and he urged to the houſe the neceſſity of yielding to the dictates of the ſpirit of humanity, and of Chriſtian charity, which muſt recoil from the idea of cenſuring, puniſhing, and condemning men upon the mere ground of probability. The bill, however, was ſupported by the duke of Richmond, the earl of Shelburne, lord Camden, and others; and having paſſed both houſes, received the royal aſſent.

On the third of May, after ſome debate, it was ordered by the houſe of commons, that "all the declarations, orders, and reſolutions of that houſe, reſpecting the election of John Wilkes, eſq. to be elected a member to ſerve in the ſaid parliament, ſhould be expunged from the journals of that houſe, as being ſubverſive of the rights of the whole body of electors of the kingdom." Mr. Wilkes congratulated his conſtituents, the freeholders of the county of Middleſex, on the occaſion; and obſerved, in a public letter to them, that "an upright ſenate had now aſſerted the privileges of an injured people againſt the encroachments of power, and decided in favour of their fair and juſt claim to a ſhare in the legiſlature." Theſe laſt proceedings of

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the houſe of commons, he ſaid, were "the only atonement, which could be made under a good government, for a violation of their franchiſes, and the injuries of former flagitious adminiſtrations."

On the 13th of June, a bill was brought into the houſe of commons by Mr. Burke, "for enabling his majeſty to diſcharge the debt contracted upon the civil liſt revenues; and for preventing the ſame from being in arrear for the future, by regulating the mode of payments out of the ſaid revenues, and by ſuppreſſing or regulating certain offices therein mentioned." This bill was in many reſpects ſimilar to thoſe which Mr. Burke had before brought in, for the better regulation of his majeſty's civil eſtabliſhment, and for the promotion of public œconomy, which had been rejected in two preceding ſeſſions of parliament; but in ſome particulars this bill differed from the former. It was propoſed by this new bill, that the board of trade, the board of works, and the great wardrobe, ſhould be aboliſhed; together with the office of third ſecretary of ſtate, and alſo the offices of treaſurer of the chamber, cofferer of the houſehold, the lords of police of Scotland, the paymaſter of the penſions, the maſter of the harriers, the maſter of the ſtag-hounds, and ſix clerks to the board of green cloth. Various other ſavings were to be made by this bill, to the amount, in the whole, of about 72,368*l.* per annum.

Unfortunately, however, it appeared, that the arrear due on the civil liſt amounted to 295,877*l.* 18*s.* 4*d.* and for the payment of this debt proviſion was made by the bill. It was the more mortifying to the nation to have this royal debt to pay, as ſo liberal and ample an allowance had been before made for the ſupport of his majeſty; as the king's debts had been before repeatedly liquidated by grants from parliament; and as there was no appearance of any ſplendor in the royal houſehold, adequate to ſuch enormous expences, or any evidence that the great ſums raiſed from the people, and granted to the crown, had been employed for the honour of the prince, or for any beneficial purpoſe whatever.

Mr. Burke's bill paſſed the houſe of commons, without much oppoſition; but was very ſtrongly oppoſed in the houſe of lords by the chancellor and lord Loughborough. It was, however, zealouſly defended by the duke of Richmond, and the earl of Shelburne; and, having paſſed both houſes, received the royal aſſent. This act, together with thoſe which had been paſſed before, for excluding contractors from the houſe of commons, and preventing cuſtom-houſe-officers and exciſemen from voting at elections, were calculated to reduce, in a very conſiderable degree, the undue influence of the crown. They were certainly very important acts; they were perfectly conſonant to the principles avowed by the new miniſters when out of office; and they afforded a ſtrong evidence to the nation of the ſincerity of their profeſſions, and the uprightneſs of their views.

As the chancellor continued very induſtriouſly to oppoſe any bills of conſtitutional reformation, that were introduced into the houſe of peers, his conduct naturally became an occaſional ſubject of animadverſion; and he met with ſome attacks from thoſe peers, who were deſirous of availing themſelves of the preſent favourable, but very unuſual diſpoſition in the government, to comply with the general wiſhes of the people, and to eſtabliſh ſuch laws as

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ſhould give additional ſecurity to their rights, and render the parliament more independent, and leſs liable to any undue influence of the crown. A bill having paſſed the commons, for disfranchiſing certain voters for the borough of Cricklade, in conſequence of a great number of ſhameleſs inſtances of bribery, which had lately appeared at that place, the bill was very ſtrenuouſly oppoſed by the chancellor, and every poſſible difficulty, reſpecting form and order, thrown in its way, with a view of retarding its progreſs: which occaſioned the duke of Richmond to charge the chancellor with indiſcriminately oppoſing every meaſure of regulation, or improvement, which was laid before the houſe. But the chancellor, in the courſe of the debates on the ſame bill, received a ſtill more ſevere rebuke from lord Forteſcue. That nobleman, finding that the duke of Richmond's endeavours to eſtabliſh the neceſſary facts reſpecting corruption having been practiſed in the borough of Cricklade, were in part fruſtrated by the interferences, and legal doubts, and difficulties, and diſtinctions, of the chancellor, and lord Loughborough, roſe up, and made ſome very pointed and ſarcaſtic remarks. He ſaid, that what he had long dreaded was now actually come to paſs; namely, that the dignity of that houſe would be lowered and tarniſhed by the profuſion of lawyers which time might occaſionally introduce into it. It was no longer a houſe of lords, or peers; it was converted into a mere court of law, where all the ſolid and honourable principles of truth and juſtice were ſhamefully ſacrificed to the low pettyfogging chicanery and quibbles uſed in Weſtminſter-hall. That once venerable, dignified, and auguſt aſſembly, now reſembled more a meeting of attornies than a houſe of parliament. It brought ſtrongly to his recollection a Corniſh court, where, for the want of barriſters, attornies are permitted to aſſume that character. With reſpect to the learned lord on the woolſack, and who had now for ſome time preſided in that houſe, he ſeemed to be fraught with nothing but contradictions, and diſtinctions, and law ſubtilties. As to himſelf, lord Forteſcue ſaid, he had not attended a miniſter's levee, till very lately, for the laſt forty years; and he would ſupport the preſent miniſtry no longer than he thought they deſerved it. But as they came into office upon the moſt honourable and laudable of all motives, the approbation of their ſovereign, and the confidence of the great body of the nation, it therefore filled his breaſt with indignation, when he beheld ſuch men, day after day, thwarted and oppoſed by men, who, he would again repeat, reſembled more a ſet of Corniſh attornies, than members of that houſe.

CHAP. XVIII.

Naval and Military Tranſactions in the Weſt Indies. The Iſland of Nevis taken by the French. Skirmiſhes between the Engliſh and French Fleets. St. Chriſtopher's taken by the French. Signal Victory obtained by the Britiſh Fleet, under Admiral Rodney, over the French Fleet, under the Command of the Count de Graſſe. Loſs of the Royal George, and other Britiſh Ships. The Iſland of Minorca taken by the Spaniards. Loſs of the Bahama Iſlands. Gallant Defence of Gibraltar by General Elliott. Deſtruction of ten battering Ships of the Spaniards, by Captain Curtis. Gibraltar relieved by Lord Howe. Fires at Conſtantinople.

IT will be proper that we ſhould now turn the attention of the reader to ſome naval and military tranſactions, which took place in the courſe of the year 1782, and particularly in the Weſt Indies, which ſtill continued to be, in a conſiderable degree, the theatre of war. On the 14th of January, the iſland of St. Nevis ſurrendered to the arms of his moſt Chriſtian majeſty. The moſt liberal terms were granted to the inhabitants, by the marquis de Bouillé and the count de Graſſe. The merchants, planters, and inhabitants in general, had their private property ſecured to them; it was agreed, that the council ſhould continue, and the aſſembly of the iſland be choſen as uſual; that the inhabitants ſhould have the free exerciſe of their religion; and that all officers of the civil and criminal courts of judicature ſhould retain their offices, and juſtice be adminiſtered in the forms already eſtabliſhed on the iſland, particularly in that of trial by juries. Eight thouſand French troops, with a formidable train of artillery, were alſo landed about the ſame time on the iſland of St. Chriſtopher. Admiral Hood attempted to relieve the iſland with twenty-two ſail of the line; upon which he was attacked three ſeveral times by the count de Graſſe, with twenty-nine ſail of the line, whom he beat off with loſs; but of the Engliſh about 80 were killed, and 260 wounded. After the French had landed at St. Chriſtopher's brigadier-general Frazer, who commanded on the iſland, drew in his out-poſts, in conſequence of the ſuperiority of the enemy, and took poſt on Brimſtone-hill. Sir Samuel Hood thereupon ſent an officer to general Frazer, with offers of aſſiſtance; and the officer was accompanied by general Preſcott, who had embarked with the 28th regiment, and two companies of the 13th, from Antigua, at the admiral's requeſt. On their landing on the iſland, general Frazer ſent the following meſſage to general Preſcott: "That as he had taken the trouble to come with troops to his aſſiſtance, he ſhould doubtleſs be glad of the honour of ſeeing him; but he was in no want of him, or his troops." Admiral Hood then propoſed to general Preſcott, that he ſhould take a poſt on the iſland in the vicinity of Baſſeterre, and offered to land a body of 2400 men. General Preſcot anſwered, that he did not think it practicable to maintain a poſt, but wiſhed to have ſome Antigua troops put on ſhore, and alſo the 69th regiment. They were accordingly landed on the 28th of the month: they immediately got

into action, and drove the enemy with conſiderable loſs. General Preſcott remained on ſhore with his troops all night, and next morning the marquis de Bouillé appeared at the head of upwards of 4000 men. But the French commander did not think proper to attack general Preſcott; and it being judged, that no valuable purpoſe could be anſwered by the continuance of the Britiſh troops on ſhore, they were reimbarked. In the mean time, general Frazer had been joined by major-general Shirley, with a detachment of the militia of the iſland; and the ſiege continued five weeks. Brimſtone-hill was very ſtrong by nature, but the fortifications were old, and in a ruinous ſtate; ſo that notwithſtanding the high tone which general Frazer had at firſt aſſumed, he was obliged to capitulate on the 12th of February. The garriſon were allowed to march out with the honours of war; and the inhabitants of the iſland were ſecured in the poſſeſſion of their eſtates and property, in their privileges and exemptions, and in the exerciſe of their religion. In the ſame month Demerara and Iſſequibo, with ſeveral Engliſh veſſels, were alſo taken by the French.

On the 19th of the ſame month, admiral Rodney arrived in the Weſt Indies, and took the command of the fleet there; where a formidable French fleet was already aſſembled, with a great number of troops, an attempt being meditated on the iſland of Jamaica. A partial action between the two fleets took place on the 9th of April following, in which the Alfred, a ſeventy-four gun ſhip, loſt her commander, captain Bayne, the Royal Oak, a ſhip of the ſame number of guns, was diſabled, and ſeveral other ſhips ſuffered damage. Sixteen of the Engliſh ſhips were ſo becalmed, that they could take no part in the action. The Barfleur, a ſhip of ninety-eight guns, on board of which was ſir Samuel Hood, had at one time ſeven ſhips firing on her, and generally three; by which eight men were killed, and twenty-two wounded. One of the French ſhips loſt her fore-maſt, and two others received ſo much damage, that they were obliged to bear away to Guadaloupe to refit. But on the 12th of the ſame month a general action took place, and admiral Rodney obtained a very ſignal and complete victory over the French fleet, which was commanded by the count de Graſſe. The Britiſh fleet conſiſted of thirty-ſeven ſhips of the line, and the French of thirty-four. The engagement commenced at ſeven o'clock in the morning, and continued with unremitting fury till half paſt ſix in the evening. It is ſaid, that no other ſignal was made by the admiral, but the general one for action, and that for cloſe fight. Sir George Rodney was on board the Formidable, a ſhip of ninety guns; and the count de Graſſe was on board the Ville de Paris, a ſhip of 110 guns, which was a preſent to the French king from the city of Paris. In the courſe of the action, the Formidable fired nearly eighty broadſides; and for three hours the admiral's ſhip was involved in ſo thick a cloud of ſmoke, that it was almoſt inviſible to the officers and men of the reſt of the fleet. The van diviſion of the Britiſh fleet was commanded by ſir Samuel Hood, and the rear diviſion by rear-admiral Drake; and both theſe officers greatly diſtinguiſhed themſelves in this important action. But the deciſive turn on this memorable day was given by a bold manœuvre of the Formidable, which broke the French line, and threw them into confuſion. The firſt

French

French ſhip that ſtruck was the Cæſar, a ſeventy-four gun ſhip, the captain of which fought nobly, and fell in the action. It is ſaid, that when ſhe ſtruck, ſhe had not a foot of canvas without a ſhot-hole. Unfortunately, ſoon after ſhe was taken poſſeſſion of, ſhe took fire by accident, and blew up, when about two hundred Frenchmen periſhed in her, together with an Engliſh lieutenant, and ten Engliſh ſeamen. But le Glorieux and le Hector, both ſeventy-four gun ſhips, were alſo taken by the Britiſh fleet; together with l'Ardent, of ſixty-four guns; and a French ſeventy-four gun ſhip was alſo ſunk in the engagement. It was a very cloſe and hard fought action on both ſides, but the French fleet was at length totally defeated. It was almoſt dark when the Ville de Paris ſtruck, on board which the count de Graſſe had fought very gallantly, and was wounded in the action. Five thouſand five hundred troops were on board the French fleet, and the havock among theſe was very great, as well as among the French ſeamen. The Engliſh had 230 killed, and 759 wounded. Captain Blair, who commanded the Anſon, and ſeveral other officers, were killed in the action; and lord Robert Manners, who commanded the Reſolution, died of his wounds on his return home. On the 19th of the ſame month, a ſquadron which was detached from the main fleet, under the command of ſir Samuel Hood, captured the Cato and the Jaſon, two French men of war, of ſixty-four guns each, and alſo l'Aimable, of thirty-two guns, and the Ceres of eighteen. About the ſame time alſo the fleet under admiral Barrington took from the French, off Uſhant, le Pegaſe, of ſeventy-four guns, l'Actionnaire, of ſixty-four, and ten ſail of veſſels under their convoy.

The victory obtained by admiral Rodney, over the French fleet, was a very fortunate circumſtance both for his intereſt, and his reputation. Before this event, the new miniſtry had appointed admiral Pigot to ſuperſede him in the command in the Weſt Indies; and it was underſtood, that they meant to ſet on foot a rigid inquiry into the tranſactions at St. Euſtatius. But the ſplendor of his victory put an end to all thoughts of that kind; he received the thanks of both houſes of parliament for his ſervices; and was created an Engliſh peer, by the title of baron Rodney, of Rodney-Stoke, in the county of Somerſet. Sir Samuel Hood was alſo created baron Hood, of Catherington, in the kingdom of Ireland; and rear-admiral Drake, and captain Affleck, were created baronets of Great Britain. Some attempts were alſo made, in the houſe of commons, to procure a vote of cenſure againſt the new miniſtry, for having recalled lord Rodney; but the motions made for this purpoſe were rejected by the majority.

The count de Graſſe, after his defeat, was received on board the Barfleur man of war, and was afterwards landed on the iſland of Jamaica, where he was treated with great reſpect. After continuing there ſome time, he was conveyed to England, and accommodated with a ſuite of apartments at the Royal Hotel, in Pall-mall. His ſword, which he had delivered up, according to the uſual cuſtom, to admiral Rodney, was returned to him by the king. This etiquette enabled him to appear at court, where he was received, by their majeſties and the royal family, in a manner ſuitable to his rank. From the time of his ar-

rival in London to his departure, which was on the 12th of Auguſt, 1782, he was viſited by many perſons of the firſt faſhion and diſtinction, and was much employed in paying viſits to the great officers of ſtate, and ſome of the principal nobility of the kingdom, by whom he was entertained in a very ſumptuous and hoſpitable ſtyle. He received, indeed, every mark of civility which the Britiſh nation could beſtow, and was treated with much reſpect even by the common people, from the opinion that was generally entertained of his valour and merit.

The victory of admiral Rodney, though it entirely fruſtrated the deſigns of the French againſt Jamaica, and was in itſelf a very ſplendid action, was not, however, followed by thoſe beneficial conſequences, which by many were expected. None of the Britiſh iſlands, which had been taken by the French in the Weſt Indies, were afterwards re-captured; though it was hoped, that this would have been the reſult of our naval ſuperiority in thoſe ſeas. It was alſo an unfortunate circumſtance, that ſome of thoſe ſhips, which were taken by admiral Rodney, were afterwards loſt at ſea; and particularly that fine ſhip the Ville de Paris, le Glorieux, and le Hector. Another Britiſh man of war, the Centaur, of ſeventy-four guns, was alſo ſunk in lat. 48 deg. 33 min. and long. 43 deg. 20 min. on the 24th of September, 1782, in conſequence of the diſabled ſtate to which it was reduced by ſome very violent ſtorms. Before the ſhip ſunk, the officers and crew had ſuſtained great hardſhips, and moſt of them went down with the ſhip; but the lives of captain Inglefield, the commander, and ten other officers and ſeamen, were preſerved by their getting on board a pinnace. But even this was leaky, and when they went into it, they were nearly in the middle of the Weſtern ocean, without compaſs, without quadrant, without ſail, without great coat or cloak, all very thinly clothed, in a gale of wind, and with ſcarcely any proviſions. After undergoing the moſt extreme hardſhips and fatigues, for ſixteen days, they at length reached the iſland of Fayall, one of the Azores. They were ſo much reduced, by want of food, and inceſſant labour, that after they had landed, ſome of the ſtouteſt men belonging to the Centaur were obliged to be ſupported through the ſtreets of Fayall. The Jamaica homeward bound fleet were alſo diſperſed, this year, by a hurricane, off the banks of Newfoundland, when the Ramillies, of ſeventy-four guns, and ſeveral merchantmen, foundered.

The Britiſh navy alſo ſuſtained, about this time, a conſiderable loſs at home, by the Royal George, of 100 guns, being overſet and ſunk at Portſmouth. This melancholy accident, which happened on the 29th of Auguſt, was occaſioned by a partial heel being given to the ſhip, with a view to cleanſe and ſweeten her; but the guns on one ſide being removed to the other, or at leaſt the greater part of them, and her lower deck ports being not laſhed in, and the ſhip thwarting on the tide with a ſquall from the north-weſt, it filled with water, and ſhe ſunk in the ſpace of about three minutes. Admiral Kempenfelt, a very brave and meritorious officer, other officers, upwards of 400 ſeamen, and 200 women, beſides many children, periſhed in her.

Among the loſſes which Great Britain ſuſtained, during this year, the loſs of Minorca muſt not be forgotten. That iſland was ſurren-

dered,

dered, to the king of Spain, on the 6th of February, 1782, after a ſiege of 171 days. The garriſon of fort St. Philip conſiſted of 2692 men; and the Spaniſh army, which was landed on the iſland, under the command of the duke de Crillon, amounted to 16 00. At the time of the ſurrender, the greateſt part of the garriſon was afflicted with a moſt inveterate ſcurvy, and there were but a ſmall number who were really fit to do duty. During the courſe of the ſiege, the duke de Crillon attempted to bribe general Murray, the governor, in hopes to prevail upon him, by ſuch corrupt means, to deliver up the fortreſs; but to the private propoſition for this purpoſe, the general returned a very ſpirited and indignant anſwer, expreſſive of a juſt ſenſe of the inſult that was offered him. The duke de Crillon's anſwer to the firſt article of capitulation was in the following terms: "The garriſon ſhall be priſoners of war; but, in conſideration of the conſtancy and valour which general Murray and his men have ſhewn in their brave defence, they ſhall be permitted to go out with their arms ſhouldered, drums beating, lighted matches, and colours flying, till having marched through the midſt of the army, they ſhall lay down their arms and colours; and, moreover, being deſirous of giving a proof of my high eſteem for the general, he ſhall be allowed a covered boat."

After the return of general Murray to England, a charge was exhibited againſt him, conſiſting of twenty-nine articles, by ſir William Draper, lieutenant-governor of the iſland of Minorca. A court-martial was thereupon held, who at length came to this determination, that "upon the whole, it appeared to the court, from the evidence, that lieutenant-general Murray did conduct himſelf with great zeal, courage, and firmneſs, in the defence of fort St. Philip; that the place was not half garriſoned; had not any proſpect of relief; and was not given up till it was become, from the enfeebled ſtate of the garriſon, no longer tenable; and that ſeveral of the articles of the charge, which had been preferred againſt lieutenant-general Murray, were frivolous and ill-founded." But of two of the articles the general was found guilty: the firſt of theſe was, that "lieutenant-general Murray iſſued an order on the 15th day of October, 1782, tending to diſhonour and diſgrace ſir William Draper, and to prevent him from doing his duty as lieutenant-governor." The court declared themſelves to be of opinion, "That ſir William Draper was founded in this article of complaint, as it did appear to them, that the order to which this complaint referred, did tend to diſhonour and diſgrace him." The ſecond article was, "Exacting a large ſum, by an arbitrary impoſition on all auctions, to the great loſs of the parties concerned in them; and notwithſtanding he agreed to take a fixed allowance from government, in lieu of all perquiſites." The court declared themſelves to be of opinion, "That lieutenant-general Murray was guilty of that article; and they adjudged, that he ſhould be reprimanded in ſuch manner as his majeſty ſhould think fit to direct, for having taken a perquiſite improperly, and contrary to the apparent intention of government, when a fixed allowance was made for ſatisfying all contingencies." The court-martial afterwards acquainted lieutenant-general Murray, and ſir William Draper, "That the king had declared his royal approbation of the opinion of

the court-martial, upon every point; but that, in conſideration as well of the zeal, courage, and firmneſs, with which lieutenant-general Murray appeared to the court to have conducted himſelf, in the defence of fort St. Philip, as of his former long and approved ſervices, his majeſty had been pleaſed to diſpenſe with any other reprimand, in reſpect of the miſconduct whereof he had in two inſtances been found guilty, than that which the ſentence of the court-martial in itſelf virtually conveyed: and that his majeſty had, at the ſame time, expreſſed much concern, that an officer of ſir William Draper's rank, and diſtinguiſhed character, ſhould ſuffer his judgment to be ſo far perverted, by any ſenſe of perſonal grievance, as to view the general conduct of his ſuperior officer in an unfavourable light; and, in conſequence, to exhibit ſeveral charges, which the court-martial, after a diligent inveſtigation, had deemed to be frivolous, or ill-founded."

In May, this year, the Bahama iſlands were inveſted by don Juan Manuel de Cagigal, governor of the Havannah, with three frigates, and ſixty ſail of tranſports, on board of which were 2500 troops. As theſe iſlands were incapable of making any material defence, they were ſurrendered, by capitulation, on the 8th of the month.

At Gibraltar, which ſtill continued to be vigorouſly beſieged, the reputation of the Britiſh arms was nobly ſuſtained by general Elliott. That gallant governor, agreeably to his general cuſtom during the ſiege, permitted the Spaniards, without interruption, to bring their works nearly to perfection, and then almoſt totally demoliſhed them. At ſeven o'clock in the morning, of the 8th of September, a heavy fire commenced from the Engliſh batteries, with carcaſes, hot ſhot, and ſhells, upon the Spaniſh advanced works and batteries. The firing was attended with ſo much ſucceſs, that by ten o'clock a Spaniſh battery, called the Mahon battery, conſiſting of ſix pieces of ordnance, and one adjoining of two guns, were ſet on fire; and, by five o'clock in the afternoon, were entirely conſumed, with gun-carriages, platforms, and magazines, bomb proof. Part of the communication to the eaſtern parallel, and the trenches and parapet for muſquetry, in front of the battery, were alſo deſtroyed. A thirteen gun battery, next the bay, was likewiſe ſo much damaged, being on fire in ſeveral places, that the Spaniards were reduced to the neceſſity of taking down one half of it. Their loſs was very conſiderable, as their endeavours to ſtop the progreſs of the flames laid them open to a ſevere and well-directed fire from the garriſon. The next morning, by day-break, the Spaniards opened a new ſixty-four gun battery, with all their mortars, and continued to fire without intermiſſion from thence, as well as from their lines; their whole artillery amounting to about thirty pieces of cannon, and ſixty mortars. But notwithſtanding this apparently formidable attack, little impreſſion was made upon the Britiſh works. Several ſucceſſive cannonades, though without effect, were alſo made upon the Britiſh works, by a ſquadron, conſiſting of ſeven ſail of the line Spaniſh, and two French, with a large frigate and xebeque. Sixteen Spaniſh gun-boats likewiſe came over from Algeziras, formed in a line, and fired upon the garriſon; but the Engliſh batteries obliged them to retire in leſs than half an hour.

On the 13th of the ſame month, a very

very formidable attack was made againſt Gibraltar, with ten Spaniſh battering ſhips, under the command of admiral Moreno. Theſe battering ſhips were of different ſizes, from 1400 to 600 tons burthen. Their guns, which in all amounted to 212, were braſs twenty-ſix pounders, and entirely new. The proportion of men, on board theſe ſhips, was thirty-ſix for each of the guns, excluſive of officers, and the mariners for working the ſhips. The Spaniards had alſo collected, from different ports, about three hundred large boats, to be employed in carrying their troops, or any other ſervices connected with their operations againſt the fortreſs. At ten o'clock in the morning, the Spaniſh admiral's ſhip was placed about one thouſand yards from the king's baſtion, and commenced his fire. The others were ſhortly afterwards poſted to the north and ſouth, at ſmall diſtances aſunder, and began their cannonade. The Engliſh batteries opened as the enemy came before them; and the fire was very heavy on both ſides. Red hot ſhot were ſent with ſuch preciſion from the garriſon, that in the afternoon the ſmoke was ſeen to iſſue from the upper part of the Spaniſh admiral, and from another ſhip; and men were ſeen labouring to extinguiſh the fire by the uſe of fire engines. Their efforts, however, were ineffectual; for by one o'clock in the morning the Spaniſh admiral, and ſeveral others, were in flames. The confuſion of the Spaniards was now ſufficiently manifeſt; and the numerous rockets thrown up, from each of their ſhips, were a demonſtration of the greatneſs of their diſtreſs. Their ſignals were immediately anſwered from the Spaniſh fleet; and attempts were made to bring away the men, it being impoſſible to remove the ſhips. Twelve Engliſh gun-boats, each carrying a twenty-four or eighteen pounder, under the command of captain Roger Curtis, then advanced, and were ſo drawn up as to flank the line of the Spaniſh battering ſhips, while they were alſo extremely annoyed by an exceſſively heavy and well directed fire from the garriſon. The fire from the Engliſh gun-boats was kept up with ſuch vigor and effect, that the Spaniſh boats did not venture to approach; on the contrary, they abandoned their ſhips, and the men left in them, to the mercy of the Engliſh, or to the flames. The ſcene now became extremely dreadful: great numbers of men were ſeen amidſt the flames, ſome upon pieces of wood in the water, others appearing in the ſhips where the fire had as yet made but little progreſs, all expreſſing by ſpeech and geſture the deepeſt diſtreſs, and all imploring aſſiſtance. The whole formed a ſpectacle of horror not eaſily to be deſcribed. The Spaniards now became objects only of compaſſion, and every exertion was generouſly made by the Engliſh to relieve them from their diſtreſs. The blowing up of the Spaniſh ſhips, as the fire got to the magazines, and the firing of ſome of their cannon, as the metal became heated by the flames, rendered this a very perilous employment. But the Britiſh ſeamen now diſcovered as much ardour, in employing every effort for relieving their enemies from their preſent ſhocking ſituation, as they had diſplayed an hour before in labouring to conquer them. In conſequence of theſe generous exertions, thirteen Spaniſh officers were ſaved, and 344 men. Their loſs, however, muſt have been very great; many were killed on board the ſhips, and in boats, many were drowned, and many periſhed in the flames.

Captain Curtis displayed great gallantry on this memorable day; and the whole transaction was highly honourable to the English, who exhibited at the same time the most dauntless intrepidity, and the most generous humanity. On the 11th of October following, the St. Michael, a Spanish man of war of 72 guns, was driven from her anchors in a gale of wind, and captured, under the walls of Gibraltar, by captain Curtis.

In the mean time lord viscount Howe, with thirty-four ships of the line, besides frigates and transports, set sail from Portsmouth, in order to throw succours into Gibraltar. He arrived off cape St. Vincent on the ninth of October, and soon after learnt, that the combined fleets of France and Spain, consisting of fifty sail of three and two decked ships, had taken a station, some time before, in Gibraltar bay. This circumstance, however, did not prevent lord Howe from affording the most effectual relief to the garrison. The British fleet entered the Straits on the 11th of the month; and some very tempestuous weather ensued, which greatly damaged the combined fleet, but did not do much injury to the fleet of lord Howe. The Triomphant, a Spanish ship of 74 guns, run a-ground on Europa Point; by the generous exertions of general Elliott, the crew were saved; after which he took out the provisions and ammunition, and by firing red hot balls on the ship, sunk her to the bottom. La Majestueux, a French man of war, narrowly escaped the same fate; but lost her mainmast, and was towed by a frigate into Algeziras. On the 18th of October, lord Howe sent in his storeships and victuallers, and landed a large supply of powder for the garrison, and a reinforcement of about 1400 troops. On the 20th of the month, a partial action took place, off the Strait's mouth, between the British fleet, consisting of thirty-four ships of the line, and the combined fleet, which now consisted of forty-five sail of the line. On board the British fleet, sixty-eight men were killed in the action, and 208 wounded. The French and Spaniards studiously avoided a close engagement, and after a cannonade of five hours, hauled their wind, having the weather-gage, and bore away with all the sail they could crowd. Lord Howe, being to leeward, had it not in his power to force them to an action again; and having succeeded in the great object of his enterprize, the relief of Gibraltar, returned again to England, and received the thanks of both houses of parliament for his services.

In the course of this year, by different conflagrations, a very considerable part of the splendid city of Constantinople was reduced to ashes. On the 9th of February, six hundred houses, in this city, were consumed, and about fifty persons lost their lives. By another fire, which happened on the 19th of June, seven thousand houses were destroyed, besides mosques, and other public buildings. On the 23d of July, another fire broke out in this city, in a quarter called Balatta, chiefly inhabited by Jews. It raged with great violence for near fifteen hours, it spread through one of the most crowded parts of the city, and several thousand houses were destroyed. Another conflagration, one of the greatest that ever happened, took place on the 22d of August, and continued during sixty-two hours, without intermission, with such fury, that one of the largest palaces, the habitation of the aga of the janizaries, disappeared in less

than ten minutes. The flames proceeded from ſea to ſea, and burnt even the interior of the Seven Towers, at the oppoſite extremity of the city. In this direction the fire raged three miles in length, through the richeſt and beſt inhabited ſtreets, on the front ſometimes upward of a mile broad, and ſometimes leſs, according to the irregular hilly ſituation of the city. In ſome places it extended in different directions, ſo that at one time there appeared no leſs than eleven diſtinct conflagrations, moſt of which ceaſed only at the ſea-ſide, after conſuming the very wharfs. It is ſuppoſed, that by theſe different fires at leaſt thirty thouſand houſes were conſumed, beſides fifty moſques, and other public edifices. Great numbers of perſons periſhed in the flames, and many were driven by them into the ſea, and drowned. It was imagined, that ſome of theſe conflagrations were occaſioned intentionally, and proceeded from a very general diſcontent which prevailed among the populace againſt the government. In order to pacify them, the grand vizir was depoſed, and ſent into exile, and Jejen Mehemmet was appointed his ſucceſſor.

CHAP. XIX.

Meetings in different Parts of the Kingdom, for the Purpoſe of obtaining a more equal Repreſentation of the People in Parliament. Debate in the Houſe of Commons, on a Motion of Mr. William Pitt, that a Committee ſhould be appointed to inquire into the State of the Repreſentation in Parliament. The Motion rejected upon a Diviſion. Circular Letters ſent to the Magiſtrates of principal Towns, relative to raiſing Corps for the Defence of the Kingdom. Reports of the Commiſſioners appointed to examine, take, and ſtate the public Accounts of the Kingdom, preſented to the Houſe of Commons. A Bill preſented by the Earl of Abingdon to the Houſe of Peers, aſſerting the Right of the Britiſh Parliament to paſs Laws to regulate and controul the external Commerce or foreign Trade of Ireland, and all other Parts of the Britiſh Dominions. The Bill rejected by the Houſe.

FOR a conſiderable time paſt, public meetings had been occaſionally holden, in various parts of the kingdom, in which the ſtate of parliamentary repreſentation was a ſubject of diſcuſſion, in which its inadequateneſs was ſtrongly pointed out, and in which ſpirited reſolutions were entered into relative to the neceſſity of a more equal repreſentation of the people. Many meetings of this kind took place in the courſe of the year 1782, in the metropolis, and in different counties, cities, and towns of the kingdom. On the 1ſt of February, at a common-hall of the livery of the city of London, at Guildhall, it was reſolved, "That the unequal repreſentation of the people, the corrupt ſtate of parliament, and the perverſion thereof, from its original inſtitution, had been the principal cauſes of the unjuſt war with America, of the conſequent

quent dismemberment of the British empire, and of every grievance of which the nation complained. That these grievances could never be removed, until the right of the people to their constitutional share in the English government should be re-established, by a fair and equal representation in parliament, and a frequent election of their representatives, according to ancient usage. That a committee of the livery of London should be appointed, for the purpose of obtaining a restoration of these rights; and that the said committee should take the most effectual methods for obtaining a more equal representation of the people in parliament, and a frequent election of the representatives, according to ancient usage; and that, for these purposes, they should concur and correspond with other committees throughout the kingdom." Similar resolutions were made at other meetings, and by other bodies; and, in particular, the committee of association for the county of York exerted themselves with much spirit and ability in the management of this business, and published several addresses to the public on this important subject.

These exertions of the people at length caused the matter to become in some degree an object of discussion in the house of commons. It was introduced into that assembly on the 7th of May 1782, by Mr. William Pitt. That gentleman then observed, that the representation of the commons in parliament was a matter so truly interesting, that it had at all times exited the regard of men the most enlightened; and the defects, which they had found in that representation, had given them reason to apprehend the most alarming consequences to the constitution. That the frame of our constitution had undergone material alterations, by which the commons' house of parliament had received an improper and dangerous bias, and by which, indeed, it had fallen so greatly from that direction and effect which it was intended, and ought to have in the constitution, he believed it would be idle for him to attempt to prove. It was a fact so plain and palpable, that every man's reason, if not his experience, must point it out to him. He had only to examine the quality and nature of that branch of the constitution, as originally established, and to compare it with its present state and condition. That beautiful frame of government, which had made us the envy and admiration of mankind, in which the people were entitled to hold so distinguished a share, was so far dwindled and departed from its original purity, that the representatives ceased, in a great degree, to be connected with the people. It was the essence of the constitution, that the people had a share in the government by the means of representation; and its excellency and permanency must result from this representation being equal, easy, practicable, and complete. When it ceased to be so; when the representative ceased to have connection with the constituent, and was either dependant on the crown, or the aristocracy; there was then a defect in the frame of representation, and it was not innovation, but recovery of constitution, to repair it.

Mr. Pitt farther observed, that it was not now his intention to enter into any inquiry respecting the proper mode of reform, or to consider what would most completely tally and square with the original frame of the constitution. All that he at present intended was, to move for the institution of a committee, to be

composed

compoſed of ſuch men as the houſe ſhould, in their wiſdom, ſelect, as the moſt proper and the beſt qualified for inveſtigating this ſubject, and making a report to the houſe, of the beſt means of carrying into execution a moderate and ſubſtantial reform of the repreſentation of the people. But though he would not preſs any particular propoſition upon the houſe, he ſtill thought it his duty to ſtate ſome facts and circumſtances, which, in his opinion, made this object of reform eſſentially neceſſary. He believed, indeed, that there was no member of that houſe, who would not acknowledge, that the repreſentation, as it now ſtood, was incomplete. It was perfectly underſtood, that there were ſome boroughs under the influence of the treaſury, and others totally poſſeſſed by them. It was manifeſt, that ſuch boroughs had no one quality of repreſentation in them. They had no ſhare nor concern in the general intereſts of the country; and they had in fact no ſtake for which to appoint their guardians in the popular aſſembly. The influence of the treaſury in ſome boroughs was alſo conteſted, not by the electors of thoſe boroughs, but by ſome one or other powerful man, who aſſumed or pretended to an hereditary property of what ought only to be the rights and privileges of the electors. The intereſts of the treaſury were conſidered, as well as the intereſts of the great man, the lord, or the commoner, who had connections with the borough; but the intereſts of the people, the rights of the electors, were the only things that never were attended to, nor taken into the account. Would any man ſay, that in this caſe there was the moſt diſtant idea or principle of repreſentation? There were other boroughs, which had now in fact no actual exiſtence, but in the return of members to the houſe. They had no exiſtence in property, in population, in trade, or in weight of any kind. There were hardly any men in ſuch boroughs who had a right to vote; and they were the ſlaves and the ſubjects of perſons who claimed the property of the boroughs, and who in fact made the returns. This alſo was no repreſentation, nor any thing like it. Another ſet of boroughs, and towns, claimed to themſelves the right of bringing their votes to market. They had no other market, no other property, and no other ſtake in the country, than the property and price which they procured for their votes. Such boroughs were the moſt dangerous of all others. So far from conſulting the intereſts of their country, in the choice which they made, they held out their borough to the beſt purchaſer; and, in fact, ſome of them belonged more to the nabob of Arcot, than they did to the people of Great Britain. They were towns and boroughs more within the juriſdiction of the Carnatic, than the limits of the empire of Great Britain; and it was a fact pretty well known, and generally underſtood, that the nabob of Arcot had no leſs than ſeven or eight members in that houſe. Such boroughs were manifeſtly ſources of corruption: they gave riſe to an inundation of corrupt wealth, and corrupt members, by which no intereſt of the people of this country was promoted; and ſuch boroughs ought to be aboliſhed.

Mr. Pitt proceeded to remark, that there was no man in that houſe who had more reverence for the conſtitution, and more reſpect, even for its veſtiges, than himſelf. But he was afraid, that the reverence, and the enthuſiaſm, which Engliſhmen entertained for the conſtitution, would,

would, if not ſuddenly prevented, be the means of deſtroying it; for ſuch was their enthuſiaſm, that they would not even remove its defects, for fear of touching its beauty. He admired the one ſo much, ſo great was his reverence for the beauties of that conſtitution, that he wiſhed to remove thoſe defects, as he clearly perceived, that they were defects which altered the radical principles of the conſtitution; and, therefore, it would not be innovation, but recovery of conſtitution, to remove them. That a reform of the preſent parliamentary repreſentation was indiſpenſably neceſſary, was the ſentiment of ſome of the firſt and greateſt characters in the kingdom; and he ſhould alſo take the liberty to obſerve, that he well knew it to be the ſentiment of his much honoured father, the late earl of Chatham. His lordſhip was firmly of opinion, that a reform of the repreſentation was abſolutely requiſite for the ſecurity of the liberties of the people of this country. He conluded with moving, "That a committee ſhould be appointed to inquire into the ſtate of the repreſentation in parliament, and to report to the houſe their obſervations thereon." The motion was ſeconded by Mr. alderman Sawbridge.

Sir George Saville zealouſly ſupported the motion, and declared it to be his opinion, that the houſe might as well call itſelf the repreſentative of France as of the people of England; for the meaſures of the late miniſtry had certainly received the ſanction of that houſe, although they had as univerſally been reprobated by the country at large. He had a large tree, he ſaid, growing ſome time ſince on his eſtate, which bore many green leaves on the trunk of it, and ſeemed to be in a flouriſhing ſtate; but, on looking at the tree, there appeared a hole or two, which he looked farther into, and, on a cloſe inſpection, he found the tree was rotten within; the inſide was mere touchwood. He had the rotten part dug out, and now the tree formed a commodious place, in which a dozen perſons might dine with pleaſure. He compared the preſent conſtitution to this tree; it appeared ſound, but on an inſpection it would be found like the tree, rotten at the heart. The nation was certainly in a very bad ſtate, though a more equal parliamentary repreſentation might contribute to remove ſome of the public evils.

Mr. Fox obſerved, that though it might be admitted, that by the preſent houſe of commons the people were virtually repreſented; yet a virtual repreſentation was only a mere ſuccedaneum for an equal repreſentation. That the voice of the people was not to be collected from the votes of that houſe, was plain; for in all the great queſtions for the welfare of the country it had appeared, that the county members, who were moſt likely to be independent, had uniformly voted, in a proportion of five-ſixths, for the intereſts of the community, but had been overpowered by the members for the rotten boroughs, who had totally defeated every good end that could be propoſed.

Mr. Fox alſo remarked, that the duke of Richmond had laſt year introduced a bill into the other houſe of parliament for an equal repreſentation; he could not, he ſaid, ſubſcribe to all the parts of that bill; but he was convinced, that the noble peer meant it for the public good; and he declared, that he conſidered him as the moſt able and fit man to bring about a reform of any of which this country could boaſt.

It

It had been ſaid, that to add members to the counties would be increaſing the ariſtocratic influence. He acknowledged, that it would, and yet he confeſſed himſelf to be a friend to that meaſure. But he would wiſh, at the ſame time, to be underſtood, not to mean the influence of peers, but to conſider the monied intereſt as the ariſtocratic part. Thoſe men who had ſtakes to loſe ought, and, he truſted, would be the moſt anxious to preſerve them. It had been ſuggeſted, that the army and navy ought to be excluded that houſe; but he was of a different opinion. It was his wiſh, in order to make that houſe perfect, that it ſhould contain the landed, the navy, the army, the monied, and in ſhort every intereſt. This was not the caſe at preſent. The county of Middleſex, in particular, was ſo little repreſented, that although it contained one eighth part of the whole number of the electors of Great Britain, although it paid one ſixth part of the land-tax, and a full third of all other taxes, yet it had not more than a fifty-fifth part of the repreſentation. Some reform, therefore, was indiſpenſably neceſſary; and he ſhould, therefore, vote for the preſent motion.

The motion was ſupported by ſeveral other gentlemen, but was oppoſed by the lord-advocate of Scotland, who declared his conviction that it could be productive of no good. The conſtitution, he ſaid, had exiſted for ages pure, and it was not now a proper time to think of altering it. Mr. Powys alſo oppoſed the motion, as of a pernicious tendency. The conſtitution, he ſaid, in its preſent form, had ſtood the teſt of many ages, and had been the envy of all the world. But he could not ſee any good purpoſe that could be anſwered by the preſent motion; for it would not aſſiſt government in a ſhip, a man, or a guinea, towards carrying on the war with vigour, or towards eſtabliſhing that much wiſhed-for object, peace. The motion was likewiſe vigorouſly oppoſed by Mr. Thomas Pitt; and by ſome gentlemen the idea of equal repreſentation was treated as extravagant, impracticable, viſionary, and abſurd. After ſome farther debate, the motion was rejected, by the queſtion being carried for the order of the day, by a majority of 161 to 141.

On the 10th of the ſame month, a debate took place, in the houſe of commons, relative to circular letters which were written by the earl of Shelburne, as ſecretary of ſtate, addreſſed to the lord-mayor of London, and other magiſtrates of capital towns in England and Scotland, containing heads and recommendation of a plan for raiſing corps in the principal towns of Great Britain*. It was thought by ſome, that this was a dangerous meaſure, as it was putting arms into the hands of the people, of which they might make a bad uſe, and ſuch as would be extremely dangerous to the government. Others, however, thought, at leaſt without doors, that by the plan, propoſed by the noble earl, the corps to be raiſed would have been too much under the direction of the crown, and not under ſuch regulations as were neceſſary for the ſecurity of the liberties of the people. But an act was afterwards paſſed, partly grounded upon this plan, entitled, "An act for the encouragement and diſciplining of ſuch corps or companies of men, as ſhall volun-

* See *Principal Occurrences* in this volume, p. 27, 28, 29. and *Public Papers*, p. 163, 164.

tarily

tarily enroll themſelves for defence of their towns or coaſts, or for the general defence of the kingdom, during the preſent war."

On the 19th of June, the ſeventh report was preſented to the houſe of commons, from the commiſſioners appointed to examine, take, and ſtate the public accounts of the kingdom. In this report, and in thoſe which had preceded it, the commiſſioners diſplayed great abilities and knowledge of the ſubject. They had manifeſtly employed conſiderable induſtry in the diſcharge of the truſt repoſed in them; and their reports were drawn up with much perſpicuity and judgment, and were replete with very valuable and important information. It appeared from theſe reports, that large ſums of the public money had been left in the hands of pay-maſters, and treaſurers, unaccounted for, ſometimes for many years, to the great prejudice of the nation; that their accounts were in ſome caſes never brought to any final adjuſtment; and that the modes of ſettling the public accounts were in many reſpects improper, and unneceſſarily intricate and tedious. It alſo appeared from theſe reports, that the fees, perquiſites, and profits of certain public officers were exorbitant; that perſons even under the denomination of ſecond clerks, and who yet never attended any buſineſs whatever, received more than thirteen hundred pounds a year; and that others, in higher offices, who never performed the leaſt ſervices to the public, nor even affected to perform any, had incomes to a much greater amount. It likewiſe appeared, that there had been the moſt ſhameful and profligate waſte of the public money in North America, under the pretence of the extraordinaries of the army.

A vote of approbation of the conduct of the commiſſioners of accounts was paſſed by the houſe of commons; and ſome other votes relative to regulations, which the houſe declared ought to be adopted, in conſequence of the reports of the commiſſioners. But theſe votes have not yet produced much effect, nor has any adequate remedy been applied to theſe abuſes. It may however be hoped, that the Britiſh nation will not long ſuffer the continuance of uſeleſs places, with enormous ſalaries, to which no duties are annexed; and that, whoever may be their miniſters, they will, with their ancient ſpirit, inſiſt on an abolition of theſe abuſes, before they quietly ſubmit to the impoſition of new taxes, and new burthens.

On the 5th of July, a bill was preſented to the houſe of peers by the earl of Abingdon, reſpecting the relative ſituation of Ireland and Great Britain, and aſſerting the right of the Britiſh parliament to paſs laws to regulate and controul the external commerce or foreign trade of Ireland, and all other parts of the Britiſh dominions. The earl declared, that as the ſeſſion was ſo far advanced, he did not mean regularly to move it till the ſubſequent ſeſſion; and therefore ſhould now only move, that the bill ſhould lie on the table for the inſpection of their lordſhips. But the bill was thought ſo impolitic at the preſent period, that nothing was ſaid in favour of it by any but the noble mover; and even his motion for its being laid upon the table was rejected as informal, as no leave had been given for its being brought into the houſe.

CHAP. XX.

Death of the Marquis of Rockingham. The Earl of Shelburne appointed first Lord of the Treasury. Resignation of Mr. Fox, Lord John Cavendish, Mr. Burke, and other Gentlemen in Office. Mr. Fox states in the House of Commons the Reasons for his Resignation. Observations made in the House of Peers by the Earl of Shelburne. Speech from the Throne. Prorogation of Parliament.

GREAT expectations had been formed of the national benefits which might result from the associated labours of so many able men, as those of whom the new ministry was composed; but it was early foreseen, that their stability depended upon their union; and some apprehensions were formed of differences among them, on account of a supposed diversity of sentiment on certain points. But it was hoped, that a regard to their common interest, and to the welfare of the nation, which could not be essentially promoted but by their unanimity, would have prevented their having any such open disagreements, as might be injurious to the public service. But an event which unfortunately took place, on the 1st of July, 1782, the death of the marquis of Rockingham, first lord of the treasury, by occasioning an open disunion in the cabinet, in a great degree lessened the hopes that had been formed of important national benefits from the new administration. The rank, fortune, and great personal and parliamentary influence of the marquis, had raised him to the high station in which he had been placed; and the mildness and moderation of his temper, and his amiable manners, had greatly contributed, during his life, after he came into office, to prevent any open variance in the cabinet; though there had been some appearance of dissatisfaction, and difference of opinion. But the death of the marquis afforded ample scope for the workings of rivalship and contention. The earl of Shelburne obtained from his majesty the office of first lord of the treasury, in the room of the late marquis; an appointment which gave great offence to some of his colleagues, and more particularly to Mr. Fox. It is supposed to have been the wish of that gentleman, and of others connected with him, that the duke of Portland should have been appointed first lord of the treasury, and that the earl of Shelburne and himself should have continued joint-secretaries of state. However this might be, it is certain, that the elevation of the earl to the treasury gave so much offence, that Mr. Fox, lord John Cavendish, Mr. Burke, Mr. Frederick Montagu, and two or three more, immediately resigned their places; and they probably expected that others in office would have resigned with them. But some of the other members of the cabinet, though little attached to lord Shelburne, yet appeared to consider the resignation of Mr. Fox as too precipitate an act, and therefore continued to retain their offices; and those who were personally connected with the earl, naturally, and of course, continued in their stations.

His

His lordſhip alſo attached to his intereſt Mr. William Pitt, ſon to the late earl of Chatham. That gentleman, tho' at a very early time of life, had already greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf in parliament, and was prevailed upon, at this very critical period, to accept the office of chancellor of the exchequer, in the room of lord John Cavendiſh.

On the 10th of July, Mr. Fox, having then reſigned the office of ſecretary of ſtate, ſtated to the houſe of commons ſome reaſons for his conduct. He obſerved, that he conſidered his reſignation as a neceſſary ſtep, when he found himſelf in a cabinet, which was divided upon points that he regarded as of the utmoſt importance. Without treachery to his country, he could not remain in power, when ſuch opinions were held, and ſuch a ſyſtem was to be begun, as appeared to him to be dangerous, if not fatal. He retired, therefore, to prevent diſunion, to prevent that diſtraction in the public councils, which he conceived to be ſo ruinous. He thought himſelf bound to anſwer to his country for his conduct, in having withdrawn himſelf from a cabinet, which had been formed by the firmneſs and opinion of the country, at ſo critical and alarming a period. When he went into that cabinet, he conſidered himſelf as pledged to his country for the ſyſtem he purſued. He was in that particular ſituation, which demanded from him the moſt explicit, fair, and direct mode of proceeding. It was his diſpoſition ſo to act; and in the diſcharge of his duty to his king and country, he was moſt anxiouſly ſolicitous, that the principles upon which the miniſtry came in, ſhould be moſt religiouſly and implicitly obſerved. What then was to be done, when, to his plain and evident conviction, theſe principles were departed from by ſome of thoſe miniſters? It was his immediate duty to retire from a ſituation, in which he could no longer act with honour to himſelf, as he could no longer act with ſervice to his country. When he ſaw, that there was no proſpect of thoſe principles being any longer purſued, upon which the adminiſtration had been framed; when he was farther confirmed in his opinion, by ſeeing that his immediate friends were equally alarmed, and ſaw with the ſame eyes that he did; he then felt it to be his immediate duty to retire from his poſt, and inſtantly to come forward, and declare the ſuſpicions which he entertained, and to warn that houſe againſt the ſyſtem which was to be revived. He felt it to be his peculiar duty to obſerve the conduct of the men, who were appointed to fill the offices of government; for having to anſwer to that houſe for the exact ſyſtem which they had pointed out, in the formation of the miniſtry, of which he made one; and having declared, that he ſhould certainly depart from that cabinet, whenever that cabinet ſhould depart from the ſyſtem, he did now think it his duty to come forward, and to declare, that he had left his ſituation, and had reſigned, becauſe he believed that the day was come, when the ſyſtem was to be abandoned, when new opinions and a new ſyſtem were to be formed, or rather when an old one was to be revived. He could not, for obvious reaſons, enter into a detail of the matters which had given riſe to this difference between himſelf and others who had retired, and thoſe who remained in the councils of the king. He could only ſay, that there were ſeveral points on which they had moſt materially differed; and he ſhould have conſidered himſelf

felf as guilty of the moſt direct treachery to his country, if he had, after this difference, continued any longer to hold out his name and ſupport to an adminiſtration, which was not purſuing the line chalked out for them by that houſe, and by the people of England. His ſituation was ſo peculiar in that houſe, that he ſhould have been particularly unpardonable, if he had been mean enough to ſubmit to continue in a ſituation, which he could not hold for the ſervice of his country. For it was to him in particular that that houſe would look, as from his ſituation he had to come down with the meaſures of the cabinet; and, therefore, under the preſent circumſtances, he felt it to be indiſpenſably neceſſary that he ſhould come forward, and ring the alarum bell, and tell this country, that the principle on which they had, with due deliberation, formed this adminiſtration, was abandoned, and that the old ſyſtem was to be revived, moſt probably with the old men, or indeed with any men that could be found. As to himſelf, he had certainly not quitted the ſtation which he had lately held without reluctance. He was not inſenſible to thoſe diſtinctions which it gave him. He was neither incapable of vanity, nor of ambition. He had the vanity to be pleaſed with the applauſe of the good and virtuous, and he had the ambition to be ſerviceable to his country. But there were conſiderations ſuperior both to his vanity and his ambition, the conſiderations of duty and of conſcience. A ſenſe of the duty which he owed to that houſe, and to his country, had induced him to warn them of the danger which he ſaw approaching; and he had the conſolation of reflecting, that if his country was to be ruined by a renewal of that ſyſtem, which it had been the labour of years to demoliſh, it was not owing to him. It was from ſuch conſiderations as theſe, that though in circumſtances, in point of fortune, by no means enviable, he had relinquiſhed the pomp, the profits, and the patronage of office. But theſe were not the deareſt of the ſacrifices which he had made: he had alſo the misfortune to loſe, for a time, the friends that were deareſt to him upon earth; the men whom of all others he moſt loved and revered, becauſe they were the men whom, of all others, he conceived to have the pureſt hearts, and the moſt upright intentions. But they were loſt, he ſaid, only for a time; becauſe he was convinced, that the profeſſions which had been made to them, and the deluſions which had been held out, though they had impoſed upon them now, could not long deceive them. Their ſagacity would at laſt penetrate through the diſguiſe, and the arts of thoſe by whom this country was now to be governed; and they would come over to his opinion, though, perhaps, not till they had given a ſanction by their names to an adminiſtration, that would more fatally undo the country, than any that ever was formed, or ſuffered to exiſt in Great Britain. There were men, who thought nothing of promiſes which they had made; of engagements into which they had entered; of the principles which they had maintained; or of the ſyſtem on which they had ſet out. They were men, whom neither promiſes could bind, nor principles of honour ſecure: they would abandon fifty principles for the ſake of power, and forget fifty promiſes, when they were no longer neceſſary to their ends. He had no doubt, but that to ſecure themſelves in the power which they had by the la-

bour of others obtained, they would now ſtrive to ſtrengthen themſelves by any means which corruption could procure; and he expected to ſee that, in a very ſhort time, they would be joined by thoſe men, whom that houſe had precipitated from their ſeats. He had, however, this confidence, that though this new ſyſtem might go on for days, weeks, months, or for years, it muſt, like the laſt, crumble into atoms, as all adminiſtrations and ſyſtems muſt do, which were not founded in public virtue and in honour.

General Conway lamented, that the right honourable gentleman, who had juſt addreſſed the houſe, and others, who on the late moſt important change had taken an active and reſponſible ſhare in the adminiſtration of this country, ſhould now have withdrawn themſelves from it, and at ſuch a moment have ſo conſiderably weakened that government, which was ſo ſtrongly and ſo powerfully ſupported by the people. He had not himſelf departed from that cabinet, becauſe he did not feel that there was the moſt remote, the ſmalleſt appearance of defalcation from the principles on which they were formed, and with which they entered into office. It was, however, to be obſerved, that it was very natural to expect, that in a cabinet compoſed of eleven men, all with ſtrong, manly, and independent minds, there would be ſhades of difference in their opinions; but theſe ſhades of difference would be uneſſential and unimportant, as they all agreed on the great outline, object, and end which was in view, and only differed about the means of obtaining it. Excepting theſe ſmall and nice ſhades of difference, he knew of no diſagreement and diviſion in the cabinet, which ought to have induced the right honourable gentleman to reſign his place, and to withdraw his powerful talents and great influence from the government of this country, to the eſtabliſhment of which he had ſo much contributed. He declared, that if he had any reaſon or ground for thinking, that there was a defalcation from principle, and that there was any juſt ground for apprehending, that the earl of Shelburne would not purſue with directneſs the ſyſtem upon which they had come into office, he would not ſtay for a day, for an hour, in that cabinet. This was his avowed and determined reſolution, and he pledged himſelf to his country for the performance of that promiſe. But it was not the quality of his heart to inquire, with ſcrupulous nicety, what men were to carry good meaſures into execution. Provided the meaſures were good, it was a matter of perfect indifference to him, whether they were executed by this man, or that man, and whether any particular miniſter was called a Shelburnite, or a Rockinghamite. All this was indifferent to him, and had been ſo through life. But he knew of no deviation in the preſent cabinet from the principles on which they had entered into office. Their firſt principle was, "That they ſhould offer to America unlimited, unconditional independence, as the baſis of a negociation for peace." The houſe would give credit to his aſſertion, that it had for years been his opinion, that this was the thing to which we were approaching; but that he had always declared it to be a great evil approaching, and that whenever it did come, it would come as an evil. He was now brought to feel the neceſſity of granting this independence; and this was the firſt great principle on which the preſent adminiſtration had

had come into power, and had begun to act. Had this principle been abandoned? He conceived not; and that the noble perſon, who was now firſt lord of the treaſury, did not differ about this principle. There might be ſome difference about the means by which the object was to be obtained; but it was a difference that was very immaterial. The ſecond principle was, "That they ſhould eſtabliſh a ſyſtem of œconomy in every department of government; and that they ſhould adopt the ſpirit, and carry into execution, the proviſions of the bill of reform introduced into that houſe by Mr. Burke." Was this principle abandoned, or had there been any ſymptoms whatever of there being a deſign to depart from it? The third principle was, "That they would annihilate every kind of influence over every branch of the legiſlature." This alſo was a principle, which, he aſſured the houſe, the cabinet was ſeriouſly inclined to carry into execution, and he knew of no diviſion whatever about it. The fourth principle was, "That they ſhould continue to the kingdom of Ireland, and ſecure to it, the freedom as now ſettled by parliament; and that they ſhould do this in the moſt unequivocal and deciſive way." In all theſe principles, therefore, he conceived that there was no deviation, and no cauſe either of apprehenſion or of jealouſy; and he was determined to continue in his place, ſo long as theſe principles were adhered to.

Mr. Fox roſe in reply, and aſſerted, that there had been differences in the cabinet, and ſuch as had made him ſtrongly inclined to reſign, even before the death of the marquis of Rockingham. It had been ſaid by the honourable general, that it was the opinion of the cabinet to give full, unconditional, and unlimited independence to America. He would not take upon him to ſay what was now the opinion of the cabinet; but he could aſſure the houſe, that it was not the opinion of the cabinet, when he had made the determination to reſign. But if it was now the opinion of the cabinet, he congratulated his countrymen on the conſequences of his reſignation; for he had been able to do more towards the deliverance of his country, by reſigning his poſt, than he was able to effect, with all the force of argument, when he remained in. It ſhewed him, that it was poſſible for him, in the preſent moment, to ſerve his country more in that houſe than in any other place. He had never heard in the cabinet, from the earl of Shelburne, the political creed which had been ſtated by the honourable general; and there were other material points, beſides the independence of America, in which he, and others of the cabinet, differed from that nobleman. One of theſe related to Eaſt India affairs: the earl was inclined to ſcreen from juſtice, and from puniſhment, thoſe delinquents who had deſtroyed our poſſeſſions in the Eaſt, and involved us in all the calamities which that houſe had ſo honourably endeavoured to remove. Mr. Fox added ſome ſevere reflections on the character of the earl of Shelburne, and aſſigned his appointment to the office of firſt lord of the treaſury, as an additional reaſon for his reſignation. His lordſhip was, he ſaid, a giant in promiſes, but a pigmy in performance. There was an extravagance and a profuſion in the manner in which he made his promiſes, and a magnanimity in the manner in which he broke them. He was a man, who would declare that the influence of the crown ought to be

diminiſhed; but who would, at the ſame time, threaten them with a revival of the king's negative, whenever they attempted to move any bills of retrenchment. In ſhort, he was a man, whoſe qualities were exactly the reverſe of thoſe of his predeceſſor. It might, perhaps, be aſked, why he came into office with the earl of Shelburne at all, if he entertained ſuch ſentiments concerning him? To this he muſt anſwer, that he had ſtrong objections to it from the firſt; and with reſpect both to him, and to another noble perſon, the chancellor, the only thing that could make him ſubmit to aſſociate with them in office, was, the ſatisfactory pledge which he had for the integrity of the adminiſtration, in the late marquis of Rockingham being at the head of it.

Mr. Burke alſo expreſſed, in very ſtrong terms, his diſlike of the earl of Shelburne; and the ſame day ſome debate took place, relative to two penſions which had been granted, before the death of the marquis of Rockingham, one to Mr. Dunning, now created lord Aſhburton, and the other to colonel Barre. Mr. Fox and Mr. Burke both ſpoke honourably of the gentlemen on whom theſe penſions were conferred, and admitted that they had concurred in the grant of thoſe penſions: but Mr. Fox remarked, that it ſhould be attended to by that houſe, and remembered by the people, that the only favours which had been conferred, and the only deviations from the principle of œconomy which had taken place, during the ſhort miniſtry of the marquis of Rockingham, had been in favour of the friends of the earl of Shelburne.

Some plauſible reaſons were urged, in the courſe of the debate, in ſupport of theſe penſions; but they were not ſolid; nor did they give ſatisfaction to impartial men, notwithſtanding the acknowledged merit of the gentlemen on whom the penſions were conferred. A miniſtry, brought in on great and public principles, ſhould have adhered to thoſe principles; and not have hazarded their credit with the nation, by conferring penſions even on the moſt meritorious of their friends. It was of infinite importance to maintain their reputation with the people; and this could hardly be done, by giving penſions to ſome of their own party, almoſt as ſoon as they came into office. Such grants as theſe, made by miniſters whoſe eloquence againſt penſions was ſo ſtrongly in every man's memory, and to gentlemen who had themſelves diſplayed equal eloquence on the ſame ſubject, were not likely to increaſe the public confidence in the new adminiſtration, or to convince mankind that their principles and conduct were perfectly ſuitable to their profeſſions.

The following day the duke of Richmond expreſſed, in the houſe of peers, his great concern for the death of the late marquis of Rockingham. That nobleman, he obſerved, was the bond of union which kept all parties connected. It was he who cemented all deſcriptions of men, and preſerved unanimity in council. He alſo expreſſed much regret at the reſignations which had lately taken place, and particularly thoſe of Mr. Fox, and lord John Cavendiſh. His grace afterwards aſſigned ſome reaſons why he had not followed the example of thoſe gentlemen who had reſigned their places. He had not yet, he ſaid, obſerved any deviation from the principles on which the new miniſtry came into power. He ſaw no reaſon why he ſhould withdraw himſelf from councils, which, he conceived,

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were governed by the letter and ſpirit of the original ſtipulation of the cabinet with the king. As to the noble lord, who now preſided at the board of treaſury, ſo long as he ſhould conduct the meaſures of his adminiſtration on the principles on which they came into office, ſo long he ſhould give him every ſupport in his power; but the moment he ſhould diſcover in him an intention to abandon thoſe principles, from that moment he would ſtand foremoſt in the moſt determined oppoſition to his adminiſtration. He held it to be his duty, and that of the parliament, to keep a watchful eye upon the miniſters, and not to ſuffer a ſingle act of theirs to paſs unexamined.

The earl of Shelburne now roſe, and declared himſelf perfectly ſatisfied with being ſupported on the terms ſtated by the noble duke. It was from his meaſures, not from his promiſes, that he expected to derive ſupport; and if they ſhould not be found to deſerve it, he would not repine at not finding it. He lamented, he ſaid, as much as any man, the death of the marquis of Rockingham; and he alſo lamented the loſs which the cabinet muſt ſuſtain, by the retreat of two moſt reſpectable perſons; the one reſpectable by the uncommon ſplendor of his abilities, and the other by his unimpeached integrity and chaſtity of character. But ſtill he would not think ſo ill of the other eight miniſters, who remained in the cabinet, as to ſuppoſe that they were not as attached to principle, and as zealous in the ſupport of it, as thoſe two gentlemen; and conſequently, that the public might reſt ſatisfied, that while they continued in office, there could be no departure from thoſe great principles, which had formed the baſis of their adminiſtration. As to the office of firſt lord of the treaſury, that was moſt certainly within his graſp when the firſt arrangements were forming; but he had before ſacrificed that object, and given way to the marquis, though he had now accepted of the poſt, as that nobleman was no more. His acceptance of that poſt was, indeed, the only reaſon, with which he was acquainted, for the reſignation of a right honourable gentleman, who had lately held the office of ſecretary of ſtate. But he had always ſtood up for the prerogative of the crown, and muſt therefore inſiſt upon the right of the king to appoint his own ſervants. If the power, which others wiſhed to aſſume, of veſting in the cabinet the right to appoint to all places, and filling up all vacancies, ſhould once be eſtabliſhed, the king muſt then reſemble the king of the Marattas, who had nothing of ſovereignty but the name. In that caſe, the monarchical part of the conſtitution would be abſorbed by the ariſtocracy, and the conſtitution of England would be no more. It was his adherence to theſe principles that had drawn upon him ſome recent attacks, and faſtened upon him the imputation of deſigns which he had never harboured. His lordſhip alſo took ſome notice of the penſions which had been complained of, and particularly that granted to colonel Barre, which, he declared, originated not with him, but with the marquis of Rockingham. But this aſſertion was afterwards flatly contradicted; and, as it appears, upon good grounds.

His lordſhip likewiſe remarked, that he had been charged with inconſiſtence reſpecting America. To clear himſelf of this, he aſſerted, that he ſtill held the ſame principles in reſpect to American independence, which

which he at firſt imbibed. He had been, and yet was of opinion, that whenever the parliament of Great Britain acknowledged that point, the ſun of England's glory was ſet for ever. Such were the ſentiments he poſſeſſed on a former day, and ſuch were the ſentiments he ſtill held. It was the opinion of lord Chatham, as well as of many other able ſtateſmen. Other noble lords, however, thought differently; and as the majority of the cabinet ſupported them, he acquieſced in the meaſure, diſſenting from the idea; and the point was ſettled for bringing the matter into the full diſcuſſion of parliament; where it would be candidly, fairly, and impartially debated. The independence of America threatened the ruin of England; and if a peace were patched up with France, it would give that proud enemy the means of yet trampling upon this country. The ſun of England's glory he wiſhed not to ſee ſet for ever. He looked for a ſpark at leaſt to be left, which might in time light us up to a new day. But if independence were to be granted, if parliament deemed that meaſure prudent, he foreſaw in his own mind that England was undone. He wiſhed to God, that he had been deputed to the congreſs, that he might plead the cauſe of that country as well as of this; and that he might exerciſe whatever powers he poſſeſſed, as an orator, to ſave both from ruin, by bringing the congreſs to a conviction, that if their independence was ſigned, their liberties were gone for ever. Peace, his lordſhip obſerved, was a deſirable object; but it muſt be an honourable peace, and not a humiliating one, dictated by France, or inſiſted on by America. It was very true, that this kingdom was not in a flouriſhing ſtate; it was impoveriſhed by war. But if we were not rich, it was evident that France was poor If we were ſtraitened in our finances, the enemy were exhauſted in their reſources. This was a great empire: it abounded with brave men, who were able and willing to fight in a common cauſe. The language of humiliation, therefore, ſhould not be the language of Great Britain. His lordſhip added, that he was not aſhamed nor afraid of thoſe expreſſions going to America. There were numbers, great numbers there, who were of the ſame way of thinking, in reſpect to that country being dependent on this; and who, with him, perceived ruin and independence to be linked together.

Theſe obſervations made by the earl of Shelburne, reſpecting the independence of America, muſt appear very extraordinary, when it is conſidered, that this ſpeech of his lordſhip was made ſome time after general Carleton, and admiral Digby, were directed by that miniſtry, of which his lordſhip was a part, to write a letter to general Waſhington, acquainting him—"That his majeſty, in order to remove all obſtacles to that peace, which he ſo ardently wiſhed to reſtore, had commanded his miniſters to direct Mr. Grenville, that the independence of the thirteen united provinces ſhould be propoſed by him in the firſt inſtance, inſtead of making it a condition of a general treaty." After ſo public an act as this, it naturally excited aſtoniſhment in the Americans, when they found that the firſt miniſter of England publicly ſpoke of the independence of America as a doubtful matter, and which was yet to be diſcuſſed in parliament. There was an appearance of duplicity in this conduct, which alarmed the Ameri-

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cans, and drew from them the moſt ſevere reproaches. In particular Mr. Thomas Paine, author of the celebrated treatiſe, called "Common Senſe," in a letter to lord Shelburne, which was firſt printed at Philadelphia, expreſſes himſelf in the following terms: "The management of lord Shelburne, whatever may be his views, is a caution to us, and muſt be to the world, never to regard Britiſh aſſurances. A perfidy ſo notorious cannot be hid. It ſtands even in the public papers of New York, with the names of Carleton and Digby affixed to it. It is a proclamation, that the king of England is not to be believed: that the ſpirit of lying is the governing principle of the miniſtry. It is holding up the character of the houſe of commons to public infamy, and warning all men not to credit them. Such is the conſequence which lord Shelburne's management has brought upon his country."

On the 11th of July, ſome altercation took place in both houſes concerning the earl of Shelburne, and ſeveral aſſertions which had been made by that nobleman, the truth of which was ſtrongly conteſted.—But the farther proſecution of theſe diſputes was prevented, by the parliament being prorogued on that day. In the ſpeech from the throne made by his majeſty on this occaſion, he declared, that "his ardent deſire of peace had induced him to take every meaſure which promiſed the ſpeedieſt accompliſhment of his wiſhes; and that he would continue to exert his beſt endeavours for that purpoſe." But it was added, that "if, for want of a correſponding diſpoſition in his enemies, he ſhould be diſappointed in the hope he entertained of a ſpeedy termination of the calamities of war, he relied on the ſpirit, affection, and unanimity of his parliament and people, to ſupport the honour of his crown, and the intereſts of his kingdoms; not doubting that the bleſſing of heaven, which he devoutly implored upon his arms, would enable him to obtain fair and reaſonable terms of pacification. The moſt triumphant career of victory would not excite him to aim at more; and he ſaw no reaſon which ſhould induce him to think of accepting leſs."

A few days after the prorogation of parliament, on the 17th of the ſame month, at a general meeting of the electors of Weſtminſter, aſſembled in Weſtminſter-hall, Mr. Fox again ſtated his reaſons for reſigning the office of ſecretary of ſtate. The reaſons aſſigned by him were ſimilar to thoſe which he had before advanced in parliament, and very different judgments were formed concerning them. Many thought his conduct too precipitate; others thought the reaſons which he urged for his reſignation fully ſatisfactory; and ſome imagined, that he had reaſons for his conduct, from circumſtances which had paſſed in the cabinet, but which, as a privy counſellor, he could not clearly and explicitly explain to the world. The able, eloquent, and ſpirited oppoſition which he had made in parliament, for a ſeries of years, to the pernicious meaſures of the late miniſtry, had naturally rendered him extremely popular; and there was an apparent openneſs and manlineſs in his conduct, which greatly intereſted many in his favour. His throwing up an honourable and lucrative poſt, at a time when he was well known to be diſtreſſed in his pecuniary circumſtances, alſo appeared a bold and diſintereſted ſtep, and characteriſtic of the vigour and independence of his mind. But there were many

who thought of him leſs favourably; and whatever doubts might be entertained, at that particular period, concerning the views and motives by which he was actuated, the conduct of the right honourable gentleman, ſince his reſignation, has ſufficiently ſecured him from the ſuſpicion of pure and diſintereſted patriotiſm.

CHAP. XXI.

American Affairs. Arrival of Sir Guy Carleton at New York. Notice given to General Waſhington, by General Carleton and Admiral Digby, of the Negociations for a general Peace, and of his Majeſty's Intention to acknowledge the Independency of the Thirteen Provinces. Execution of Captain Huddy in America. Reſolution formed to execute a Britiſh Officer by way of Retaliation. Proviſional Articles of Peace ſigned at Paris, by the Britiſh and American Commiſſioners, in which the Thirteen United Colonies are acknowledged to be Free, Sovereign, and Independent States. Tranſactions in the Eaſt Indies. Victory obtained by Sir Eyre Coote over Hyder Ally. Other military Actions. Engagements between the Engliſh and French Fleets.

AS no rational expectation remained of a ſubjugation of the colonies, after the capture of the army under earl Cornwallis, the military operations that ſucceeded in America were of little conſequence. Some inconſiderable actions and ſkirmiſhes did, indeed, take place, after that event; in which the refugees chiefly diſtinguiſhed themſelves, and diſcovered an inveterate animoſity againſt the Americans. On the 5th of May, 1782, ſir Guy Carleton arrived at New York, being appointed to the command of the Britiſh troops in America, in the room of ſir Henry Clinton. Two days after his arrival, he wrote a letter to general Waſhington, acquainting him, that admiral Digby was joined with himſelf, in a commiſſion to treat of peace with the people of America, tranſmitting to him, at the ſame time, ſome papers tending to manifeſt the pacific diſpoſition of the government and people of England towards thoſe of America. He alſo deſired a paſſport for Mr. Morgan, who was appointed to tranſmit a ſimilar letter of compliment to the congreſs. General Waſhington declined ſending any paſſport, till he had taken the opinion of the congreſs upon that meaſure; and by them he was directed to refuſe any paſſport for ſuch a purpoſe. However, another letter was ſent to general Waſhington, dated the ſecond of Auguſt, ſigned by ſir Guy Carleton, and rear-admiral Digby, in which they informed him, that they were acquainted, by authority, that negociations for a general peace had already commenced at Paris; that Mr. Grenville was inveſted with full powers to treat with all the parties at war; and was then at Paris in the execution of his commiſſion. They farther informed him, that his majeſty, in order to remove all obſtacles to that peace which he ſo ardently wiſhed to reſtore, had commanded his miniſters to direct Mr. Grenville, that the independency of the thirteen provinces ſhould be propoſed by him, in the firſt inſtance, inſtead of

of making it the condition of a general treaty. But ſome jealouſies were entertained by the Americans, that it was the deſign of the Britiſh court either to diſunite them, or to bring them to treat of a peace, ſeparately from their ally the king of France: they therefore reſolved, that any man, or body of men, who ſhould preſume to make any ſeparate, or partial convention or agreement, with the king of Great Britain, or with any commiſſioner or commiſſioners under the crown of Great Britain, ought to be conſidered and treated as open and avowed enemies of the united ſtates of America; and alſo, that thoſe ſtates could not, with propriety, hold any conference or treaty with any commiſſioners on the part of Great Britain, unleſs they ſhould, as a preliminary thereto, either withdraw their fleets and armies, or elſe, in poſitive or expreſs terms, acknowledge the independence of the ſaid ſtates. They likewiſe reſolved, that any propoſitions which might be made by the court of Great Britain, in any manner tending to violate the treaty ſubſiſting between them and the king of France, ought to be treated with every mark of indignity and contempt.

An affair which happened in the courſe of this year, and which excited much attention both in America and in Europe, may not improperly be mentioned here. Captain Huddy, an American officer of the Jerſey militia, was attacked in a ſmall fort on Tom's river, by a party of refugees in the Britiſh pay, was made priſoner, together with his company, carried to New York, and lodged in the provoſt of that city. About three weeks after he was taken out of the provoſt down to the water-ſide, put into a boat, and brought again upon the Jerſey ſhore, and there hanged. The reaſon aſſigned for this was ſome cruelties which, the refugees alleged, had been committed by the Americans: but the Americans were ſo much exaſperated at this tranſaction, that ſtrong applications were made to general Waſhington upon the ſubject, who thereupon repreſented the caſe to ſir Henry Clinton, and demanded, that the refugee officer, who ordered and attended the execution, and whoſe name was Lippencott, ſhould be delivered up as a murderer; declaring, that, in caſe of refuſal, ſome Britiſh officer ſhould ſuffer in his ſtead. This demand not being complied with, lots were caſt to determine which of the Britiſh officers in the hands of the Americans, ſhould be made the victim on the occaſion. The lot fell upon captain Aſgill, of the guards, who was immediately put into confinement, and kept for a long time in a ſtate of very painful ſuſpenſe; for the requiſition of general Waſhington, reſpecting the delivering up of Lippencott, though it was not complied with, had not yet been abſolutely refuſed. News of the very critical ſituation of captain Aſgill arriving in Europe, his mother, lady Aſgill, under the deepeſt affliction, wrote a moſt pathetic letter to the French miniſter, the count de Vergennes, ſoliciting his intereſt with general Waſhington in behalf of her ſon. This letter produced the deſired effect; even the king and queen of France generouſly intereſted themſelves in captain Aſgill's favour; and by their directions a letter was written by the count de Vergennes to general Waſhington, ſoliciting that the captain's life might be ſpared. In conſequence of this powerful application, an order was iſſued by the congreſs, that captain Aſgill ſhould be ſet at liberty. This order was notified to

the captain, in a very polite letter from general Washington.

In the month of June, the town of Savannah, and the whole province of Georgia, were evacuated by the king's troops; as was also Charles-Town, South Carolina, about the close of the year. In the mean time, the negociations for peace being continued, provisional articles of peace were signed at Paris, on the 30th of November, by the commissioner of his Britannic majesty, and the American commissioners, in which his majesty acknowledged the united colonies of New Hampshire, Massachusets Bay, Rhode Island and Providence Plantations, Connecticut, New York, New Jersey, Pennsylvania, Delaware, Maryland, Virginia, North Carolina, South Carolina, and Georgia, to be "free, sovereign, and independent states." Such was the end of the contest between Great Britain and the American colonies; a contest in which the former had expended upwards of one hundred millions of money, and many thousand valuable lives, and had obtained in return nothing but disgrace and loss of territory; but by which the latter was raised to an independent rank among the nations, which may be productive of more important consequences than can yet be foreseen.

It will now be necessary that we should give an account of some transactions in the East Indies. In the preceding volume of our work, we took notice of the victory obtained by sir Eyre Coote over Hyder Ally, on the 1st of July, 1781. That able, judicious, and spirited English commander, had employed the most vigorous exertions, in order to support the British interests in that part of the world; and in consequence of the victory which he had obtained over Hyder, the Tanjore, Trinchinopoly, and other southern countries, were freed from the enemy's depredations, and Trinchinopoly from an immediate siege, which Hyder had resolved to undertake against it. General Coote afterwards effected a junction with a detachment of British troops from Bengal; and on the 20th of August laid siege to Tripassore, which surrendered by capitulation on the 23d of the same month. On the 26th, another action took place between the British troops, under the command of sir Eyre Coote, and Hyder Ally's army. The latter was in possession of many strong and advantageous posts, rendered the more formidable by the nature of the country lying between, which was intersected by very deep watercourses. The conflict lasted from nine in the morning till near sun-set, when the company's troops had driven the enemy from all their strong posts, and obliged them to retreat with precipitation, leaving them in full possession of the field of battle. The loss of the English on this occasion was heavier than on the 1st of July, and that of the enemy less, owing to their being more advantageously posted. General Stuart lost his leg by a cannon shot in the action, and colonel Brown, and captain Hislop, two very brave and valuable officers, were both killed in the action. On the 27th of September following, the two armies engaged again, when Hyder was once more defeated, with considerable loss both in cavalry and infantry; while of the British army not more than one hundred were killed and wounded. Lieutenant-colonel Owen greatly distinguished himself on the 23d of October, by very gallantly resisting, with a small detachment, the united efforts of the whole of Hyder's army, and by conducting a very able retreat. On the 4th of November the

English

Engliſh laid ſiege to Chittore, which capitulated on the 10th. Sir Eyre Coote, who was thought, by his own troops, to be too ready on every occaſion to expoſe his own perſon, was wounded in reconnoitring this place.

In the mean time, major-general ſir Hector Monro was ſent to take the command of the company's troops in the Tanjore country, and to co-operate with a ſquadron under the command of ſir Edward Hughes, in an attack on the Dutch ſettlement of Negapatam. The garriſon was reinforced by a large detachment of Hyder Ally's troops, and the fortifications were conſiderably ſtrengthened by new works. However, the place ſurrendered, by capitulation, on the 12th of November, though the garriſon conſiſted of about 8000 men; but not more than 500 of them were Europeans. Immediately after the capture of this place, Hyder Ally's troops evacuated all the forts and ſtrong poſts they held in the Manjore country; and the Polygars, or petty princes, in the Marawar and Trinavilly provinces, who, at the inſtigation of Hyder, had rebelled againſt the nabob of the Carnatic, and taken up arms againſt the Engliſh, returned to their obedience on the beſt terms they could make for themſelves. Trincomale, on the iſland of Ceylon, was alſo taken by ſir Edward Hughes, on the 11th of January, 1782, together with two Dutch ſhips, richly laden, which were in the harbour, and ſeveral ſmall veſſels.

A few days before this tranſaction general Meadows arrived at Bombay with a reinforcement of land forces, convoyed by three ſail of the line; and on the 8th of January, Tellicherry, which had for a conſiderable time been beſieged by Hyder Ally's forces, was relieved by major Abingdon. That officer completely routed the beſiegers, killed about 400 men, and took 1500 priſoners, among whom was their leader, Saddos Cawn, a brother-in-law of Hyder Ally, with upwards of ſixty pieces of cannon, thirteen elephants, a large quantity of ſhot, powder, and ſtores, in their redoubts and batteries, and treaſure to the amount of three lacks of rupees. But on the 18th of February, colonel Braithwaite, with a detachment of the company's troops, was attacked, near the banks of the Colleroon, by Hyder Ally's ſon, Tippo Saib, and Monſ. Lally, who commanded ſome French troops, and totally defeated. The whole detachment, conſiſting of about 2000 infantry, 250 cavalry, eighteen officers, and a field train of thirteen pieces, were either captured or deſtroyed. The French afterwards laid ſiege to Cuddalore, which ſurrendered to the forces under Monſ. Duchemin, on articles of capitulation.

About this time a ceſſation of hoſtilities took place between the Eaſt India company's troops and the Marattas: but on the 14th of February, a French fleet, under the command of Monſ. Suffrein, conſiſting of twelve ſhips of the line, anchored three leagues to the windward of Fort St. George. This fleet was alſo accompanied with tranſports, on board of which were upwards of three thouſand French troops, brought for the aſſiſtance of Hyder Ally. One of admiral Hughes's ſhips, the Iſis, took the Lauriſton, one of the French tranſports, of about 1500 tons, having on board ſeveral officers, and near 200 ſoldiers, with a very large quantity of artillery, and other military ſtores, and 150,000lb. of powder. On the 17th of the ſame month an action took place between the two fleets, in which ſir Edward

PRINCIPAL OCCURRENCES

In the Year 1782.

JANUARY.

1. THIS being New Year's-day, there was a drawing-room at St. James's, at which were preſent their majeſties, the prince of Wales, the princeſs-royal, the duke of Cumberland, with the dukes of Queenſberry and Argyle, the lords Bathurſt, Brudenell, and Clarendon, and many others of the nobility and gentry. At two o'clock, the ode was performed, as uſual, in the great council-chamber.

Admiralty-Office, Jan. 1, 1782. *Extract of a Letter from capt. Caldwell, commander of his majeſty's ſhip Agamemnon, to Mr. Stephens, dated Spithead, Dec.* 30, 1781.

Pleaſe to acquaint my lords commiſſioners of the Admiralty with the arrival here of his majeſty's ſhip under my command, with five prizes. We were detached with la Prudente by rear-admiral Kempenfelt, to proceed after the French convoy (with a view of falling in with ſome of their tranſports or trading veſſels that may have ſeparated from them) which the fleet under his command fell in with on the 12th inſtant.

On the 25th at noon, in latitude 46. 30. N. Scilly N. 46 E. diſtance 300 leagues, we took five ſail from Bourdeaux, bound to Martinico, chiefly laden on the French king's account, and were intended to have joined M. de Guichen.

There are three king's officers among the priſoners, one captain of foot, and two of artillery.

2. On Monday noon Henry Laurens, Eſq. late preſident of the congreſs of America, was brought from the Tower of London by the deputy governor thereof, in conſequence of an order from the ſecretary of ſtate, before earl Mansfield, at his lordſhip's chambers in Serjeants-inn, Chancery-lane.

Upon the appearance of Mr. Laurens, the lord chief juſtice informed him, that he would have his liberty reſtored to him, upon his giving proper ſecurity, that he would be forthcoming within ſix months after his being ſummoned for that purpoſe. Mr. Laurens immediately expreſſed his readineſs to do this, and ſaid that he had thoſe about him who would enter into any recognizance that ſhould be required, for the due performance of the conditions on which his enlargement was to be granted. Accordingly the ſecurity required was inſtantly given for Mr. Laurens's future appearance, reſerving to him his allegiance to the ſeven united provinces of America; and Mr. Laurens was, in conſequence, immediately diſcharged out of cuſtody.

11. His majeſty's proclamation, dated this day, relative to the diſtribution of prizes, contains the following orders: "That the firſt cap-

tain to the admiral and commander in chief of our fleet, and alſo the firſt captain to the flag-officer appointed, or hereafter to be appointed, to command a fleet or ſquadron of 20 ſhips of the line of battle, whether all our own ſhips, or united in the ſame ſervice with thoſe of our allies, ſhall, in the diſtribution of prizes, under or by virtue of former proclamations, and each of them, which ſhall be taken by the fleet or ſquadron under the command of ſuch admiral and commander in chief, or ſuch flag-officer reſpectively, be deemed and taken to be a flag-officer, and ſhall be entitled unto a part or ſhare of ſuch prizes as the junior flag-officer of ſuch fleet and ſquadron: but our will and pleaſure is that this our proclamation be without prejudice to any queſtion touching the diſtribution of prizes taken before the day of the date hereof. And whereas we, judging it reaſonable that the phyſicians appointed to fleets or ſquadrons of our ſhips of war ſhould be entitled to ſhare in the diſtribution of prizes, agreeably to their ſituation; we have thought fit to declare, order, and direct, that every phyſician appointed, or hereafter to be appointed, to a fleet or ſquadron of our ſhips of war, ſhall, in the diſtribution of prizes under or by virtue of former proclamations, and each of them, which ſhall hereafter be taken by the ſhip in which he ſhall ſerve, or in which ſuch ſhip's company ſhall be entitled to ſhare, be claſſed with the ſea lieutenants, with reſpect to the eighth part of ſuch prizes, which, by our ſaid proclamations, is allotted to the captains of marines and land forces, ſea lieutenants and maſters on board, and be allowed to ſhare equally with them; provided ſuch phyſician be actually on board at the time of the taking of ſuch prizes."

Whitehall, Jan. 12. 1782.

Extract of a Letter from major-gen. Chriſtie, to lord George Germain, one of his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, dated Barbadoes, Dec. 15, 1781. *Received by the Ranger ſloop of war.*

It is with real grief I am obliged to communicate to your lordſhip the diſagreeable news of the capture of St. Euſtatius and St. Martin's, on the 26th and 27th ult. by a handful of the enemy, not exceeding 300 men, landed from three frigates and ſome ſmall craft at Jenkin's bay, at the back of the iſland, under the command of the marquis de Bouille, without the ſmalleſt oppoſition from the garriſons; the former conſiſting of 723, and the latter of 63 effective men, including officers.

14. This day the ſeſſions ended at the Old Bailey, when eleven convicts received ſentence of death.

15. John Fowler, who was to have been executed laſt week, but was then reſpited at the gallows, was this day carried in a cart from Newgate and hanged at Tyburn.

By letters from different quarters it appears, that the ſavage practice of plundering the wrecks of ſhips caſt away on the weſtern coaſts of England, and on Ireland, ſtill prevails. Two remarkable inſtances that have lately happened, are melancholy proofs of its exiſtence. The ſhip Catharina, lately ſtranded on Skerr Sands, near Bridge-end, was attacked by the populace, and defended by the ſheriff and gentlemen in the neighbourhood, on which a battle enſued, in which three perſons were killed, and many wounded, among whom was the ſheriff himſelf. Six of the ringleaders were ſecured, and it is hoped will be ſeverely puniſhed. A like attempt was made to plunder the Lancaſter Witch, lately ſtranded in Galway-bay, when a party-

party of the 66th regiment, with moſt of the revenue officers, marched to protect the wreck, when the country people preſſed ſo hard upon the ſoldiers that they were obliged to fire in their defence, when one or two were ſhot dead, and more than twelve wounded; whereupon the mob diſperſed, and the goods ſaved were lodged in the king's warehouſe.

16. This morning as the poſt-boy who drives the Cheſter mail was going out of town, he was ſtopped near Highgate by three footpads, who led the horſes, with the mail cart, down a lane, and then taking out ſuch bags as they choſe, and ſetting the horſes looſe, tied the boy in the cart, and went off in a ſingle horſe chaiſe that was there waiting for them. The boy being ſoon after found by ſome of the men belonging to Bow-ſtreet, who were out all night on the watch, they firſt releaſed him, and then went in purſuit of the thieves, whom they traced to town as far as Upper Moorfields, where they picked up ſome bags that the robbers had dropped, finding themſelves purſued.

And this evening the Cheſter mail for London was ſtolen off the horſe at Bilſton, between Wolverhampton and Birmingham, whilſt the rider went into a public-houſe, and was found in the Street of Bilſton on Thurſday morning, when the Newport, Sheffnall, Shrewſbury, Welchpool, and Wolverhampton bags were miſſing.

18. The Gazette of this day contains a liſt of fourteen French prizes, taken by the fleet under the command of rear-admiral Kempenfelt, on board of which were 1062 ſoldiers, and 548 ſeamen.

19. Laſt night between eleven and twelve o'clock, a fire broke out at Mr. Woodmaſon's, ſtationer, in Leadenhall-ſtreet, which burnt ſo furiouſly, no water being to be had for upwards of half an hour, that it greatly alarmed the whole neighbourhood. The dwelling-houſe, warehouſe, ſtock in trade, and houſehold furniture of Mr. Woodmaſon were entirely conſumed; but by the aſſiduity of the firemen, the flames were at laſt got under about three o'clock next morning. Three other houſes only were damaged. The gentlemen of the artillery company attended, and were very uſeful in keeping off the mob. But what renders this accident very deplorable is, that Mr. Woodmaſon's whole family of ſeven children periſhed in the flames, owing to the fire's breaking out in the ſecond floor directly under the nurſery, by which the ſtair-caſe was ſoon conſumed, and all poſſibility both of help or retreat entirely cut off.

20. *Copy of a letter written by gen. Murray, governor of Minorca, to the duc de Crillon, commander in chief of the Spaniſh forces at Mahon.*

Fort St. Philip's, Oct. 16, 1781.

Sir,

When your brave anceſtor was deſired by his ſovereign to aſſaſſinate the duke de Guiſe, he returned the anſwer which you ſhould have done when the king of Spain charged you to aſſaſſinate the character of a man whoſe birth is as illuſtrious as your own, or that of the duke de Guiſe. I can have no farther communication with you but in arms. If you have any humanity, pray ſend cloathing to your unfortunate priſoners in my poſſeſſion; leave it at a diſtance to be taken up for them, becauſe I will admit of no contact for the future, but ſuch as is hoſtile in the moſt inveterate degree.

I am, Sir,

Your obedient humble ſervant,

JAMES MURRAY.

P. S. Your ſoldiers do not act with that honour they ſhould do, they having attempted to corrupt one of my drummers yeſterday, who was at your firſt poſt.

Anſwer from the duke de Crillon.

Mahon, Oct. 16, 1781.

Sir,

Your letter places us each in our proper ſtation; it confirms me in the eſteem I have always had for you. I accept with pleaſure your laſt propoſition, and am,

Your excellency's moſt humble
And obedient ſervant,
B. B. Duc de Crillon.

Your drummer ſhould not have mixed himſelf with the ſoldiers from my firſt poſt; I ſhall give orders to puniſh thoſe who have committed the offence you complain of. I ſend the clothes for the priſoners in your poſſeſſion.

B. B. Duc de Crillon.

22. This day the bodies of ſix of Mr. Woodmaſon's children, who ſuffered in the late dreadful fire in Leadenhall-ſtreet, together with the body of the ſon of Mr. Noble, the breeches-maker, who lived next door, were dug out of the ruins, and carried to St. Peter's church. Afterwards the remains of the ſeventh child were found after a long ſearch, and carried to the ſame place for interment.

23. Yeſterday at one o'clock, earl Cornwallis arrived in the metropolis, accompanied by general Arnold and his family.

24. This day, general Arnold, lately arrived in town from New-York, being at court for the firſt time, was introduced to his majeſty, and graciouſly received.

The ſame day, the colonels Tarleton, Leake, and major Dundas, were at court at St. James's, and introduced to his majeſty.

25. This day came on in the court of King's Bench the important queſtion between the captors of the iſland of St. Euſtatius and the Britiſh claimants of property in that iſland, whether their claims ſhould be determined in the court of Admiralty, or whether the court of King's Bench ſhould prohibit that juriſdiction from proceeding in the ſuits inſtituted in the Admiralty, and leave the claimants to purſue their remedy againſt Sir G. Rodney and gen. Vaughan, in the courts of common law. This queſtion drew the attention of the firſt gentlemen of the profeſſion of the law, and was maintained with equal ability on both ſides; but was at length determined in favour of the Admiralty courts by earl Mansfield. His lordſhip ſaid, that the Engliſh language could not ſtate in clearer terms than the legiſlature ſaid and underſtood, that the juriſdiction was in the Admiralty.

27. Yeſterday a cartel ſhip with 300 French priſoners on board, part of the regiments of Acquitaine and Soiſſoin, which were taken by adm. Kempenfelt in clearing Mount Batten, in Plymouth Road, fell to leeward, miſſed ſtays, and drove upon the reef of rocks at the eaſt end of it. The poor unfortunate priſoners, who were but the minute before huzzaing in the higheſt ſpirits, were now ſunk in the deepeſt diſtreſs; many of them wringing their hands as if on the point of periſhing. Some that could ſwim reached the boats that had put off to their aſſiſtance. Six boys got out the yaul, and attempted to reach the ſhore, but were daſhed againſt a rock, and the boat inſtantly ſtaved; the next wave that ſucceeded caſt the lads on the ſhore, who found means to crawl up the rocks, and were ſaved. A cutter that attended the cartel got out all the boats, and with the aſſiſtance that inſtantly came from the ſhore took

took almoſt every man on board, not more than two or three being miſſing, who it was ſuppoſed in the hurry had ſlipped between the boats.

28. *Vienna, Jan.* 19. The Gazette of this city has the following notification, viz.

Notice is hereby given to all thoſe who have hitherto kept out of their country, on account of the religion they profeſs, that his majeſty pardons them, on condition that they return in the courſe of the year 1782, promiſing that they ſhall enjoy the ſame benefits as thoſe who, on account of religion, had quitted the place of their birth, and taken up their abode in other provinces belonging to his ſaid majeſty.

FEBRUARY.

1. Yeſterday a common-hall was held at Guildhall, for the purpoſe of conſidering the report of the gentlemen who went up to his majeſty on the buſineſs of the petition, addreſs, and remonſtrance voted at the laſt common-hall.

Lord Hertford's letter to the lord-mayor, containing his majeſty's refuſal to receive the remonſtrance on the throne, was read, and the lord-mayor's anſwer. After which the common-hall came to ſeveral reſolutions, among which were the following:

Reſolved, that whoever adviſed the king to deviate from the accuſtomed mode, admitted by his majeſty, of receiving the livery of London, ſitting on his throne, is an enemy to the rights and privileges of the citizens of this great capital of the Britiſh empire.

Reſolved, that the unequal repreſentation of the people, the corrupt ſtate of parliament, and the perverſion thereof, from its original inſtitution, have been the principal cauſes of the unjuſt war with America, of the conſequent diſmemberment of the Britiſh empire, and of every grievance of which we complain.

Reſolved, that theſe grievances can never be removed, until the right of the people to their conſtitutional ſhare in the Engliſh government ſhall be re-eſtabliſhed, by a fair and equal repreſentation in parliament, and a frequent election of their repreſentatives, according to ancient uſage.

Reſolved, that for the purpoſe of obtaining a reſtoration of theſe rights, a committee of the livery of London be appointed.

Reſolved, that the ſaid committee do take the moſt effectual methods for obtaining a more equal repreſentation of the people in parliament, and a frequent election of the repreſentatives, according to ancient uſage, and for theſe purpoſes do confer and correſpond with other committees throughout the kingdom.

Whitehall, Feb. 2, 1782.

Extract of a letter from Sir Henry Clinton to the right hon. lord George Germain, one of his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, dated New-York, Dec. 11, 1781.

I have the honour to incloſe the copy of a letter from lieutenant-colonel Stewart to earl Cornwallis, with its incloſures, dated September the 9th, the day after the action at Eutaw Springs.

Extract of a letter from lieutenant-col. Stewart to earl Cornwallis, dated Eutaw, September 9, 1781.

My Lord,

With particular ſatisfaction I have the honour to inform your lordſhip, that on the 8th inſt. I was attacked by the rebel general Greene, with all the force he could collect in this Province and North-Carolina; and, after an obſtinate engagement, which

laſted near two hours, I totally defeated him, and took 2 ſix-pounders.

Soon after I had the honour of writing your lordſhip from Thomſon's, I received information of Greene's having moved with the rebel army towards Camden, and croſſed the Wateree near that place; and, from the beſt intelligence I could collect, was on his march to Friday's Ferry on the Congaree.

The army under my command being much in want of neceſſaries, and there being at the ſame time a convoy with proviſions on the march from Charles-Town, which would have neceſſarilly obliged me to make a detachment of at leaſt 400 men (which at that time I could ill afford, the army being much weakened by ſickneſs) to meet the convoy at Martin's, 56 miles from my camp; the diſtance being ſo great, a ſmaller eſcort was liable to fall by the enemy's cavalry, which are very numerous.

I therefore thought it adviſeable to retire by ſlow marches to the Eutaws, where I might have an opportunity of receiving my ſupplies, and diſencumber myſelf of the ſick, without riſking my eſcorts, or ſuffering myſelf to be attacked at a diſadvantage, ſhould the enemy have croſſed the Congaree.

Notwithſtanding every exertion being made to gain intelligence of the enemy's ſituation, they rendered it impoſſible, by way-laying the by-paths and paſſes through the different ſwamps; and even detained different flags of truce which I had ſent on public buſineſs on both ſides.

About ſix o'clock in the morning I received intelligence by two deſerters, who left general Greene's camp the preceding evening about ſeven miles from this place; and, from their report, the rebel army conſiſted of near 4000 men, with a numerous body of cavalry, and four pieces of cannon.

In the mean time I received information by major Coffin, whom I had previouſly detached with 140 infantry and 50 cavalry, in order to gain intelligence of the enemy, that they appeared in force in his front, then about four miles from my camp.

Finding the enemy in force ſo near me, I determined to fight them, as from their numerous cavalry, a retreat ſeemed to me to be attended with dangerous conſequences: I immediately formed the line of battle, with the right of the army to the Eutaw branch, and its left croſſing the road leading to Roache's plantation, leaving a corps on a commanding ſituation to cover the Charles-Town road, and to act occaſionally as a reſerve.

About nine o'clock the action began on the right, and ſoon after became general.

Knowing that the enemy were much ſuperior in numbers, and at the ſame time finding that they attacked with their militia in front, induced me not to alter my poſition, unleſs I ſaw a certain advantage to be gained by it: for by moving forwards, I expoſed both flanks of the army to the enemy's cavalry, which I ſaw ready formed to take that advantage, particularly on the left, which obliged me to move the reſerve to ſupport it.

By ſome unknown miſtake, the left of the line advanced, and drove their militia and North Carolinians before them; but unexpectedly finding the Virginian and Maryland lines ready formed, and at the ſame time receiving a heavy fire, occaſioned ſome confuſion. It was, therefore, neceſſary to retire a little diſtance, to an open field, in order to form, which was inſtantly done, under

cover

cover of a heavy and well-directed fire, from a detachment of New-York volunteers under the command of major Sheridan, whom I had previouſly ordered to take poſt in the houſe, to check the enemy, ſhould they attempt to paſs it.

The action was renewed with great ſpirit; but I was ſorry to find that a three-pounder, poſted on the road leading to Roache's, had been diſabled, and could not be brought off when the left of the line retired.

The right wing of the army being compoſed of the flank battalion, under the command of major Majoribanks, having repulſed and drove every thing that attacked them, made a rapid move to their left, and attacked the enemy in flank; upon which they gave way in all quarters, leaving behind them two braſs ſix-pounders, and upwards of 200 killed on the field of action, and ſixty taken priſoners, amongſt whom is colonel Waſhington; and, from every information, about 800 wounded, although they contrived to carry them off during the action. The enemy retired with great precipitation to a ſtrong ſituation, about ſeven miles from the field of action, leaving their cavalry to cover their retreat. The glory of the day would have been more complete, had not the want of cavalry prevented me from taking the advantage which the gallantry of my infantry threw in my way.

I omitted to inform your lordſhip, in its proper place, of the army's having for ſome time been much in want of bread, there being no old corn or mills near me. I was therefore under the neceſſity of ſending out rooting parties from each corps, under an officer, to collect potatoes every morning at day-break; and unfortunately that of the flank battalion and buffs, having gone too far in front, fell into the enemy's hands before the action began, which not only weakened my line, but increaſed their number of priſoners.

Since the action, our time has been employed in taking care of the wounded; and finding that the enemy have no intention to make a ſecond attack, I have determined to cover the wounded as far as Monk's corner with the army.

My parttcular thanks are due to lieutenant-colonel Cruger, who commanded the front line, for his conduct and gallantry during the action: and to lieutenant-colonel Allen, majors Dawſon, Steward, Sheridan, and Coffin, and to captains Kelly and Campbell, commanding the different corps and detachments; and every other officer and ſoldier fulfilled the ſeparate duties of their ſtations with great gallantry: but to major Majoribanks, and the flank battalion under his command, I think the honour of the day is greatly due. My warmeſt praiſe is due to captain Barry, deputy adjutant-general, major of brigade Coxon, lieutenant Ranken, aſſiſtant quarter-maſter general, and to acting major of brigade Roorback, for the great aſſiſtance they rendered me during the day.

I hope, my lord, when it is conſidered that ſuch a handful of men were attacked by the united force of generals Greene, Sumpter, Marion, Sumner and Pickens, and the legions of colonels Lee and Waſhington, driving them from the field of battle, and taking the only two ſix-pounders they had, deſerves ſome merit.

Incloſed are the returns of the killed, wounded, and miſſing, of his majeſty's troops.

From the number of corps and detachments which appears to have been engaged, it may be ſuppoſed our force was great; but your lordſhip will pleaſe to obſerve, that the army

army was much reduced by ſickneſs, and otherwiſe. I hope your lordſhip will excuſe any inaccuracy that may be in this letter, as I have been a good deal indiſpoſed by a wound which I received in my left elbow, which, though ſlight, from its ſituation is troubleſome. It will give me moſt ſingular pleaſure if my conduct meets with the approbation of his majeſty, that of your lordſhip, and my country.

Total of the killed, wounded, and miſſing, in the army commanded by lieutenant-colonel Alexander Stewart, in the action at Eutaws, September 8, 1781.

Three commiſſioned officers, 6 ſerjeants, 1 drummer, 75 rank and file killed; 16 commiſſioned officers, 20 ſerjeants, 2 drummers, 313 rank and file, wounded; 10 commiſſioned officers, 15 ſerjeants, 8 drummers, 224 rank and file, miſſing.

Names of officers killed, wounded, and miſſing.

Cavalry. Cornet Vanhorne, wounded.

Flank Battalion. Lieut. Huckman, 19th regiment light infantry, killed; lieut. lord Edward Fitzgerald, 19th regiment, ditto; lieut. Anketle, 30th regiment, wounded.

The Buffs. Lieut. Bukwith, killed; hon. major Leſlie, wounded; lieut. Douglas Hamilton, miſſing and priſoner.

63d Regiment. Lieut. Campbell and Lloyd, and enſign Murray, wounded; capt. St. Leger, miſſing, wounded and priſoner; lieut. Beacroft, miſſing and priſoner.

64th Regiment. Lieut. Graham and Coſwell, wounded; enſign Laton, miſſing, wounded and priſoner, ſince dead; capt. Strong, miſſing and priſoner.

84th Regiment. Capt. Robert Campbell, wounded.

New Jerſey Volunteers. Captain Barbarie and lieut. Troup, wounded; lieut. Troup ſince dead.

1ſt Battalion Delancey's. Lieut. Cunningham, miſſing and priſoner.

Provincial Light Infantry. Capt. Shaw, wounded, ſince dead; capt. Buſkirk, lieut. Cox, and enſign Montgomery, wounded; lieut. Evans, enſigns Reed and Blaaw, adjutant Murray, miſſing and priſoners.

Staff. Capt. Barry, miſſing, wounded and priſoner, deputy-adjutant-general.

(Signed) M. Coxon, Major of Brigade.

8. This being the day appointed for a ſolemn faſt, the ſame was obſerved as uſual. Their majeſties attended divine ſervice at the chapel-royal, and heard a ſermon preached by the rev. Dr. Kaye, ſub-almoner.

The biſhop of Worceſter preached a ſermon on the ſame occaſion in Weſtminſter-abbey, before the lord chancellor, five temporal, and ten ſpiritual lords. As did the rev. Dr. Dampier before the ſpeaker and ſeveral members of the houſe of commons, at St. Margaret's church.

12. On Wedneſday laſt, the 6th inſtant, the floor ſuddenly gave way in a room adjoining to the muſic-hall in Fiſhamble-ſtreet, Dublin, at a moment when upwards of 400 perſons were aſſembled, to conſider of a proper perſon to repreſent the city in parliament; and the whole company, excepting a few perſons neareſt the ſides, fell with it to the depth of twenty feet. The ſhrieks and groans of the miſerable croud who lay cruſhing each other are not to be deſcribed. No perſons were killed outright; but very few eſcaped without hurt. The horror of ſuch a ſcene, where ſo many people lay cruſhed together with legs, arms, and joints broken or diſlocated, ſurpaſſes all deſcription.

22. This

22. This day was tried before the right hon. earl Mansfield an action of crim. con. wherein sir Richard Worsley, bart. was plaintiff, and Maurice George Bisset, esq. defendant. The jury, instead of 10,000l. sued for, gave only one shilling damages.

24. On the 10th of this month a dreadful hurricane arose at Corunna in Spain, by which more than thirty vessels perished. The sea swelled to a tremendous height, and many houses, warehouses, &c. were washed away.

26. This day the sessions ended at the Old Bailey, when ten convicts received sentence of death.

MARCH.

2. This day an order was issued from the privy council, for the enlargement of Messr. Gouverneur and Curzon from their confinement, on condition of their giving bail for their appearance, similar to that entered into some time since by Mr. Laurens.

Admiralty-Office, March 2, 1782. Extract of a Letter from Commodore Johnstone to Mr. Stephens, dated on board the Diana, at Spithead, Feb. 28, 1782.

I have the honour to acquaint you of my arrival at Spithead in his majesty's frigate Diana, after a passage of eight days from Lisbon.

We have brought lieutenant Reid of the Romney, who commanded the Dankbaarheyt prize taken in Saldanay-bay, together with Mr. Virgin, a Swedish officer, midshipman and volunteer in the Jupiter, who was likewise saved from the said prize, together with John Doitman, John Belfour, Philip Hodge, George Lusignie, and Thomas Roe, William Richardson, William Boyer, and David Fell. They report that the Dankbaarheyt, after losing all her masts on the 28th of January near the channel, had the pumps choaked on the 29th, that she gradually filled with water to the upper deck, and was on the point of sinking on the 30th at dark, when they left her in a small boat during a hard gale of wind. That the crew had prepared a raft, and taken every precaution with coolness and active intrepidity; but from all circumstances I can entertain little hopes that they could survive.

The small boat was forced to keep right before the wind, which then blew from N. N. E. Next morning, at ten o'clock, after running about eighty miles to the southward, the weather became temperate, and they were taken up by a Swedish brig bound to Leghorn, who was prevailed upon, by a premium given by a bill, to run off the bar of Lisbon, and to send them into the Tagus by a fishing boat.

11. This day the river Clyde rose higher than has ever been known in the memory of man. In Glasgow the waters reached half way up the Salt Market.

Admiralty-Office, March 12, 1782.

This morning captain Henry Edwin Stanhope, late of his majesty's ship the Russel, arrived here from rear admiral Sir Samuel Hood, bart. with a letter to Mr. Stephens, dated Barfleur, Basse-Terre Road, the 7th of last month, of which the following is an extract:

The design of the count de Grasse was most undoubtedly against Barbadoes, could he have got to windward; but, failing of that, owing to strong easterly winds, and a lee current, he bent his course to this island.

The moment his views were made known to me, I quitted Carlisle-Bay, and got off English Harbour, with

with all the haſte in my power; where I could only hear of a formidable attack being made upon St. Chriſtopher's, without any certain information of the enemy's ſea or land force. I anchored in St. John's road, and the Prudent having joined me, I ſailed on the 23d in the evening with twenty-two ſail of the line, and was cloſe off the ſouth-eaſt end of Nevis, at daylight next morning, when I directed the ſquadron to be formed in order of battle, with a deſign of attacking the enemy at anchor, if I ſaw it practicable to any advantage. But the ſignal for the line a-head was no ſooner thrown out than rear-admiral Drake made *that* for ſpeaking with me, and brought to; I did the ſame, and ſoon learnt he only repeated the ſignal of the Alfred in the rear; and that that ſhip had run on board the Nymphe, and almoſt cut her aſunder. It was reported to me that each had received ſo much damage, as to be unable to keep the ſea. I immediately ordered a ſurvey on both, and was happy to find the Alfred could be put in a ſtate for preſent ſervice in the courſe of the day and following night; but the Nymphe could not. I therefore ſhifted the troops ſhe had on board, to another frigate, and ordered her to Engliſh Harbour where ſhe arrived ſafe. This misfortune to the Alfred, obliged me to remove her from being the leading ſhip into the center of my line, and to place the St. Alban's in her room. That morning the look-out frigate a-head fell in with and took a very large king's cutter of 16 ſix pounders, but ſeven months old; and commanded by a knight of Malta. She is named L'Eſpion: ſhe came from Martinique about thirty hours before, and was full of ſhells and other ordnance ſtores. In the afternoon the count de Graſſe quitted this road, and kept a few miles to leeward of me the whole night.

At daylight we plainly diſcovered 33 ſail of the enemy's ſhips, 29 of which of two decks formed in a line a-head. I made every appearance of an attack, which threw the count de Graſſe a little from the ſhore; and as I thought I had a fair proſpect of gaining the anchorage he left, and well knowing it was the only chance I had of ſaving the iſland, if it was to be ſaved, I puſhed for it, and ſucceeded, by having my rear and part of the center engaged.

The enemy gave a preference to commodore Affleck; but he kept up ſo noble a fire, and was ſo ſupported by his ſeconds, captain Cornwallis and lord Robert Manners, that the loſs and damages ſuſtained in thoſe ſhips were very trifling, and they very much preſerved the other ſhips in the rear. The Prudent had the misfortune to have her wheel ſhot to pieces the firſt broadſide, which occaſioned her loſs to exceed that of any other ſhip.

Would the event of a battle have determined the fate of the iſland, I would, without heſitation, have attacked the enemy, from my knowledge how much was to be expected from an Engliſh ſquadron, commanded by men, amongſt whom is no other contention than who ſhould be moſt forward in rendering ſervices to his king and country. Herein I placed the utmoſt confidence, and ſhould not, I fully truſt, have been diſappointed.

I anchored his majeſty's ſquadron in a cloſe line a-head; but commodore Affleck having acquainted me, that the Bedford had driven off the bank, I ordered her into the van.

Next morning, about eight o'clock, I was attacked from van to rear, with the whole force of the enemy,

(29 ſail) for nearly two hours, without having the leaſt viſible impreſſion made upon my line. The French ſhips then wore, and ſtood off again, and in the afternoon began a ſecond attack upon my center and rear, with no better ſucceſs than before: ſince which the count de Graſſe has kept at a ſafe diſtance. Many of the French ſhips muſt have ſuffered very conſiderably, and the Ville de Paris was upon the heel all the next day, covering her ſhot holes.

By information from the ſhore, the French ſhips have ſent to St. Euſtatius upwards of 100 wounded men.

I think my ſituation perfectly ſecure here againſt the enemy's preſent force, ſuperior as it is; and am happy to find, by a letter I have received from governor Shirley, that Brimſtone-hill, to which his excellency retired, is in the moſt perfect ſecurity. I have not a thought of moving, and think the count de Graſſe will not venture to attack me again, unleſs he ſhould attempt ſomething by fire-veſſels, which I am prepared againſt as much as poſſible. If therefore Brimſtone-hill can hold out, which I have not a doubt of, the marquis de Bouille, (who landed with 8000 men upon the iſland) as well as the count de Graſſe, will, I think, be glad to retire. When I ſent an officer to Brimſtone-hill, he was accompanied by general Preſcott, (who embarked with the 28th regiment, and two companies of the 13th, from Antigua, at my requeſt, knowing well Brimſtone-hill and every part of the iſland) who brought the following meſſage from that brave old ſoldier gen. Fraſer: "That as he had taken the trouble "to come with troops to his aſſiſt-"ance, he ſhould doubtleſs be glad "of the honour of ſeeing him; but "that he was in no want of him or "his troops." Upon my being made acquainted with this ſpirited meſſage from general Fraſer, I propoſed to general Preſcott his taking a poſt on ſhore in the vicinity of Baſſe Terre, and offered to land two battalions of marines, of 700 each, rank and file, with the 69th regiment, which, with the 28th regiment, and the two companies of the 13th, would make a body of 2400 men. His anſwer was, he did not think it practicable to maintain a poſt, but was ſanguine in his wiſhes to be put on ſhore, with his Antigua troops and the 69th regiment. They were accordingly landed on the 28th, immediately got into action, and drove the enemy with conſiderable loſs. He remained on ſhore all night, and next morning the marquis de Bouille appeared at the head of upwards of 4000 men; but not caring to attack general Preſcott, on a hill he poſſeſſed juſt to the eaſtward of Frigate-Bay, where he landed, led his troops back to his encampment under Brimſtone-Hill; and as it then appeared to me, that no ſolid purpoſe could be anſwered by the continuance of our troops on ſhore, I ſubmitted it to the general's conſideration, whether it would not be adviſeable to reimbark, and he readily concurring, all were taken off that evening without the loſs of a man. The general had about forty killed and wounded in his ſkirmiſh with the Iriſh brigade.

General Skene landed with the 69th regiment, and had his full ſhare in putting the enemy to the rout.

All communication being now cut off with Brimſtone-Hill, I thought it expedient, as did the general alſo, to ſend him and the Antigua troops back, and they ſailed in the Convert and Fortunée on the 1ſt inſtant.

On

On that day the Tiſiphone joined me, and I propoſe ſhall return to England with an account of the ſituation of things here, which I think it of importance their lordſhips ſhould know.

I ſend the copy of my line of battle, and an account of the killed and wounded. I have much pleaſure in telling you, his majeſty's ſhips under my command are very immaterially injured in their maſts and yards, perfectly healthy, and the people in the higheſt ſpirits.

The count de Graſſe appeared one day with thirty-two two decked ſhips (the whole of the preſent force in this country), and another with only twenty-nine, ſo that I imagine two or three are conſtantly watering at Old Road.

Total of killed and wounded on board his majeſty's ſhips under the command of Sir Sam. Hood, bart. in an action with the French fleet on the 25th and 26th of Jan. 1782.

Killed 72——Wounded 244.

Officers killed.

Mr. Cha. Martin, maſter of the Reſolution.

Mr. John Chartres, maſter of the Prudent.

Officers wounded.

Lieut. Elliot, of the Ajax.
Lieut. Forſter, of Marines, Centaur.
Lieut. Parey, of the Montagu.
Mr. Raven, Maſter of the Montagu.
Capt. Strickland, of Marines, Prudent.
Lieut. Griffiths, of Marines, Prudent.

SAM. HOOD.

Return of killed and wounded of his majeſty's 69th regiment on the 28th of January, 1782.

Killed. Captain Roſs, 1 ſerjeant, 6 rank and file.
Wounded. Capt. Cunningham, lieutenants Brown and Clark, enſign Chambers, 1 ſerjeant, 21 rank and file.

SAM. HOOD.

14. Yeſterday the following malefactors were executed at Tyburn, Edmund Harris, for burglary, John Lucas, for robbery on the highway, James Riley, for robbing on the highway, ſhooting at Mr. Ellingham, and wounding him in the back, and John Coleman, for robbing Mr. Davanes, in the footpath leading from Pancras to Kentiſh town.

15. A ſtout Dutch privateer was obſerved hovering off Sunderland, in wait, as was ſuppoſed, for the colliers that were juſt ready to ſail; when the towns-people procured ſome guns and put them on board two empty veſſels, which they manned with a number of reſolute fellows, who ran the Dutchman on board before he was prepared, and without loſing a man boarded and brought him into harbour.

22. This day thirty-eight of the Carmarthen militia were caſt away on the banks of Barnſtable, and all periſhed except two. They were returning from their furlows when this unhappy accident happened.

Whitehall, March 26, 1782.

Copy of a letter from the honourable general Murray, governor of Minorca, to the earl of Hilſborough, one of his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, received by captain Don, March 19.

Minorca, February 16, 1782.

My Lord,

I have the honor to acquaint your lordſhip, that Fort St. Philip's was ſurrendered to his catholic majeſty the 15th inſtant. The capitulation accompanies this. I flatter myſelf all Europe will agree the brave garriſon ſhewed uncommon heroiſm, and that thirſt for glory, which has ever diſtinguiſhed the troops of my royal maſter. Our neceſſary guards required four hundred and fifteen men, the night before the capitulation;

tion; the whole number able to carry arms amounted to ſix hundred and ſixty only, of courſe there were none for piquet, and a defect of one hundred and ſeventy to relieve the guards, as is evident by the returns. The moſt inveterate ſcurvy, which I believe ever has infected mortals, reduced us to this ſituation. The reports of the faculty fully explain the dreadful havock it made, and that three days farther obſtinacy on my part muſt have inevitably deſtroyed the brave remains of this garriſon, as they declare there was no remedy for the men in the hoſpitals, but vegetables; and that of the ſix hundred and ſixty able to do duty, five hundred and ſixty were actually tainted with the ſcurvy, and, in all likelihood, would be in the hoſpitals in four days time. Such was the uncommon ſpirit of the king's ſoldiers, that they concealed their diſorders and inability rather than go into the hoſpitals; ſeveral men died on guard, after having ſtood ſentry; their fate was not diſcovered till called upon for the relief, when it came to their turn to mount again. Perhaps a more noble, nor a more tragical ſcene, was never exhibited, than that of the march of the garriſon of St. Philip's through the Spaniſh and French armies. It conſiſted of no more than ſix hundred old decrepid ſoldiers, two hundred ſeamen, one hundred and twenty of the royal artillery, twenty Corſicans, and twenty-five Greeks, Turks, Moors, Jews, &c. The two armies were drawn up in two lines, the battalions fronting each other, forming a way for us to march through: they conſiſted of fourteen thouſand men, and reached from the glacis to George-Town, where our battalions laid down their arms, declaring they ſurrendered them to God alone, having the conſolation to know, the victors could not plume themſelves in taking an hoſpital. Such was the diſtreſſing figures of our men, that many of the Spaniſh and French troops are ſaid to have ſhed tears as they paſſed them: the duke de Crillon, and the baron de Falkenhayn declare it is true: I cannot aver this, but think it was very natural: for my own part, I felt no uneaſineſs on this occaſion but that which proceeded from the miſerable diſorder which threatened us with deſtruction. Thanks to the Almighty, my apprehenſions are now abated; the humanity of the duc de Crillon (whoſe heart was moſt ſenſibly touched by the misfortunes of ſuch brave men) has gone even beyond my wiſhes in providing every thing which can contribute to our recovery. The Spaniſh as well as the French ſurgeons attend our hoſpitals. We are greatly indebted to the baron de Falkenhayn, who commands the French troops. We owe infinite obligations to the count de Crillon: they can never be forgotten by any of us. I hope this young man never will command an army againſt my ſovereign, for his military talents are as conſpicuous as the goodneſs of his heart.

Liſts of the killed and wounded, with the number of our guns which were deſtroyed by the enemy's battering artillery, which conſiſted of 109 pieces of cannon, and 36 mortars, are incloſed. I ſhall wait here until I ſee the laſt man of my noble garriſon ſafely and commodiouſly embarked. If my accompanying them in a tranſport to England, could be of the ſmalleſt ſervice to any of them, I would chearfully go with them by ſea; but as I can be of no farther uſe to them after they are on board ſhip, I truſt his majeſty will approve of my going to Leghorn to bring home with me my wife and my children, who fled to

Italy

Italy the evening of the day the Spaniſh army landed on the iſland.

My aid de camp, captain Don, will have the honour to preſent this letter to your lordſhip. He is well acquainted with the moſt minute circumſtance relative to the ſiege, is an intelligent, diſtinguiſhed officer, and is furniſhed with copies of all the papers I have, which he will lay before your lordſhip, if requiſite.

The captains Savage, Boothby, and Don, of the 51ſt reg. lieutenant Mercier, of ditto, lieutenant Bottiſcher, of Goldacker's regiment, and lieutenant Douglas, the engineer, are exchanged for the officers we made priſoners at Cape Mola.

Colonel Pringle and his nephew lieutenant Pringle, are to be left hoſtages until the tranſports return, agreeably to the capitulation.

I have the honour to be, with great truth and regard,

My Lord,

Your lordſhip's moſt obedient and moſt humble ſervant,

JA. MURRAY.

P. S. It would be unjuſt and ungrateful, was I not to declare, that from the beginning to the laſt hour of the ſiege, the officers and men of the royal regiment of artillery, and likewiſe the ſeamen, diſtinguiſhed themſelves. I believe the world cannot produce more expert gunners and bombardiers than thoſe who ſerved at this ſiege, and I am ſure the ſailors ſhewed uncommon zeal. It is neceſſary likewiſe to declare, that no garriſon was ever nouriſhed with better ſalt proviſions, of all kinds, than we had ſent to us from England; freſh vegetables we could not have; but we had plenty of peaſe, good bread and rice, with currants and raiſins; and left in the fort ſix months full allowance of all kinds, although a magazine, containing ſix months more, was burnt by the enemy's ſhells.

JA. MURRAY.

The firſt articles of a capitulation which were propoſed by general Murray were rejected by the duke de Crillon in the following terms.

The order which I have from my court forbidding me to liſten to any capitulation, except under the expreſs condition, that the garriſon of Fort St. Philip's ſhall be priſoners of war, I am under the obligation to return his excellency general Murray the articles which he propoſes to me; but I am very ſorry I have not an opportunity to make known to him my deſire for the preſervation of his men, and particularly the eſteem with which his perſon and his brave garriſon have inſpired me.

B. B. DUC DE CRILLON.

Mahon, February 4, eleven o'clock in the morning.

Farther articles of capitulation propoſed by his excellency general Murray to his excellency the duke de Crillon, dated Fort St. Philip's, February 2, 1782, at eight o'clock at night: with the anſwers of the duke de Crillon to the laſt articles propoſed by general Murray, dated Mahon, February 1, 1782, at ten at night.

Article I. As his excellency the duke de Crillon, by the expreſs orders of his ſovereign, cannot receive the garriſon but as priſoners of war, his excellency the honourable lieutenant-general James Murray conſents to ſurrender the garriſon agreeably to the duke de Crillon's inſtructions from his court; but he expects the duke de Crillon will allow the garriſon to march out of it with all the honours of war he has required in the ſecond article of thoſe he ſent to the duke, which is by no means incompatible with his excellency's inſtructions, and will tend more to his

his glory, for certainly no troops ever gave greater proofs of heroiſm than this poor worn-out garriſon of St. Philip's caſtle, who have defended themſelves almoſt to the laſt man.

Anſwer. The garriſon ſhall be priſoners of war; but, in conſideration of the conſtancy and valour which general Murray and his men have ſhown in their brave defence, they ſhall be permitted to go out with their arms ſhouldered, drums beating, lighted matches, and colours flying, till having marched through the midſt of the army, they ſhall lay down their arms and colours; and moreover, being deſirous of giving a proof of my high eſteem for the general, he ſhall be allowed a covered boat.

II. General Murray deſires the garriſon may be allowed to return to England, priſoners of war, in tranſports furniſhed by the king of Spain, but paid by the king of England; and that the troops ſhall be victualled, while they remain on the iſland, till the tranſports are got ready for them, and during their paſſage to Great Britain, out of the ſtores of the garriſon, at the ſame allowance for each man they have been accuſtomed to receive: the troops of the garriſon are likewiſe to be allowed to take their bedding with them into the tranſports.

Anſwer. Granted.

III. That the Corſicans, Greeks, &c. are to be tranſported to Leghorn, and likewiſe victualled out of the ſtores of the garriſon, at the uſual allowance: the tranſports at the expence of England.

Anſwer. Granted.

IV. That the general thinks that the officers ſhould follow the fate of their men, and therefore will not permit any officer to go home by land, but thoſe whoſe health requires it: that his own will not admit of a long, ſea-voyage, and therefore he hopes the duke de Crillon will allow him and his ſuite to go to Marſeilles, and from thence to England; for which purpoſe he has the king of France's paſſport.

Anſwer. Granted.

V. That the duke de Crillon may depend upon it, the garriſon of Fort St. Philip's ſhall not ſerve during the war, unleſs they are regularly exchanged, or a cartel ſettled betwixt the belligerent powers, which may liberate them from the obligations of not ſerving during the war.

Anſwer. The confidence which I have in the honour of all the officers of the garriſon of St. Philip, does not ſuffer me to doubt of their keeping their promiſe not to ſerve againſt Spain and her allies, until they have been exchanged by Spain, either man for man, or by means of a cartel, in caſe any ſhould be eſtabliſhed by their Catholic and Britannic majeſties, for the officers ſhall be priſoners of war on their parole of honour, given in writing under their hands. With regard to the ſoldiers, a liſt of their names muſt be made out, their officers ſhall explain to them the obligation they have contracted of not ſerving during the war till they have been exchanged, and ſhall warn them of the penalty of death they will be puniſhed with, if guilty of breaking the obligation.

VI. That the duke de Crillon's known humanity leaves general Murray no doubt that his excellency will be happy to allow vegetables, and every poſſible refreſhment to be bought in the markets of the iſland, which can contribute to the recovery of the ſick of the garriſon.

Anſwer.—Granted.

VII. That he has as little doubt that his excellency's generoſity will not admit of allowing the officers, ſoldiers, and artificers of the garriſon to be plundered of their baggage,

and mal-treated by the beſieging army; for which purpoſe he propoſes to put the duke de Crillon immediately in poſſeſſion of Marlbro', Charles-Fort, Queen's Redoubt, and the Kane Lunette.

Anſwer.—Granted.

VIII. That the Engliſh garriſon ſhall remain poſſeſſed of the other out-works till the day they embark; and that no inſults may be offered them by the Spaniſh ſoldiers.

Anſwer. The whole garriſon ſhall early to-morrow morning quit the place, to be conducted to Alcot, where they ſhall remain till they are embarked, and every attention ſhall be paid them, which their defence and valour deſerve.

IX. Hoſtages to be delivered on both ſides for the faithful performance of the preceding articles.

Anſwer. In conſequence of the 2d and 3d preceding articles, which treat of the tranſports that are to be furniſhed by Spain, his excellency general Murray ſhall name ſome principal officers, who ſhall remain as hoſtages till the return of the ſaid tranſports.

Mahon, Feb. 6, 1782.

(Signed) (Signed)

J. MURRAY. B.B. DUC DE CRILLON.

LE BAR. DE FALKENHAYEN, Mar. de Camp. Comm. les Troupes Francoiſes.

FELIX BUCH.

EL MARQ. DE CASA CAGIGAL.

DON ORAZIO BORGHESE.

EL CONDE DE ADJUENTES.

Return of the killed and wounded during the ſiege of Fort St. Philip's, from the 19th of Auguſt, 1781, to the 4th of February, 1782, incluſive.

Killed. Two officers, three ſerjeants, 54 rank and file. Total 59.

Wounded. 15 officers, 10 ſerjeants, 124 aank and file. Total 149.

Killed.—Marine corps. Lieutenant Davis and Crew.

Wounded.—51ſt reg. colonel Pringle, capt. Savage, lieutenants Fuller and Hull, enſign Naper.—61ſt ditto, capt. Muet.—Goldacker's, lieut. Botticher.—Royal-artillery, capt. Fade, lieutenants Irwin and Woodward.—Engineers, Lieuts. D'Arcy and Johnſon.—Marine corps, captain Harman, lieutenant Hodges.—Corſicans, capt. Colle.

GEO. DON, Adj. Gen.

Hoſpital, St. Philip's Caſtle, Feb. 1, 1782

SIR,

From the extraordinary increaſe of the ſick in the garriſon, and the little progreſs we make in reducing that evil, we judge it neceſſary, both on account of the public ſervice, as well as our own credit, to inform your excellency, that the prevailing diſeaſe, the ſcurvy, amongſt the troops is got to ſuch an alarming height, as ſeems to us to admit of no remedy in our preſent ſituation: every means has been tried to palliate this formidable malady, but the daily, and, we may ſay, the hourly falling down of the men, baffles all our endeavours. The different returns of the ſick will ſhew your excellency the truth of this aſſertion: we are ſorry to add, that it does not appear to us, that any one now in the hoſpital will be able to do the ſmalleſt duty under the preſent circumſtances, where no vegetable food is to be had, or free air.

We have the honour to be, &c.

(Signed) GEO. MONRO, Phyſician-general.

WM. FELLOWS, Surgeon-general.

D. M'NEILLE, Surg. to the Naval Hoſpital.

B. I. GRIMSCHEL, Surgeon, Pr. Er.

RABILLE, Goldacker's.

S. FORD, Royal Artil.

JAS. HALL 51ſt Reg.

To his Excellency the Governor.

Ad-

Admiralty-Office, March 26, 1782.

Captain Everitt, late of his majeſty's ſhip Solebay, arrived this morning at this office, with diſpatches to Mr. Stephens, from rear-admiral ſir Samuel Hood, bart. of which the following are extracts:

Barfleur, at Sea, Feb. 22, 1782.

From the very ſtrong aſſurances governor Shirley gave me of Brimſtone-hill being in a ſtate of the moſt perfect ſecurity, and, from the ſpirited and encouraging meſſage ſent by general Fraſer to general Preſcott on the 24th of laſt month, I had not the ſmalleſt doubt of relieving the iſland, after I got poſſeſſion of the enemy's anchorage at Baſſe-terre-road; and the governor having expreſſed a wiſh for an able ſea-officer and a few ſeamen, I ſent captain Curgenven and lieutenant Hare (late of the Solebay) who were eager volunteers, with thirty men in two boats to endeavour to throw them into the garriſon in the night. The oars were muffled, and every precaution uſed that not the leaſt noiſe ſhould be made to give an alarm; but upon putting the boat's ſterns to the ſhore, volley after volley of muſquetry were fired at them, and they were obliged to return. Two nights after, the man I firſt ſent upon the hill, and whom captain Curgenven took with him, thought he could make his way alone to the garriſon; he made the trial in a ſmall canoe, but was forced to return, having been fired at from every part he attempted to land. On the ſame evening lieutenant Fayhie, of the Ruſſel, was put on ſhore in Red Flag Bay, on the north ſide of the iſland. Mr. Fayhie, knowing every acceſſible path to the hill, was ſanguine in his hopes of being able to reach the garriſon; but after waiting two nights, found it impoſſible, and returned.

Upon the ſignal's being made from the hill, on the 8th, that the enemy's batteries had been ſucceſsful in damaging the works and buildings, that the garriſon was reduced, and ſhort of ordnance ſtores, I was eager to make farther trials to get an officer upon the hill; and captain Curgenven again offering his ſervice, as well as captain Bourne of the marines, I ſent them away that evening in a ſmall boat, towed by another near the place they expected to land; and after being on ſhore about ten minutes, captain Curgenven returned, and ordered the boats on board; but neither ſucceeded in reaching the garriſon, and both were made priſoners in different places.

About the time theſe officers left the Barfleur, lieutenant Fayhie was again landed on the north ſide of the iſland, being deſirous of making another trial; but as he is not yet returned, and I have heard nothing from him, I conclude he was taken priſoner.

I was extremely deſirous of getting an officer into the garriſon juſt to ſay, I was very confident the count de Graſſe was weary of his ſituation; and as the marquis de Bouillé was deſtroying every fort and magazine at Baſſe-Terre, and blew up their very foundations, I was perſuaded he deſpaired of ſucceſs, and that if the hill could hold out ten days longer, the iſland muſt be ſaved.

But I am much concerned to ſay, that captain Robinſon of the 15th regiment, in the evening of the 13th, came on board the Barfleur, to enquire for general Preſcott, being charged with a letter for him from governor Shirley and general Fraſer, acquainting him of their having ſurrendered the garriſon to the arms of the French king that morning.

The information I got from captain Robinſon is as follows:—"That he was ſent to Monſ. S. Simon at ſeven in the evening of the 12th, to propoſe a ceſſation of arms: at the ſame hour another officer was ſent on the ſame errand to the marquis de Bouillé; and ſo eager was the marquis to get poſſeſſion of the hill, that he granted all that was aſked, and the terms were agreed to at his (captain Robinſon's) return to the garriſon at midnight." I enquired if no article was ſtipulated for my being made acquainted with the ſtate of the garriſon before the ſurrender took place; and, to my very great ſurpriſe, was anſwered in the negative.

On the 14th the enemy's fleet anchored off Nevis, conſiſting of the Ville de Paris, ſix ſhips of 80 guns, twenty-three of 74, and four of 64: one 64 was at Old Road, and another at Sandy-Point; the Triomphant and Brave had joined from Europe.

Under this ſituation of things, I had no longer any buſineſs in Baſſe-Terre Road, eſpecially as the enemy were preparing to get guns and mortars upon a height that would annoy the ſhips in the van; aud I left it that night, unperceived I imagine, as not one of the enemy's ſhips was to be ſeen in the morning.

With ſo vaſt a ſuperiority againſt me, I had nothing left to do but to endeavour to join ſir George Rodney as faſt as I was able; and as it was of very great importance to the king's ſervice, that I ſhould carry his majeſty's ſquadron to him in as perfect a ſtate as poſſible, I judged it neceſſary, in order that every ſhip ſhould be under ſail as nearly as poſſible at the ſame moment, for the better preſerving a compact body, to give directions for the ſquadron to cut, in which rear-admiral Drake moſt readily concurred, and thought highly expedient from the expectation there was of being attacked; the enemy's ſhips being not more than five miles from us, and their lights very diſtinctly ſeen.

Except governor Shirley's letter, and the meſſage general Preſcott's officer brought from general Fraſer of the 24th of laſt month, I never heard a ſyllable from Brimſtone-Hill, or from any one perſon in the iſland; and what is ſtill more extraordinary to tell, the garriſon in all probability could not have been reduced but for the 8 braſs 24 pound cannon, 2 thirteen inch braſs mortars, 1500 ſhells, and 6000 twenty-four pound cannon-balls the enemy found at the foot of the Hill, which government had ſent out, and which the inhabitants of the iſland would not give a proper aſſiſtance for getting up: for the enemy's ſhip with the ſhells was ſunk, and it was with difficulty more than four or five of a day could be fiſhed up; and L'Eſpion, in which were all the ſhells that could be got from Martinique, was taken by one of my advanced frigates, cloſe under Nevis, in the morning I firſt appeared off the iſland.

I underſtood the terms of the ſurrender have been founded on the articles of capitulation agreed upon at the reduction of Dominique. This is all I am able to tell you for their lordſhips information: and I am far from meaning, in the moſt diſtant manner, to ſuggeſt that the garriſon could have held out a ſingle day longer, as I am told the works and buildings were a heap of ruins, and that no farther defence could be made with the leaſt probable proſpect of ſucceſs.

I anchored his Majeſty's ſquadron

in

in St. John's Road on the 19th, after ſun-ſet, and ſailed again this noon to ſeek ſir George Rodney at Barbadoes, and get a ſupply of water. The Fortuné and Pegaſus, which I left to watch the French fleet, have this inſtant joined, and report that 36 ſail of the line quitted Baſſeterre Road yeſterday morning, with upwards of 50 ſail of brigs, ſloops, and ſchooners, and ſteered for Martinique.

Extract of another Letter from Sir Samuel Hood, alſo dated February 22, 1782.

Juſt as I was getting under ſail from St. John's Road, I received the incloſed papers from captain Day, of his majeſty's ſloop Surprize.

Surprize, Carliſle Bay, Barbadoes, Feb. 12, 1782.

SIR,

Lieutenant Thomas Edgar arrived here the 11th, at five in the afternoon, giving an account that a French ſquadron had entered the river Demerara, and that our ſhips were gone up to Fort Iſland. He was charged with diſpatches from captain Tahourden, which he has deſtroyed; but has delivered me a journal of his proceedings.

I am, &c. GEO. DAY.

To Sir Samuel Hood, &c. &c.

Extract from the Journal tranſmitted in the Letter aforementioned.

Friday, the 1ſt of February, about two o'clock in the afternoon, a Mr. Bocker, a Dutchman, informed me, that Demarara had capitulated on Thurſday, the 31ſt, about three in the afternoon.

27. Cooper Hall, for robbing the north mail, was this day executed at Nottingham gallows, purſuant to his ſentence. He was bred a ſhoemaker, and at that buſineſs he ſometimes worked as a journeyman, at other times in the line of a maſter; ſometimes he ſerved as a waiter at the aſſembly-room, and ſometimes as a gentleman's ſervant. He firſt conceived the deſign of robbing the mail in October laſt; and thought, that if he could make himſelf maſter of 200l. he ſhould be made for ever. He artfully laid his plot, but when he ſucceeded in the firſt ſtep, he was bewildered in the next. On the 24th of November laſt, he ſet out from Newark to meet the poſt-boy coming from the north. The night was cold and dark, which favoured his deſign. When he heard the mail-cart approaching, he turned his face about, and pretended he was bound for Newark, and prayed the boy to take up a traveller who was benighted; to which, after ſome heſitation, the boy conſented. As they chatted along, he pulled a bottle out of his pocket, and aſked the boy if he would take a ſup, which the lad readily accepted. He had previouſly prepared this draught with opium, which ſoon laid the lad faſt aſleep, and then he opened the mail and took out five bags, which he carried home, and examined them at his leiſure. But in endeavouring to negotiate the bills he was ſoon detected, and on the fulleſt evidence convicted. From his former character, and ingenuous confeſſion, he got that part of his ſentence remitted by which he was ordered to be hung in chains.

29. The Court of Admiralty Seſſions was opened this day at the Old Bailey by ſir J. Marriot, for the trial of offences committed on the high ſeas, when the noted Luke Ryan and Thomas Coppinger were put to the bar, and arraigned for the capture of two brigs under a foreign commiſſion, they being natural born ſubjects of this realm. Ryan was found guilty, and Coppinger acquitted.

Edw. M'Cater, Nicholas Field, and Edw. Duffey were indicted for a like offence; of whom the firſt was

found guilty, the two laſt were acquitted for want of evidence.

John Smith, Daniel Caſey, P. Faren, with eight others, were indicted for mutiny, and running away with the Queen Charlotte ſhip of war, on the 9th of Auguſt laſt, three days after ſhe ſailed. Their complaint was the non-payment of their bounty money. The mutiny was plainly proved, and the three above named mutineers were found guilty.

APRIL.

3. Yeſterday's Gazette contains a letter from captain Pole, of his majeſty's ſhip Succeſs, of 32 guns, to the lords of the admiralty, by which their lordſhips are informed of the capture of the Santa Catalana, don Mig. Jacon, commander, of 34 guns, 26 long Spaniſh twelves on the main deck, and 8 ſix-pounders on the quarter deck. Captain Pole was ſtanding for the Gut with the Vernon ſtoreſhip, when he diſcovered a ſail cloſe hauled, which the haze and lofty poop much magnified. The ſail ſoon tacked and gave chace. At a little after five he hoiſted a Spaniſh enſign with a broad pendant, and fired a gun. At ſix, being within random ſhot, a-ſtern, the Succeſs wore, and ſtemmed for her lee bow, till ſhe had juſt diſtance ſufficient to weather him, then hauled cloſe athwart his fore-foot, giving him her whole fire within leſs than piſtol-ſhot, paſſed cloſe to windward engaging, whilſt the enemy, expecting the Succeſs to leeward, were firing their lee guns into the water. The diſorder the firſt fire of the Succeſs threw them into, they did not recover. We then wore, ſays captain Pole, and placed ourſelves to great advantage, which our ſuperiority of ſailing allowed us to do, ſupporting, without intermiſſion, a moſt aſtoniſhing, cloſe, and well-directed fire, at never more than half a cable diſtance, till the enemy ſtruck, which was about 20 minutes paſt eight. Don Mig. Jacon is a captain in the line, hath a diſtinguiſhing pendant as ſuch, and had a very exact deſcription of the Succeſs ſent him, whom he was particularly directed to look out for. He had been cruiſing three weeks for us; chaced us twice with a ſquadron of four and ſix ſail, from whom he parted but two days before. Lieut. Oakley, who was appointed to take charge of the prize, was indefatigable in clearing the wreck; but to no purpoſe, ſhe was ſo miſerably torn, that captain Pole gave orders to ſet her on fire, and ſhe blew up in a quarter of an hour after. Capt. Pole is laviſh of his praiſes on the behaviour of his officers, and ſhip's company. Having 286 priſoners on board, a diſcovery was made of a deſign they had of riſing, which was happily prevented.

4. Information was received, that on the 3d of February laſt, a dreadful fire broke out at Kingſton in Jamaica, occaſioned by the careleſſneſs of a Negro woman employed in ironing linen. A ſtrong wind from the North prevailing, the flames were almoſt inſtantly communicated to the adjoining houſes, and increaſed its progreſs ſo rapidly, that a ſcene of horror enſued, of which none but thoſe who are acquainted with the ſituation can have an adequate idea. The conflagration was truly dreadful, accelerating the deſtruction of the moſt valuable ſpot in the Weſt Indies. By this calamity, in the ſpace of about ſeven hours, upwards of eighty houſes and ſtores were totally deſtroyed, and more than £.5 0,000 totally annihilated.—A poor Negro girl in the houſe where the fire began, having been chained to a large weight for ſome miſdemeanor,

meanor, unhappily perished in the flames.

13. Yesterday the lord-mayor, twelve aldermen, recorder, and about 150 common-councilmen, with the chamberlain, town-clerk, city-remembrancer, and other city officers, went to St. James's, and presented the following address to his majesty:

To the KING'S *most excellent Majesty:*

The humble address of the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common-council assembled.

"Most gracious Sovereign,

"We, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the lord-mayor, aldermen, and commons of the city of London, in common-council assembled, beg leave to approach your throne with sentiments of the most sincere loyalty and attachment to your royal person and family, and humbly to express our warmest thanks to your majesty, for having graciously complied with the wishes of your people, in making a change in your majesty's councils, and taking those persons into your confidence who are respected by their country for their constitutional principles and distinguished abilities, and whose endeavours we trust, with the blessing of Providence, will restore the dignity of your majesty's crown, union among your people, and promote the interest and prosperity of all your dominions.

"Signed, by order of court,

WILLIAM RIX."

To which his majesty gave the following answer:

"The assurances given me by the city of London of their loyalty and attachment to my person and family, cannot fail of giving me the highest satisfaction—the dignity of my crown—the union of my people—and the interests and prosperity of all my dominions, must ever be the principal objects of my care."

St. James's, April 19.

A chapter of the most noble Order of the Garter having been summoned to meet this day, the knights companions, with the officers of the order hereafter mentioned, all in their mantles, attended the sovereign in his own apartment, and being called over by Garter king of arms, a procession was made from thence to the great council-chamber in the following order, Garter going no farther than the door, not having been sworn.

Earl Gower—Duke of Grafton
Duke of Marlborough
M. of Rockingham—E. of Hertford
D. of Northumberld.—D. Montagu
His R. H. Duke of Cumberland
His R. H. Prince of Wales
Black Rod—The Register—Garter
The SOVEREIGN.

The sovereign and knights companions being seated, black rod acquainted the sovereign, that Ralph Bigland, esq. Garter principal king of arms, attended at the door, and humbly prayed to be admitted to take the oath of office, as chief officer of arms of that most noble order; and Garter being introduced in his mantle by black rod, and kneeling down near the sovereign, the oath was administered to him by the register, officiating in the absence of the chancellor: after which his majesty was pleased to put the gold chain and badge of office about Garter's neck, who, having kissed his majesty's hand, withdrew.

The register then acquainted the sovereign, that the bishop of Winchester attended at the door, and humbly besought his majesty that he might be admitted to take the oath of prelate of this most noble order, as enjoined by the statutes. Then the bishop in his mantle, being introduced

duced, by the ſovereign's command, between Garter and black rod, Garter carrying his badge, he was duly ſworn, and inveſted with the enſigns of the order; and having alſo kiſſed his majeſty's hand, he withdrew.

The regiſter then ſignified to the chapter, the ſovereign's pleaſure for filling up the four vacant ſtalls.

The knights companions proceeded to the election, and the ſuffrages being collected by the regiſter, and preſented to the ſovereign, his royal highneſs prince William Henry, his majeſty's third ſon (now out of the kingdom), was declared duly elected.

Garter and black rod were then ſent to introduce his grace the duke of Richmond, who being knighted by his majeſty with the ſword, he withdrew.

Then his grace the duke of Devonſhire, and afterwards the earl of Shelburne, were ſeparately introduced and knighted with the like ceremonies.

The chapter then proceeded to a ſecond election, and the ſuffrages being collected as before, the duke of Richmond was declared duly elected. His grace was thereupon received at the door of the chapter room by the two junior knights, and conducted between them to the ſovereign, preceded by Garter, bearing the enſigns on a cuſhion, and black rod.

Garter preſenting the garter to the ſovereign, his majeſty delivered it to the two ſenior knights, who buckled it upon his grace's left leg, the regiſter reading the admonition.

Garter then preſented the ribbon with the George to the ſovereign, and his grace kneeling down, the ſovereign, with the aſſiſtance of the two ſenior knights, put it over his ſhoulder, and regiſter in the mean time pronouncing the admonition; and the duke having kiſſed his majeſty's hand, and ſeverally ſaluted all the knights preſent, he withdrew.

The chapter proceeded to a third election, the duke of Devonſhire was declared duly elected, and his grace was introduced, and inveſted with the garter, ribbon and George, in the ſame manner as the duke of Richmond had been; and the like formalities having been obſerved, he withdrew.

The chapter now proceeded to the fourth election, when the earl of Shelburne was declared duly elected; and his lordſhip having been introduced, and inveſted with the garter, ribbon and George, in the ſame manner as the dukes of Richmond and Devonſhire had been, alſo withdrew.

Garter then calling over the knights, a proceſſion was made back to his majeſty's apartment, in the order as before, except that the prelate walked next before the ſovereign.

Dublin Caſtle, April 15, 1782.

The duke of Portland, who embarked at Holyhead laſt night, arrived ſafe in this harbour this morning. His grace was received at landing by the lord mayor, aldermen, ſheriffs, and commons of the city of Dublin. The foot forces in garriſon lined the ſtreets through which his grace, attended by a ſquadron of dragoons, proceeded to the Caſtle; and the council having met at three o'clock, his grace was introduced in form to lord Carliſle, who received him ſitting under the canopy of ſtate in the preſence chamber, from whence a proceſſion was made to the council chamber, where his grace's commiſſion was read, and the oaths adminiſtered to him. After which his grace, having received the ſword from lord Carliſle, the great guns in his majeſty's Phœnix Park were fired,

and

and answered by the regiments on duty, which were drawn up in College Green. His grace then repaired to the presence chamber, where he received the compliments of the nobility, and other persons of distinction, upon his safe arrival to take upon him the government of this kingdom.

20. Yesterday a delegation of the nominal and chartered governors of the royal hospitals met at Guildhall, consisting of aldermen Alsop and Harley on one side, and aldermen Crosby, Townsend, and Sainsbury on the other, together with several other members of the hospital committee, to settle the long depending dispute respecting the right to the government and direction of those noble charities, when the same was amicably adjusted to the satisfaction of all parties, and an act of parliament was agreed on to be framed, on a mutual footing, under the inspection of the recorder and common serjeant, for the setting aside all former contentions both in law and equity, on certain ultimate conditions, and to put the charities on a permanent state.

Admiralty-Office, April 27, 1782.

Extract of a letter from the honourable vice admiral Barrington to Mr. Stephens, dated on board the Britannia, at St. Helen's, the 25th of April, 1782.

I have the pleasure to acquaint you, for the information of my lords commissioners of the Admiralty, that on the 20th instant, Ushant bearing N. E. half E. 23 leagues, at one P. M. I perceived the Artois, capt. Macbride, with a signal out for discovering an enemy's fleet, but at such a distance that it was with the utmost difficulty I could distinguish the colour of the flag; it was then calm, but a breeze soon springing up, I made the signal for a general chace; the enemy at such a distance that I could but just discover them from the Britannia's mast head at three o'clock. At the close of the evening seven of our ships had got a good distance a head of me, the Foudroyant, capt. Jervis, the foremost; and in the night, it coming to blow strong with hazy weather, after having lost his companions, at 47 minutes after twelve, brought the Pegase of 74 guns and 700 men to a close action, which continued three quarters of an hour, when the Foudroyant, having laid her on board on the larboard quarter, the Frenchman struck. My pen is not equal to the praise that is due to the good conduct, bravery, and discipline of capt. Jervis, his officers, and seamen, on this occasion: let his own modest narrative, which I herewith inclose, speak for itself.

The next morning soon after daybreak, the wind then at south blowing strong, it shifted in an instant to west, and with such violence that it was with difficulty I could carry my courses to clear Ushant and get the channel open, which being accomplished by noon, I brought to and remained so until the evening of the 22d, to collect the squadron.

By the accounts of the prisoners there were eighteen sail, laden with stores, provisions, and ammunition, under the convoy of the Protecteur of 74, Pegase 74, L'Andromache 32, together with L'Actionaire, a two-decker, armed en flute, all bound for L'Isle de France. They left Brest the 19th instant.

I cannot pretend to give their lordships a particular account of the number of prizes, but must refer them to that they may receive as they arrive in port, though I believe there are ten at least.

Par-

Proceedings of his majeſty's ſhip under my command from the 20th inſt.

Near ſun-ſet on the 20th, I was near enough to diſcover that the enemy conſiſted of three or four ſhips of war, two of them at leaſt of the line, with ſeventeen or eighteen ſail under their convoy, and that the latter diſperſed by ſignal. At half paſt nine I obſerved the ſmalleſt of the ſhips of war to ſpeak with the headmoſt, and then bear away. At a quarter paſt ten, the ſternmoſt line of battle ſhip, perceiving we came up with her very faſt, bore up alſo. I purſued her, and at 47 minutes after twelve brought her cloſe to action, which continued three quarters of an hour, when, having laid her aboard on the larboard quarter, the French ſhip of war Le Pegaſe, of 74 guns and 700 men, commanded by the chevalier de Cillart ſurrendered.

The diſcipline and good conduct of the officers and men under my command will beſt appear by the ſtate of the killed and wounded, and of the damages ſuſtained in each ſhip.

I am happy to inform you, that only two or three people with myſelf, are ſlightly wounded; but I learn from the chevalier de Cillart, Le Pegaſe ſuffered a very great carnage, and was materially damaged in her maſts and yard, the mizen-maſt and foretop-maſt having gone away ſoon after the action ceaſed.

It blew ſo ſtrong yeſterday morning, that I with difficulty put eighty men on board the prize, but received only forty priſoners in return, in performing which I fear two of our boats were loſt. The diſabled ſtate of the prize, together with the ſtrong wind and heavy ſea, induced me to make the ſignal for immediate aſſiſtance, which commodore Elliot ſupplied, by making the Queen's ſignal to aſſiſt the diſabled ſhip.

At eight o'clock laſt night they bore S. S. W. four miles diſtance of us: we lay-to till ten, in hopes of their joining, but not perceiving them, we bore up, and ran N. E. twenty-three miles till day-light, when, ſeeing nothing of them, we brought-to, and at half paſt eight made ſail to join the ſquadron.

By all I can learn from the priſoners, this ſmall ſquadron, compoſed of Le Protecteur, Monſieur de Soulange, commodore, Le Pegaſe, and L'Andromaque frigate, was making a ſecond attempt to proceed on an expedition to the Eaſt Indies, ſome of the troops having been before captured under that deſtination by the ſquadron under the command of rear-admiral Kempenfelt, in the preſence of the above mentioned ſhips of war.

Foudroyant, J. JERVIS.
April 23, 1782.

N. B. Advice has been received, that the Pegaſe of 74 guns is arrived at Spithead, and the following ſhips, part of the abovementioned captures, at Plymouth:

La Fidelite, with 178 troops & ſtores.
La Bellonne, 147 troops & ſtores.
La Lionne, 180 troops & ſtores.
Duc de Chartres, ſtores and arms.

Here follows a liſt of prizes taken by his majeſty's ſhips employed in North America, from November 11, 1781, to March 23, 1782, containing thirty-ſeven veſſels of different deſcriptions.

28. On the 22d of laſt month, Pius the VIth, ſovereign Roman pontiff, arrived at Vienna. His Imperial majeſty, with his royal highneſs the archduke Maximilian, met his holineſs at Neukirken, where the firſt interview took place. After ſtopping ſome time at the Military Academy, the holy father went into a coach with the emperor, and was eſcorted by the Hungarian and Ga-

licians

lician guards to the Imperial palace, where, in the preſence of the whole court, Te Deum was performed by way of thankſgiving for the happy arrival of his holineſs, the hoſt being all the while expoſed. Soon after which, his holineſs retired to the apartments provided for him, where in the evening he gave audience.

MAY.

At the commencement of this month the weather was uncommonly ſevere, not in England only, but almoſt over all Europe. At Vienna the froſt continued ſo rigorous, that the vines were thought to be materially hurt. In Italy ſuch a fall of ſnow as has never been remembered. In Ruſſia many thouſands periſhed of a ſickneſs owing to the rigour of the ſeaſon. In Sweden, men and cattle periſhed for want of food. In the Highlands of Scotland cattle died, or were killed for want of fodder. In ſhort, the extreme ſeverity of the weather was generally felt.

3. A proclamation was this day iſſued for granting a free pardon to all ſmugglers and others under proſecution or liable to proſecution, outlawry, in priſon, or beyond ſea, for any penalties incurred by the illegal practices of clandeſtinely running prohibited or uncuſtomed goods, who ſhould on or before the firſt day of July next, voluntarily enter themſelves as ſailors on board any ſhips belonging to the royal navy, or who ſhould procure one fit and able ſeaman, and one fit and able landman, as ſubſtitutes to ſerve for him, her, or them, provided the penalty to which ſuch perſons are liable do not exceed the ſum of 500l. thoſe above and under 2000l. to find two fit and able ſeamen and two fit and able landmen; and thoſe above 2000l. to find three fit and able ſeamen, and three fit and able landmen; upon which conditions all ſpecified offences are to be forgiven. Likewiſe his majeſty's pardon to all deſerters who ſhould ſurrender before the 17th of June.

Admiralty-Office, May 7, 1782.

Extract of a letter from lord Charles Fitzgerald, captain of his majeſty's ſhip La Prudente, to Mr. Stephens, dated Kinſale, April 27, 1782.

"I parted company from the ſquadron under the command of vice-admiral Barrington on the 20th of this month at night, in chace of the enemy's convoy, four of which I had the good fortune to capture; and being on my return to Spithead, in lat. 49, 17, I made ſail after a cutter, which I came up with off Cape Clear, after thirty-ſix hours chace, the moſt of the time within gun-ſhot of her. She is called Le Marquis de Caſtries, French privateer, pierced for twenty-two guns, mounted eighteen ſix-pounders, with a complement of one hundred and five men, and had been out two days from Morlaix."

10. At a court of aldermen held yeſterday, ſummoned in conſequence of a letter the lord-mayor had received from the earl of Shelburne, one of his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, and at a court of lieutenancy held immediately afterwards upon the like occaſion, the ſaid letter was read, and alſo the following circular letter and heads of a plan therein encloſed:

Whitehall, May 7, 1782.

"SIR,

"His majeſty has commanded me to expreſs his firm reliance upon the ſpirit and loyalty of his people, and his royal confidence, that, during this ſeaſon of difficulty their utmoſt endeavours will not be wanting to give unqueſtionable proofs of their attachment

ment and emulation for his ſervice; and foreſeeing, that by wiſe, ſtrenuous, and timely preparations, he may not only diſappoint, or defeat any hoſtile attempts, but, by appearing ſtrong and united at home, he may be enabled to make the more powerful efforts for maintaining his honour and the public intereſts abroad, and thereby lay the ſureſt foundations for a ſafe, an honourable, and a laſting peace; and as the populouſneſs of the principal towns and cities of Great Britain, naturally offers the greateſt facility, as well for forming into corps, as for learning the military exerciſe, without loſs of time, interruption of labour, or any conſiderable fatigue, his majeſty has commanded me to tranſmit to you the incloſed propoſitions, which have been ſubmitted to his majeſty, as at leaſt a temporary plan for augmenting the domeſtic force of the nation, which being adopted or improved, according to the circumſtances and ſituation of the town, of which you are the chief magiſtrate, may tend to the immediate formation of a great and reſpectable addition to the national force at home, on the moſt natural and conſtitutional principles.

For this purpoſe, I have his majeſty's commands to ſignify to you his deſire and recommendation, that you ſhould take the ſame into immediate conſideration, and, after having conſidered, report to me whatever obſervations may occur to you for the carrying into execution a plan, the purpoſe of which is to give ſecurity to your own perſons and property, and to the general ſenſe of the kingdom.

I am, Sir,
your moſt obedient,
humble ſervant,

(Signed) SHELBURNE.

Heads of a plan for raiſing corps in ſeveral principal towns in Great Britain.

1. The principal towns in Great Britain to furniſh one or more battalions each, or a certain number of companies, each, in proportion to their ſize and number of inhabitants.

2. The officers to be appointed from among the gentlemen of the neighbourhood, or the inhabitants of the ſaid towns, either by commiſſion from his majeſty, or from the lord lieutenant of the county, upon the recommendation of the chief magiſtrate of the town in which the corps are raiſed.

3. They are to be poſſeſſed of ſome certain eſtate in land or money, in proportion to their rank.

4. An adjutant or town-major in each town to be appointed by his majeſty.

5. A proper number of ſerjeants and corporals from the army to be appointed for the corps in each town, in proportion to their numbers.

6. The ſaid ſerjeants and corporals, as well as the adjutant, or town-major, to be in the government pay.

7. The men to exerciſe frequently, either in battalions, or by companies, on Sundays, and on all holidays, and alſo after their work is over in the evenings.

8. Arms, accoutrements, and ammunition, to be furniſhed at the expence of government, if required.

9. Proper magazines, or ſtorehouſes, to be choſen, or erected in each town, for keeping the ſaid arms, &c.

10. The arms and accoutrements to be delivered out at times of exerciſe only, and to be returned into the ſtorehouſes as ſoon as the exerciſe is finiſhed.

11. The adjutant, or town-major to be always preſent at exerciſe, and to ſee that the men afterwards

march

march regularly, and lodge their arms in the ſtorehouſes.

12. Proper penalties to be inflicted on ſuch as abſent themſelves from exerciſe, as alſo for diſobedience of orders, inſolence to their officers, and other diſorderly behaviour.

13. The above corps not to be obliged, on any account, or by any authority whatever to move from their reſpective towns, except in times of actual invaſion or rebellion.

14. His majeſty ſhall then have power to order the ſaid corps to march to any part of Great Britain, as his ſervice may require.

15. They are on ſuch occaſions to act either ſeparately, or in conjunction with his majeſty's regular forces, and to be under the command of ſuch general officers as his majeſty ſhall think proper to appoint.

16. Both officers and men to receive full pay as his majeſty's other regiments of foot from the day of their march, and as long as they ſhall continue on ſervice out of their towns*.

17. They are to be ſubject to military diſcipline, in the ſame manner as his majeſty's regular forces, during the ſaid time of their being ſo called out, and receiving government's pay.

18. All officers who ſhould be diſabled in actual ſervice to be entitled to half pay, and all non-commiſſioned officers and private men diſabled, to receive the benefit of Chelſea hoſpital.

19. The widows of officers killed in the ſervice to have a penſion for life.

On Thurſday expreſſes were ſent to the different magiſtrates of the capital towns in England, with ſimilar letters to thoſe addreſſed to the lord-mayor of London.

15. The electors of Weſtminſter met purſuant to an advertiſement for that purpoſe, in the great hall, alderman Sawbridge in the chair.

Lord Surry moved an addreſs of thanks to his majeſty, for liſtening to the voice of his people in removing his late miniſters, and taking into his confidence miniſters who were of ſound principles, and who were approved by the people. Mr. Wood ſeconded the motion, and it was carried unanimouſly.

Major Cartwright, after a long ſpeech, moved, "That for the majority of the repreſentatives to be choſen by a ſmall number of the people, is a great grievance, ſubverſive of the conſtitution, &c.—and that unremitted diligence be uſed to obtain an effectual reform, &c."

The thanks of the meeting were voted to Mr. ſecretary Fox, for his conduct before and ſince his coming into office; to William Pitt, Eſq. for his motion in the houſe of commons on the 7th inſt. for taking into conſideration the repreſentation of the country; and to Mr. Elliot, and other members of burgage tenures, who, contrary to their private intereſt, joined and ſupported Mr. Pitt in the motion.

Thanks likewiſe were voted to the duke of Richmond, for his attempt two years ago to bring on ſuch a reformation.

18. This day the ſeſſions ended at the Old Bailey, when three priſoners received ſentence of death, viz. Francis Cundy, for a burglary in the houſe of John Bellis, on Saffron-hill, and ſtealing two ſilver watches, &c. Anne Carter, for ſtealing twenty-eight yards of printed callico, the property of Richard Wilcox, convicts of this ſeſſion; and Richard Carrol, a blind lad, who

was

* Time of ſervice to be named.

was convicted in February ſeſſion for a burglary, and left for the opinion of the judges.

Laſt night, about ten o'clock, as Mr. Herd, of the Cuſtom-houſe, was returning to Iſlington (where he had lodged for ſome time paſt at Canonbury-houſe), from town, where he had been detained later than uſual, in ſettling matters relative to a niece, who was to have been married the next day to captain Beſt, who accompanied him; in their way from the Shepherd and Shepherdeſs they were attacked by five footpads, who with a blunderbuſs blew off all the upper part of Mr. Herd's ſkull.

Admiralty-Office, May 18, 1782.

Lord Cranſton, one of the captains of his majeſty's ſhip the Formidable, and captain Byron, of the Andromache, in which ſhip his lordſhip came paſſenger, arrived early this morning with diſpatches from admiral Sir George Bridges Rodney, bart. knight of the Bath, and commander in chief of his majeſty's ſhips at the Leeward Iſlands, to Mr. Stephens, of which the following are copies.

Formidable, at Sea, 14 *April*, 1782.

SIR,

It has pleaſed God, out his of divine providence, to grant to his majeſty's arms a moſt complete victory over the fleet of his enemy, commanded by the count de Graſſe, who is himſelf captured with the Ville de Paris, and four other ſhips of the fleet, beſides one ſunk in the action.

This important victory was obtained the 12th inſt. after a battle which laſted with unremitting fury from ſeven in the morning till half paſt ſix in the evening, when the ſetting ſun put an end to the conteſt.

Both fleets have greatly ſuffered; but it is with the higheſt ſatisfaction I can aſſure their lordſhips, that though the maſts, ſails, rigging, and hulls of the Britiſh fleet are damaged, yet the loſs of men has been but ſmall, conſidering the length of the battle, and the cloſe action they ſo long ſuſtained, and in which both fleets looked upon the honour of their king and country to be moſt eſſentially concerned.

The great ſupply of naval ſtores lately arrived in the Weſt Indies will, I flatter myſelf, ſoon repair all the damages his majeſty's fleet has ſuſtained.

The gallant behaviour of the officers and men of the fleet I have the honour to command has been ſuch, as muſt for ever endear them to all lovers of their king and country.

The noble behaviour of my ſecond in command, Sir Samuel Hood, who in both actions moſt conſpicuouſly exerted himſelf, demands my warmeſt encomiums; my third in command, rear-admiral Drake, who, with his diviſion, led the battle on the 12th inſt. deſerves the higheſt praiſe; nor leſs can be given to commodore Affleck for his gallant behaviour in leading the centre diviſion.

My own captain, Sir Charles Douglas, merits every thing I can poſſibly ſay; his unremitted diligence and activity greatly eaſed me in the unavoidable fatigue of the day.

In ſhort, I want words to expreſs how ſenſible I am of the meritorious conduct of all the captains, officers and men, who had a ſhare in this glorious victory, obtained by their gallant exertions.

The enemy's whole army, conſiſting of 5500 men, were on board their ſhips of war: the deſtruction among them muſt be prodigious, as for the greateſt part of the action, every gun told; and their lordſhips may judge what havock muſt have been

been made, when the Formidable fired near eighty broadſides.

Encloſed I have the honour to ſend for their inſpection the Britiſh and French lines of battle, with an account of the killed and wounded, and damages ſuſtained by his majeſty's fleet.

Lord Cranſton, who acted as one of the captains of the Formidable during both actions, and to whoſe gallant behaviour I am much indebted, will have the honour of delivering theſe diſpatches: to him I muſt refer their lordſhips for every minute particular they may wiſh to know, he being perfectly maſter of the whole tranſaction.

That the Britiſh flag may for ever flouriſh in every quarter of the globe, is the moſt ardent wiſh of him who has the honour of being, with great regard, Sir,

your moſt obedient
humble ſervant,
G. B. RODNEY.

Philip Stephens, Eſq.

A liſt of the French ſhips taken.

	Guns.		
La Ville de Paris	110	Had on board in the action 1500 men.	
		Men.	Soldiers.
Le Glorieux	74	750	150
Le Ceſar	74	750	150
L'Hector	74	750	150
L'Ardent	64	650	100

One ſunk, name unknown.

LINE of BATTLE.

The Royal Oak to lead on the ſtarboard tack, and the Marlborough on the larboard.

Rear-Admiral Sir SAMUEL HOOD's Diviſion.

Rate.	Ships.	Commanders.	Guns.	Men.
Third	Royal Oak	Captain Burnet	74	600
——	Alfred	—— Bayne	74	600
——	Montagu	—— Bowen	74	600
——	Yarmouth	—— Parry	64	500
——	Valiant	—— Goodall	74	650
Second	Barfleur	Sir Samuel Hood, bart. / Captain Knight	90	767
Third	Monarch	—— Reynolds	74	600
——	Warrior	—— Sir James Wallace	74	600
——	Belliqueux	—— Sutherland	64	500
——	Centaur	—— Inglefield	74	650
——	Magnificent	—— Linzee	74	600
——	Prince William	—— Wilkinſon	64	500

Frigates. † Lizard. † La Nymph. Champion to repeat ſignals. Zebra. Alecto.

Sir GEORGE BRYDGES RODNEY, bart. Commander in Chief's diviſion.

——	Bedford	Commodore Affleck / Captain Graves	74	617
——	Ajax	—— Charrington	74	550
——	Repulſe	—— Dumereſq	64	500
——	Canada	—— Hon. Wm. Cornwallis	74	600
——	St. Alban's	—— Inglis	64	500
Second	Namur	—— Fenſhaw	90	750
——	Formidable	Sir G. B. Rodney, bart. / Sir Charles Douglas, bt. / Captain Symons	90	750
——	Duke	—— Gardner	90	750

Rate.	Ships.	Commanders.	Guns.	Men.
Third	Agamemnon	Captain Caldwell	64	500
——	Reſolution	—— Rt. Hon. Ld. R. Manners	74	600
——	Prothee	—— Buckner	64	500
——	Hercules	—— Savage	74	600
——	America	—— S. Thompſon	64	500

Frigates. † Convert. Endymion. Alarm. Andromache. † Fortunée. Flora to repeat ſignals. Alert. † Sybil. † Pegaſus. † Salamander.

Rear-Admiral DRAKE's Diviſion.

——	Ruſſel	—— Saumarez	74	600
——	† Prudent	—— Barklay	64	500
——	Fame	—— Barber	74	600
——	Anſon	—— Blair	64	500
——	Torbay	—— Gidoin	74	600
Second	Prince George	—— Williams	90	750
Third	Princeſſa	{ Fr. S. Drake, Eſq. / Captain Knatchbull }	70	600
——	Conqueror	—— Balfour	74	577
——	Nonſuch	—— Truſcott	64	500
——	Alcide	—— C. Thompſon	74	600
——	Arrogant	—— Corniſh	74	600
——	Marlborough	—— Penny	74	600

Frigates. † Germain. † Blaſt. Triton. Eurydice to repeat ſignals. † Santa Monica.

All accidental frigates to be oppoſite the center diviſion.

N. B. Thoſe marked † not with the fleet during the actions.

A liſt of the French fleet in Port Royal, April 2, 1782.

	Guns.
La Ville de Paris	110
L'Auguſte	80
Le Duc de Burgogne	80
Le Languedoc	80
* Le St. Eſprit	80
S Le Couronne	80
Le Neptune	80
S* Le Triomphante	80
Le Zélé	74
Le Glorieux	74
Le Citoyen	74
Le Souverain	74
Le Magnanime	74
Le Céſar	74
Le Hector	74
S* Le Brave	74
Le Pluton	74
Le Hercule	74
Le Scipion	74
Le Burgogne	74
* Le Deſtian	74
S Le Dauphin Royal	74
S Le Magnafique	74
* Le Reflechie	64
Le Bien Aimé	74
Le Sceptre	74
Le Northumberland	74
Le Conquerant	74
Le Marſeillois	74
Le Palmier	74
L'Ardent	64
L'Eveillé	64
Le Caton	64
Le Jaſon	64
Le Fier, armeé en flute	54
Le Minotaur, ditto	74
Le Sagittaire	54
L'Experiment	50

Total. Thirty-ſix ſail of the line, two fifty gun ſhips, thirteen frigates, ſeven armed brigs of the king's, two fireſhips, one cutter.

* Out of repair.

S * Joined at St. Kitt's.

S Arrived with the Breſt convoy.

Re-

Return of the killed and wounded in the ſhips under the command of Sir George Brydges Rodney, K.B. &c. &c. on the 9th and 12th of April, 1782.

Royal Oak, captain Burnett.—Mr. Gwatkin, firſt lieutenant, killed; captain of marines wounded; 7 ſeamen killed, 29 wounded.

Alfred, captain Bayne—capt. Bayne killed; eleven ſeamen killed, forty wounded.

Montagu, capt. Bowen.—Mr. Wm. Cade, maſter, killed; lieutenants Breedon and Buchan, of marines, wounded; 11 ſeamen, killed, 29 wounded.

Yarmouth, captain Parry.—14 ſeamen killed, 33 wounded.

Valiant, capt. Goodall.—Mr. Rich. Wimbleton, 2d lieutenant, killed; Mr. Wm. Brown, 5th lieutenant, and Mr. Backhouſe, maſter, wounded; 9 ſeamen killed, 26 wounded.

Barfleur, Sir Samuel Hood, bart. captain Knight.—10 ſeamen killed, 17 wounded.

Monarch, captain Reynolds.—16 ſeamen killed, 33 wounded.

Warrior, captain Sir James Wallis.—Mr. Stone, maſter, wounded; 5 ſeamen killed; 20 wounded.

Belliqueux, captain Sutherland.—Four ſeamen killed; 10 wounded.

Centaur, capt. Inglefield.—No returns, having a prize in tow, and not joined.

Magnificent, capt. Linzee.—Capt. Bagg of marines wounded; 6 ſeamen killed, 10 wounded.

Prince William, captain Wilkinſon.—None killed or wounded.

Bedford, commodore Affleck, captain Graves.—17 ſeamen wounded.

Ajax, captain Charrington—Mr. John Elliot, firſt lieutenant, Mr. Thomas Roſſiter, pilot, wounded; 9 ſeamen killed, 38 wounded.

Repulſe, capt. Dumareſq.—Captain of marines, and maſter, wounded; 3 ſeamen killed, 9 wounded.

Canada, hon. William Cornwallis.—12 ſeamen killed, 23 wounded.

St. Albans, captain Inglis—6 ſeamen wounded.

Namur, captain Fanſhaw.—6 ſeamen killed, 25 wounded.

Formidable, Sir George Brydges Rodney, bart. &c. Sir Charles Douglas, bart. firſt captain, capt. Symons, the right honorable lord Cranſton.—Lieut. Hele killed; capt. Bell and lieut. Harris, of marines, wounded; 14 ſeamen killed, 37 wounded.

Duke, captain Gardner—lieutenant Corniſh, Mr. Cooper, maſter, Mr. Scott, boatſwain, wounded; 13 ſeamen killed, 57 wounded.

Agamemnon, captain Caldwell—lieutenants Incledon and Brice, wounded; the latter ſince dead; 14 ſeamen killed, 22 wounded.

Reſolution, captain the right hon. lord Robert Manners.—The right hon. lord Robert Manners wounded; 4 ſeamen killed, 34 wounded.

Prothee, captain Buckner—Mr. Thomas Love, maſter, wounded; five ſeamen killed, 25 wounded.

Hercules, captain Savage.—Lieut. Hobart killed, captain Savage wounded; 6 ſeamen killed, 18 wounded.

America, captain S. Thompſon.—Lieut. Collowhill killed, lieut. Trelawney wounded.

Ruſſel, captain Saumarez.—10 ſeamen killed, 29 wounded.

Fame, captain Barber.—3 ſeamen killed, 2 wounded.

Anſon, captain Blair.—Capt. Blair killed; 2 ſeamen killed, 13 wounded.

Torbay, capt. Gidoin.—Lieutenant Mounier of marines killed; 9 ſeamen killed, 2 wounded.

Prince George, captain Williams.—9 ſeamen, killed 24 wounded.

Princeſſa, Francis Samuel Drake, eſq. captain Knatchbull.—Lieutenants Dundaſs and M'Douall,

and lieutenant Laban, of marines, wounded; 3 ſeamen killed, 19 wounded.

Conqueror, captain Balfour.—ſeven ſeamen killed, 23 wounded.

Nonſuch, captain Truſcott.—three ſeamen killed, three wounded.

Alcide, captain C. Thompſon.——No returns, having a prize in tow, and not joined.

Arrogant, captain Corniſh.—None killed or wounded.

Marlborough, captain Penny.—3 ſeamen killed, 16 wounded.

Total 230 killed——759 wounded.

Formidable, at Sea, April 14, 1782.

SIR,

I muſt deſire you will pleaſe to acquaint their lordſhips, that notwithſtanding the diſpoſition I had made of his majeſty's fleet under my command, which were ſtationed to windward of the French iſlands in a line ſtretching from the latitude of Deſiada to the latitude of St. Vincent's, with a line of frigates to windward, which their lordſhips may perceive, by the diſpoſition of the fleet I have the honour to incloſe, and which diſpoſition was thought by every officer of the fleet to be ſuch as to render it impoſſible for any convoy bound to the French iſlands to eſcape, yet, notwithſtanding the vigilance of every captain and officer, the enemy found means to eſcape by making the iſland of Deſiada, and creeping cloſe under Guadaloupe and Dominique, they arrived ſafe in the Bay of Fort-Royal on the 20th and 21ſt of March.

Information having been given me of this unlucky event, I thought it my duty to return to the Bay of Gros Iſlet, St Lucia, where I had ordered the ſtore-ſhips, victuallers, and trade bound to Jamaica to rendezvous.

On my arrival in that Bay every diſpatch poſſible was made in refitting the fleet, and taking in ſtores and proviſions to five months of all ſpecies for the whole fleet: a watchful eye being kept the whole time on the French fleet in the bay of Fort-Royal, as I knew that count de Graſſe would haſten the refitting his fleet, and take the firſt opportunity of proceeding to the place of his deſtination.

On the 5th of April I received intelligence that the enemy were embarking their troops on board the ſhips of war, and concluded they intended to ſail in a very few days.

Capt. Byron of the Andromache, an active, briſk, and diligent officer, watched their motions with ſuch attention, that on the 8th inſtant at day-light he made the ſignal of the enemy's coming out, and ſtanding to the north-weſt. I inſtantly made the ſignal to weigh, and having looked into the bays of Fort-Royal and St. Pierre's, where no enemy's ſhips remained, I made the ſignal for a general chace, and before day-light came up with the enemy under Dominique, where both fleets were becalmed, and continued ſo for ſome time. The enemy firſt got the wind and ſtood towards Guadaloupe: my van diviſion under that gallant officer rear-admiral Sir Samuel Hood, received it next and ſtood after them. At nine the enemy began to cannonade my van, which was returned with the greateſt briſkneſs.

The baffling winds under Dominique did not permit part of the center diviſion to get into action with the enemy's rear till half paſt eleven, and then only the ſhip next to me in the line of battle.

Their lordſhips may eaſily imagine the mortification it muſt have been to the ſixteen gallant officers commanding the ſhips of the rear, who could only be ſpectators of an action in which it was not in their power to join,

join, being detained by the calms under Dominique.

The enemy's cannonade ceased upon my rear's approach, but not before they had done considerable damage to the ships of the van, and disabled the Royal-Oak and Montagu, and his majesty had lost a gallant officer, viz. captain Bayne, of the Alfred, and a number of officers and seamen; but such was the steady behaviour of Sir Samuel Hood and the ships of the van; that the enemy received more damage than they occasioned.

The night of the 9th the fleet lay-to to repair their damages. The 10th they continued to turn to windward under an easy sail, the enemy's fleet continuing to do the same, and always had it in their power to come to action, which they cautiously avoided, and rendered it impossible for me to force them in the situation they were in, between the Saints and the Island of Dominique. On the 11th of April, the enemy having gained considerably to windward, and the wind blowing a fresh and steady gale, I made the signal for a general chace to windward, which continued the whole day. Towards sunset, some of the headmost ships of the fleet had approached near to one of the enemy's ships that had received damage in the late action, and had certainly taken her, if the count de Grasse had not bore down with his whole fleet for her protection, which brought him so near, that I flattered myself he would give me an opportunity of engaging him the next day. With that view I threw out the signal for the form of sailing, and stood with the whole fleet to the southward till two o'clock in the morning; and then tacked, and had the happiness at day-light to find my most sanguine desire was near being accomplished, by my having it in my power to force the enemy to battle. Not one moment was lost in putting it into execution: the consequence has been such as I have had the honour to represent in my former letter of this day; and can say no more than that too much praise cannot be given to the gallant officers and men of the fleet I had the honour to command. I have the honour to be, with great regard,

Sir, your most obedient and
most humble servant,
G. B. Rodney.

N. B. Lord Cranston and captain Byron relate, that the Cæsar, one of the captured ships, soon after she was taken possession of, took fire by accident and blew up, and a considerable number of people on board her unfortunately perished; and that lord Robert Manners died in his passage home in the Andromache.

Admiralty-Office, May 18.

Captain Ball, late of his majesty's ship the Superb, arrived early on the 16*th instant, with dispatches from vice-admiral Sir Edward Hughes, K. B. and commander in chief of his majesty's ships in the East Indies, to Mr. Stephens, of which the following is an extract.*

Extract of a letter from vice-admiral Sir Edward Hughes, to Mr. Stephens, dated on board the Superb, in Trincamalé Bay, the 15*th of January,* 1782.

I had the honour to address you for their lordships information, by letter of the 18th of October last, in which I informed their lordships, that major-general Sir Hector Munro, K. B. was sent to take the command of the company's troops in the Tanjore country, and to co-operate with his majesty's squadron under my command, in the attack of Negapatam; that I was in hopes we should be able to reduce it, although

the garriſon was reinforced by a large detachment of Hyder Ally's troops, and the fortifications conſiderably ſtrengthened by new works: that it was true the ſeaſon for military operations on the coaſt was far advanced, and the ſhift of the monſoon at hand; but that for a place of ſo much conſequence to the company's and national intereſts as Negapatam truly was, ſomething muſt be riſqued. Accordingly the company's troops appeared at Nagore on the ſea coaſt, on the 21ſt of October, and major-general Sir Hector Munro immediately landed from the Superb, to take the command of them; the ſame day the whole corps of marines of the ſquadron, amounting to 443, officers included, landed, and joined the company's troops, and on the 22d a battalion of ſeamen from the ſquadron, conſiſting of 827, including officers, was alſo landed: the whole under the command of the captains Thomas Mackenzie, of his majeſty's ſhip Active, captain Alexander M'Coy, of the Exeter, and capt. Henry Reynolds, of the Combuſtion fire-ſhip, with orders to co-operate with major-gen. Sir Hector Munro to the utmoſt, in all meaſures for the attack of the place: in the mean time the heavy cannon for the attack, conſiſting of four eighteen pounders and two twelve pounders iron guns from the tranſports, with twelve eighteen pounders from the ſhips of the ſquadron, two ten inch and ſix five and a half inch mortars, with their carriages, a proportionable number of ſhot, ſhells, powder, and every eſſential ſtore were landed through a great ſurf by the boats of the ſquadron, and on rafts or catamarans, made for that purpoſe, with incredible fatigue to the men, and equal ſpirit and alacrity, under the ſuperintendence of capt. Ball, of the Superb, who had great merit in this department of ſevere duty.

On the night of the 29th of October, the ſtrong lines which the enemy had thrown up, flanked by redoubts, to cover and defend the approach to the town, were ſtormed and carried by our troops, in which the ſeamen and marines bore a principal part, and diſtinguiſhed themſelves for ſteady and determined bravery.

On the 3d of November the general opened ground againſt the north face of the fort, and the approaches were carried on with great rapidity, in which the ſeamen and marines worked with readineſs and effect. On the 5th I moved with a part of the ſquadron nearer the fort on the flank of our lines, and on the 6th landed early in the morning, to concert with the general the beſt means of carrying on the ſiege with vigour, and returned on board the Superb the ſame evening.

On the 7th a battery of ten eighteen-pounders, within 300 paces of the walls of the place, being ready to open, I thought proper to ſend a ſummons, jointly with the general, to the governor to adviſe him to capitulate, which he abſolutely refuſed to do.

During the courſe of the ſiege, the enemy made two deſperate ſallies with the greater part of the garriſon, but were both times beat back into the town with much loſs. In the afternoon of the 10th, the breaching battery being ready, four eighteen pounders were got into it, and opened on the face of the baſtion intended to be breached, with good effect. In the night four more eighteen pounders were got into the ſame battery, and all opened on the breach baſtion at day-light, ſoon after the enemy demanded a parley, and ſent out two commiſſioners to the general

in

in camp with terms of capitulation, which the general did me the honour to ſend off on board the Superb. In the mean time hoſtilities ceaſed on both ſides, and early on the morning of the 12th I landed, and went to camp, and, with the general, received the commiſſaries there about ten o'clock, when the capitulation was agreed to, and, after being ſent into the town to be ratified by the governor and his council, was counterſigned by the general and myſelf at two o'clock, and the gates of both the town and citadel were put in poſſeſſion of our troops.

Here follow, in the Gazette, the articles of capitulation between vice-admiral Sir Edward Hughes, K. B. commander in chief of his majeſty's ſquadron in the Eaſt-Indies, major-general Sir Hector Munro, K. B. commander of the India company's land forces, and Reynier Van Vliſſengen, governor of Negapatam, and director for the affairs of the Netherland India company on the coaſt of Coromandel, and his council, the principal of which are the following:

The officers and garriſon of Negapatam ſhall march out at the China Gate with their arms, baggage, colours flying, drums beating, and two pieces of cannon, with lighted match, and neceſſaries. — Granted; but to pile their arms, and lay down their colours and drums ſo ſoon as they paſs the gate. If by neceſſaries is meant the ſoldiers neceſſaries, they will be allowed them.

All officers and ſoldiers in the garriſon ſhall be ſubſiſted at the hon. Engliſh Eaſt India company's expence, and ſent on board Engliſh ſhips as conveniently and expeditiouſly as poſſible to Columbo or Batavia. —— All officers and ſoldiers who ſurrender priſoners of war will be maintained, and a particular account of the expence kept, in order that the ſtates general, or Dutch Eaſt India company may hereafter make it good to the Engliſh Eaſt India company.---This article to be granted in no other form.

The garriſon conſiſted in all of about 8000 men, of which about 500 were Europeans, regular, and militia, 700 Malayes, 4500 ſeapoys, and 2300 of Hyder Ally's troops, of whom 1000 were cavalry, and ran away on the firſt charge at the attack of the enemy's lines, and never came near the place after, but kept at a diſtance, plundering and burning the villages; and moſt of the Malayes and ſeapoys threw away their arms, and deſerted the garriſon through the Weſtern Gate, in the night between the 11th and 12th, during the truce.

The ſquadron loſt in this ſervice 17 ſeamen killed, and 27 wounded; 13 marines killed, and 29 wounded; moſt of the wounded have ſince died of their wounds, and many, both ſeamen and marines, were carried off ſuddenly by violent cramps and ſpaſms brought on by wet and fatigue.

From the 12th to the 29th of November, the weather was ſo tempetuous, that it was with the greateſt difficulty and riſque I could embark ſome of the military priſoners from the port of Nagore to windward on board his Majeſty's ſhip the Active, and the company's ſnow Panther; and on the 19th, there being every appearance of an approaching gale of wind, the ſquadron put to ſea, and ſtood to the N. E. under their courſes until the weather became more moderate, and the whole returned to Negapatam Road on the 23d, except the company's ſhips Neptune and Royal Admiral.

On the 24th and 25th, the weather being more moderate, I was enabled to embark the whole of the ſeamen and marines, who had done

duty on ſhore during the ſiege, on board their reſpective ſhips; and the remaining part of the military priſoners being embarked on board the Active and Panther, they ſailed for Madraſs on the 4th of December.

From that period to the end of the month, we experienced all the viciſſitudes of monſoon weather, much wind, heavy rains, and now and then a fair day, of which we took the advantage to get proviſions and water on board the ſhips, and embark the Dutch company's civil ſervants from the late governor downward, in all 56, on board the company's ſhip Rochford, and ſhe ſailed with them for Madraſs on the 23d of the month.

A detachment of the company's land forces being granted me for the purpoſe of garriſoning Trincamalé, if taken, conſiſting of an officer and 30 European and native artillery, and about 500 volunteer ſeapoys, under a captain and five ſubalterns, they were embarked on board the ſhips of the ſquadron, and the company's ſhip Eſſex, accordingly; and I ſailed with his majeſty's ſhips and tranſports as per margin * from Negapatam Road, the 2d of this month, and arrived in this bay on the 4th, where I found captain Montagu in his majeſty's ſhip the Sea-horſe, who had been ſtationed off this place ever ſince the 21ſt of Auguſt laſt, to block up the Dutch ſhips in the harbour.

On the 5th in the morning, I began to diſembark the troops with all the boats in the ſquadron, ſix large chillingas, and four large rafts or catamarans; the chillingas and catamarans were brought from Negapatam for this purpoſe. The marines, with two ſix pounder field pieces mounted, a detachment of artillery, and two companies of ſeapoys as pioneers, landed firſt, about three miles from Trincamalé fort, without any reſiſtance; the battalion of ſeamen, conſiſting of the ſame number of officers and men as at the attack of Negapatam, were landed immediately after the marines, and joined them, the Company's ſeapoys followed them, and the whole were landed before dark, under the command of captain John Gell, of his majeſty's ſhip Monarca, aſſiſted by captain Montagu, of the Sea-horſe, and captain Reynolds, of the Combuſtion fireſhip. The ſeamen and marines, with the guns and pioneers, immediately formed, and marched forward toward Trincamalé fort; and the ſame night the grenadier company of marines, with the guns, made themſelves maſters of the fort, by puſhing reſolutely on through the gateway, while the governor was drawing upon paper the terms of capitulation which he meant to propoſe. In this fort, which commanded the only place where proviſions and ſtores could be landed from the ſhips, were found ten iron guns of different calibers, and three officers, with forty men were made priſoners; and I learned from the priſoners, that the enemy's whole remaining ſtrength was drawn into Oſtenburgh fort, on the top of a high hill which commanded the harbour, and had an open communication with their ſhips.

On the 6th we began to land the requiſite ſtores, proviſions and baggage, for the troops at Trincamalé fort; and on the 7th the field officers, with major Geils, the engineer, were employed in reconnoitring to find the beſt road to the Heights. On the 8th, the whole marched toward a high hill which commanded Oſten-

* Superb, Monarca, Exeter, Worceſter, Burford, Eagle, Combuſtion fireſhip, Nymph ſloop, Eſſex company-ſhip, Expedition brig.

Oſtenburgh fort, on the top of which the enemy had a poſt with an officer's guard. This poſt a detachment of ſeamen and marines drove the enemy from, on the ſame night, and took poſſeſſion of it within 200 yards of Oſtenburgh fort; and I ordered colonel Gell to ſend the following ſummons of ſurrender to the governor the morning of the 9th.

Superb, in Trincamalé bay,

SIR, *Jan.* 9, 1782.

As I am perfectly informed of the weakneſs of your fort, and the very ſmall number of men you have to defend it againſt the ſhips and troops of his Britannic majeſty and the Eaſt India company under my command, of whoſe great ſuperiority, both in proportioned numbers and diſcipline, you cannot be ignorant: I am induced from motives of humanity, in order to avoid the effuſion of blood, and of regard to you and the inhabitants of the place, to prevent, if in my power, the diſtreſſes and calamities that may befall you and them, to demand of you the immediate ſurrender of fort Oſtenburgh and its dependencies, with the ſhips and veſſels in Trincamalé harbour, on ſuch terms as appear to me reaſonable and conſiſtent, and you and I may agree upon: for this purpoſe I give you two hours from the time this ſummons is delivered to you, to deliberate and return me an anſwer. If you agree to ſurrender on capitulation, commiſſioners are immediately to be ſent on your part to colonel Gell, commander of the forces on ſhore, who will ſend them in ſafety to me; but if you reject the offer now made you, you yourſelf will be the cauſe of lives loſt, and more diſadvantageous terms at a latter day. I am, Sir, your moſt obedient humble ſervant.

(Signed) EDW. HUGHES.

Albertus Homœd, Eſq.
Governor of Fort Oſtenburgh.

To which, in about two hours, I received the following anſwer:

Jan. 9, 1782.

Honoured excellency,

In anſwer to your excellency's letter of ſummons of the 9th of this month, received by me but now a little before ſeven o'clock in the morning; I have to inform you, that, by every poſſible means in my power, it is my duty to be faithful to my maſters, and for that reaſon I have reſolved not to ſurrender fort Oſtenburgh, but to defend it to the laſt, againſt all attempts that may be made to take it.

I am, honoured excellency,
your excellency's humble
ſervant,

(Signed) ALBERTUS HOMOED.

Vice-admiral Sir Edward Hughes, K. B. &c.

Major Geils, who carried the ſummons, reported to me, that it was his opinion the place might be taken by aſſault; and I was more diſpoſed to this mode of attack, as heavy cannon for battery could not get up the hill without much labour and loſs of time, which laſt I could not afford; but, being deſirous not to riſque a repulſe, I wrote another ſummons to the governor as follows:

Superb in Trincamalé bay, Jan. 9, 1782.

SIR,

I have received the honour of your anſwer of this date to my ſummons of the 9th of this month, and am greatly ſurpriſed at your imprudence in expoſing the lives of the few men, women, and children, ſhut up with you in fort Oſtenburgh to the certainty of a ſtorm, which no duty you owe your employers can warrant.

My former attachment to you and your family, as well as other acquaintances at this place, induces me to warn you of the imminent

danger you run of this fate, by attempting to defend a place not defenſible, and you ſee the Engliſh troops in poſſeſſion of the heights which command the fort: if after this friendly advice you perſiſt to refuſe the ſurrender of the place on reaſonable terms, which I now offer you, you muſt take the conſequence, without laying any act of inhumanity to my charge, I am with regard,

Sir, your moſt obedient,
humble ſervant,
(Signed) EDW. HUGHES.

Albertus Homœd, Eſq.
Governor of Fort Oſtenburgh.

And determined, if the governor refuſed to capitulate, and the major continued in his opinion of the practicability of taking the fort by aſſault, to order it to be aſſaulted, being fully ſatisfied of the ſteadineſs and bravery of our men, and that, if practicable, they would ſucceed. The governor ſent me the following anſwer to my ſecond ſummons:

Oſtenburgh, Jan. 10, 1782.

Moſt generous Sir,

Your excellency's letter of yeſterday was delivered into my hands this morning at ten o'clock, in anſwer to which I am to acknowledge your excellency's good will to me perſonally, and all the people in this place; but, I am under the neceſſity of informing your excellency, that my orders from my ſuperiors is to defend the place where I now command to the laſt. If I failed in this I could not anſwer to them for my conduct, and that I leave to your excellency's conſideration. I am, with much reſpect, moſt generous Sir, your excellency's moſt humble ſervant

(Signed) ALBERTUS HOMOED.

His excellency the generous, brave and illuſtrious Sir Edward Hughes, K. B. commander in chief of his Britannic majeſty's ſquadron in Trincamalé bay.

Major Geils perſiſting in his opinion, that the lower part of the fort might be taken by aſſault, although not ſo clear reſpecting a cavalier very high, mounting ſix pieces of cannon, the aſſault was ordered, and the neceſſary diſpoſition was made for the attack, to begin at day light in the morning of the 11th; and accordingly the ſtorming party, compoſed of 450 ſeamen and marines, and their officers, with each flank covered by a company of pioneers, and 20 ſeamen carrying the ſcaling ladders, and armed with cutlaſſes with a reſerve of three companies of ſeamen, and three companies of marines, with two field pieces to ſupport it, followed by the company's troops, advanced at day light towards the fort, and the ſerjeant's party in front getting in at the embraſures unperceived by the enemy, was immediately followed by the whole of the ſtorming party, who ſoon drove the enemy from their works, and poſſeſſed themſelves of the fort; and all the ſhips and veſſels in the harbour immediate ſurrendered.

In this aſſault I had the misfortune to loſe lieutenant George Long, my ſecond lieutenant, a moſt worthy and deſerving officer, who was killed in advancing bravely to the aſſault at the head of his company, and alſo twenty non-commiſſioned and private ſeamen and marines; lieutenant Wolſeley, who commanded a company of ſeamen; lieutenant Samuel Orr, of the marines, who commanded their grenadier company, and did duty as brigade major; and forty non-commiſſioned and private ſeamen and marines were wounded. The enemy loſt but few men, as they moſtly threw down their arms, and their forfeited lives were ſpared by that diſpoſition to mercy which ever diſtinguiſhes Britons.

Priv-

Priſoners taken in the garriſon.

The governor, one captain, two lieutenants, three enſigns, 250 European infantry, one captain-lieutenant and engineer, two ſubalterns, 50 European artillery, 55 ſeamen from the ſhips, and ten artificers, one captain, one lieutenant, two enſigns, Malayes.

In the harbour we found two of the enemy's ſhips, one of the company's, the other private, both richly laden, and ſeveral ſmall veſſels of no conſequence.

As the knowledge of theſe ſucceſſes, by which the Dutch are driven entirely from the coaſt of Coromandel, and a fair beginning made towards getting poſſeſſion of all their valuable ſettlements on the iſland of Ceylon, may be attended with many good conſequences to the public, I have ordered his majeſty's ſloop the Nymph, captain John Sutton, commander, late my firſt lieutenant, to proceed to England immediately; and I have delivered to captain Henry Ball, my captain in the Superb, who has been of infinite uſe to the ſervice in ſuperintending the landing the heavy guns, ſtores, proviſions, and other articles, both at Negapatam, and at this place, my letters for their lordſhips, and the earl of Hillſborough, with the colours of the citadel of Negapatam and of fort Oſtenburgh, which I requeſt their lordſhips will permit him to lay at his majeſty's feet.

Extract of a letter from vice-admiral Sir Edward Hughes, K. B. commander in chief of his majeſty's ſhips and veſſels in the Eaſt Indies, to the earl of Hillſborough, dated Superb, in Trincamalé bay, Jan. 17, 1782.

I am happy to obſerve to your lordſhip, that the fall of Negapatam fully anſwered my expectations, for, immediately after Hyder Ally's troops evacuated all the forts and ſtrong poſts they held in the Manjore country, and the Polygars, or petty princes, in the Marawa and Trinavilly provinces, who, at the inſtigation of Hyder, had rebelled againſt the Nabob of the Carnatic, and taken up arms againſt us, are returning to their obedience on the beſt terms they can make for themſelves.

19. Yeſterday a proclamation offering a reward of 500l. for apprehending Thomas Lewen, eſq. late ſecretary to the council at Madraſs, was publiſhed in the London Gazette.

23. On this day the earl of Dalhouſie, his majeſty's high commiſſioner to the church of Scotland, opened that aſſembly with an elegant ſpeech, to which a ſuitable anſwer was returned by the reverend Mr. Principal M'Cormic, of Saint Andrew's, their moderator. — There was afterwards ſome debate in drawing up the addreſs to be preſented to his majeſty, it being propoſed by the reverend Mr. Porteous, of Glaſgow, to expreſs their ſenſe of his majeſty's goodneſs in taking into his ſervice men of the higheſt abilities, poſſeſſing the confidence of the people, &c. This was warmly oppoſed on the ground of impropriety; they, as an eccleſiaſtical body, having nothing to do with political matters; it therefore paſſed in the negative.

28. This day the powder mills on Hounſlow-heath accidentally blew up, by which three perſons loſt their lives, and a fourth was dangerouſly wounded.

Dublin, May 28. Yeſterday his grace the duke of Portland, attended by lord Charlemont, went in ſtate to the houſe of peers, to announce the concurrence of his majeſty and the Britiſh parliament in the reſtoration

bled, impreſſed with ſentiments of the warmeſt attachment to your majeſty's royal perſon and government, and zeal for the honour of your crown and proſperity of all your majeſty's dominions, beg leave humbly to approach your throne, with the moſt hearty congratulations for the late glorious ſucceſſes, with which it has pleaſed Divine Providence to bleſs your majeſty's arms in different quarters of the world.

"We truſt that, under the bleſſing of the ſame Providence, the valour of your majeſty's fleets and armies, directed by the wiſdom of your councils, and the good conduct of thoſe able commanders you have been pleaſed to ſet over them, will purſue the important advantages already obtained with vigour and ſucceſs.

"And we flatter ourſelves, that we ſhall have the heartfelt ſatisfaction of ſeeing the ſplendor of your crown reſtored, the wonted ſuperiority of your royal navy over all your enemies re-eſtabliſhed, and the general tranquillity and welfare of the Britiſh dominions completely ſecured, by terminating a glorious and ſucceſsful war, with a ſafe and honourable peace.

"Signed, by order of court,

"WILLIAM RIX."

To the above addreſs his majeſty was pleaſed to return the following moſt gracious anſwer:

"I return you my hearty thanks for your loyal and affectionate congratulations upon the late glorious ſucceſs in different quarters of the world. The intrepid valour of my fleets and armies, and the conduct and courage of my officers, were never more conſpicuous than they have appeared on the late occaſions. It is, however, to the bleſſing of Almighty God that we owe theſe victories.

"I truſt that the vigorous exertions of a firm and united people, together with the new reſources that have preſented themſelves to increaſe my force both by ſea and land, and, above all, the divine protection of my juſt cauſe, will enable me to terminate the war upon fair and honourable terms. My good city of London may be aſſured of my conſtant attention to their commerce and happineſs."

Whitehall, June 8, 1782.

Extract of a letter from lieutenant general Sir Eyre Coote, knight of the Bath, dated Fort St. George, January 28, 1782, *received at the office of the Earl of Shelburne, one of his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, June* 4.

After the action with Hyder Ally, on the 1ſt of July, my next object was to march to the northward, in order to form a junction with the Bengal detachment, and in the way to relieve Vandiwaſh, which was inveſted by a detachment under Tippo Saib, who had begun to raiſe batteries, and to make other neceſſary preparations for a ſiege. My movements had the deſired effect, as Tippo Saib, upon hearing of my approach, drew off, and took the route by Gingee, by which road Hyder was alſo ſuppoſed to have moved towards Arcot.

On the 26th of July I arrived with the army at the Mount, marched again on the 31ſt, and on the 3d of Auguſt happily effected the junction with the Bengal detachment, and returned to the Mount on the 5th, where the whole encamped.

On the 16th the whole army marched from the Mount.

On the 20th I laid ſiege to Tripaſſore, and on the 22d in the morning it ſurrendered on terms of capitulation. The acquiſition was of conſe-

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quence, and happening at the time it did, was a moſt fortunate one, as the advance of Hyder's army, coming to the relief of the beſieged, had in that very moment appeared in ſight, and there only remained in camp one day's rice.

By means of the paddy which we found in the fort, I was enabled to ſerve out a few days ſubſiſtence to the troops; and hearing that Hyder was in full force, at the diſtance of about ſixteen miles, I reſolved to march towards him; but before I could attempt it, I found it neceſſary to draw ſome rice from Pondamalee; which having done, I marched on the 26th, in order to engage the enemy, as the only hope that appeared to me left, from whence we might ſtand a chance of ſurmounting our difficulties.

Hyder, on my advancing, thought proper to fall back a few miles to the ground on which he had defeated the detachment under Colonel Baillie, where he took up a very ſtrong poſition; and, influenced from a ſuperſtitious notion of its being a lucky ſpot, had determined, as I was informed by my intelligence, to try his fortune in a ſecond battle. I accordingly marched, on the 27th in the morning, towards him; and as reported, about eight o'clock, we diſcovered his army in order of battle, and in full force to receive us, and in poſſeſſion of many ſtrong and advantageous poſts, rendered the more formidable by the nature of the country lying between, which was interſected by very deep watercourſes. In ſhort, nothing could be more formidable than the ſituation of the enemy, and nothing more arduous than our approach. To preſent a front to them, I was obliged to form the line under a very heavy cannonade from ſeveral batteries, as well as from the enemy's line, which galled us exceedingly, and was a very trying ſituation for the troops, who bore it with a firmneſs and undaunted bravery which did them the higheſt honour, and ſhewed a valour, not to be ſurpaſſed by the firſt veterans of any nation in Europe. The conflict laſted from nine in the morning till near ſun-ſet, when we had drove the enemy from all their ſtrong poſts, and obliged them to retreat with precipitation, leaving us in full poſſeſſion of the field of battle. Our loſs on this occaſion was heavier than on the 1ſt of July, and that of the enemy leſs, owing to their having ſheltered themſelves under cover of banks of tanks, and other grounds which they poſſeſſed favourable for that purpoſe. General Stuart had the misfortune to loſe his leg by a cannon ſhot, whilſt bravely conducting the ſecond line to the ſupport of a poſt which I had occupied at the commencement of the engagement, and on which the enemy had kept up a very ſevere fire. The ſame ſhot alſo carried away the leg of Colonel Brown; and, having cauſed his death, deprived the company of a very old and faithful ſervant, and the army of an able and experienced officer. Captain Hiſlop, one of my aid de camps, a very active and ſpirited officer, was killed by a cannon ſhot.

On the 27th of September, near Sholingur, I diſcovered Hyder's encampment, and, from the diſpoſition which I could perceive he had made of his troops, I was ſatisfied that he meant to give battle. It was about noon when I gave the orders for ſtriking our encampment, and for the army to march. My orders were obeyed with a degree of expedition and alacrity beyond all expectation; for although the enemy were poſted at leaſt five miles off, from whence they did not advance nearer, the armies were engaged before four o'clock, and by evening Hyder was completely routed.

Our

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By means of the paddy which we found in the fort, I was enabled to ſerve out a few days ſubſiſtence to the troops; and hearing that Hyder was in full force, at the diſtance of about ſixteen miles, I reſolved to march towards him; but before I could attempt it, I found it neceſſary to draw ſome rice from Pondamalee; which having done, I marched on the 26th, in order to engage the enemy, as the only hope that appeared to me left, from whence we might ſtand a chance of ſurmounting our difficulties.

Hyder, on my advancing, thought proper to fall back a few miles to the ground on which he had defeated the detachment under Colonel Baillie, where he took up a very ſtrong poſition; and, influenced from a ſuperſtitious notion of its being a lucky ſpot, had determined, as I was informed by my intelligence, to try his fortune in a ſecond battle. I accordingly marched, on the 27th in the morning, towards him; and as reported, about eight o'clock, we diſcovered his army in order of battle, and in full force to receive us, and in poſſeſſion of many ſtrong and advantageous poſts, rendered the more formidable by the nature of the country lying between, which was interſected by very deep watercourſes. In ſhort, nothing could be more formidable than the ſituation of the enemy, and nothing more arduous than our approach. To preſent a front to them, I was obliged to form the line under a very heavy cannonade from ſeveral batteries, as well as from the enemy's line, which galled us exceedingly, and was a very trying ſituation for the troops, who bore it with a firmneſs and undaunted bravery which did them the higheſt honour, and ſhewed a valour, not to be ſurpaſſed by the firſt veterans of any nation in Europe. The conflict laſted from nine in the morning till near ſun-ſet, when we had drove the enemy from all their ſtrong poſts, and obliged them to retreat with precipitation, leaving us in full poſſeſſion of the field of battle. Our loſs on this occaſion was heavier than on the 1ſt of July, and that of the enemy leſs, owing to their having ſheltered themſelves under cover of banks of tanks, and other grounds which they poſſeſſed favourable for that purpoſe. General Stuart had the misfortune to loſe his leg by a cannon ſhot, whilſt bravely conducting the ſecond line to the ſupport of a poſt which I had occupied at the commencement of the engagement, and on which the enemy had kept up a very ſevere fire. The ſame ſhot alſo carried away the leg of Colonel Brown; and, having cauſed his death, deprived the company of a very old and faithful ſervant, and the army of an able and experienced officer. Captain Hiſlop, one of my aid de camps, a very active and ſpirited officer, was killed by a cannon ſhot.

On the 27th of September, near Sholingur, I diſcovered Hyder's encampment, and, from the diſpoſition which I could perceive he had made of his troops, I was ſatisfied that he meant to give battle. It was about noon when I gave the orders for ſtriking our encampment, and for the army to march. My orders were obeyed with a degree of expedition and alacrity beyond all expectation; for although the enemy were poſted at leaſt five miles off, from whence they did not advance nearer, the armies were engaged before four o'clock, and by evening Hyder was completely routed.

Our

Our loſs on this occaſion was very trifling, whilſt the enemy's was very conſiderable both in cavalry and infantry. We had but one ſubaltern officer killed, none wounded, and about 100 rank and file killed, wounded and miſſing.

After relieving Vellore on the 4th of November, which in four or five days more muſt either have been evacuated or given up to the enemy, I proceeded to Chittor, to which I laid ſiege on the 8th, and it capitulated on the 10th.

Vellore being once more in diſtreſs for proviſions, it was neceſſary that the army ſhould again march to its relief.

Having made our arrangements, the army marched on the 2d inſtant towards Vellore. The enemy had aſſembled in force on the weſtern banks of the Poni river, but on our approaching near, which was on the evening of the 9th, they decamped, and retreated with precipitation towards Lallapet; and left us to take up their ground in quiet, diſtant about twelve miles from our place of deſtination. On the following morning, at ten o'clock, when the army was croſſing a deep moraſs, our rear and left flank were attacked by a diſtant cannonade from the enemy, whoſe different manœuvres were evidently with a view to impede our progreſs to Vellore, and to attack our baggage and convoy. Having been completely foiled in all their attempts to that end, they thought proper to retire about three o'clock in the afternoon, after having kept up a heavy fire for about four hours. Our loſs on this occaſion was killed, 1 lieutenant, 19 native non-commiſſioned rank and file, and four horſes.——Wounded, 2 lieutenants, 2 European rank and file, 1 Souhedan, and 35 non-commiſſioned native rank and file.——Miſſing, 1 European rank and file, 4 natives, and 1 horſe.

After the enemy had retired, I proſecuted my march, and encamped for the night within about four miles of Vellore. We arrived there the following morning, being the 11th, the very day to which I had been pre-adviſed by the commanding officer of the garriſon the proviſions would laſt. A halting day had become abſolutely neceſſary for the refreſhment of the troops, and draught and carriage cattle, having come upwards of ſeventy miles in five days, ſo that I did not commence my march back until the 13th, on which day Hyder appeared in full force, and choſe again to make an attack by a diſtant cannonade, when our army was croſſing the ſame marſhy ground where he attacked us on the 10th in going. About four o'clock in the afternoon the whole had got clear over the ſwamp, and, having poſted the baggage with a proper guard, I formed the line, and advanced upon the enemy with all the expedition the nature of the ground would admit of; upon which the enemy gave way, and retreated with precipitation. We purſued them till dark, and not without execution, as we kept up an advancing fire upon them. It being impoſſible to do more, we returned to our ground of encampment, where we arrived about midnight. Our loſs on this occaſion was very trifling, only 1 officer wounded, and about 60 rank and file killed, wounded, and miſſing.

Col. Crawford, of his majeſty's 73d regiment, having had my leave to return to Europe, will have the honour of delivering your lordſhip this letter.

I ſhould do injuſtice to the high ſenſe I entertain of col. Crawford's merit as an officer, did I omit on this occaſion mentioning how much he

he has acquitted himſelf to my ſatisfaction, and with honour and credit to himſelf, in the whole courſe of a moſt trying campaign. He was next in command to me at the battle of Sholingur, on which occaſion his conduct was deſerving of the higheſt applauſe.

I have had occaſion to make a favourable mention of lieut. colonel Owen for diſtinguiſhed conduct in reſiſting, with a ſmall detachment, the united efforts of the whole of Hyder's army. Permit me the liberty of once more recurring to him as an officer of great military abilities, he has acquitted himſelf to my higheſt ſatisfaction, and has rendered eſſential ſervices to the public in the courſe of the campaign.

Admiralty-office, June 18, 1782.

Captain Domet, of his majeſty's ſloop the Ceres, arrived at this office on Sunday morning, with diſpatches from Lord Rodney to Mr. Stephens; of which the following are extracts.

Formidable, off cape Tiberoon, St. Domingo, April 26, 1782.

Since my laſt diſpatches of the 20th of April by the Eurydice, I am happy to congratulate their lordſhips on the capture of two more line of battle ſhips, and two frigates, taken by the ſquadron I had detached under the command of rear-admiral Sir Samuel Hood: and incloſed have the honour to ſend a liſt of the ſhips taken, and a return of the killed and wounded on board his majeſty's ſhips that attacked them.

I am now with the fleet off cape Tiberoon, and propoſe leaving rear-adm. Sir Sam. Hood with twenty-five ſail of the line, or as many ſhips as are in a condition to keep the ſea, to watch the motions of the enemy at cape François; and ſhall go myſelf with the crippled ſhips to port Royal, in order to haſten their refitting, and to take care that no delay be made.

Liſt of French ſhips of war captured on the 19th of April, 1782, by a ſquadron of his majeſty's ſhips under the command of rear-admiral Sir Samuel Hood, Bart.

Caton, 64 guns, 650 men, excluſive of troops.

Jaſon, 64 guns, 609 men, excluſive of troops.

L'Aimable, 32 guns, (twelve-pounders) 290 men.

Ceres, 18 guns, 160 men.

Return of killed and wounded on board his majeſty's ſhips Valiant and Magnificent, on the 19th of April, 1782.

	Killed.	Wounded.
Valiant	2	6
Magnificent	4	8

SAM. HOOD.

Formidable, Port Royal Harbour, Jamaica, May 5, 1782.

Since my letter of the 26th of April, acquainting their lordſhips of my being off cape Tiberoon, and that I ſhould leave a ſtrong fleet under the command of rear-admiral Sir Samuel Hood to watch the motions of the combined fleets at cape François; you will pleaſe to acquaint them, that I arrived in this bay with ſuch ſhips as were in the moſt diſtreſſed condition on the 29th of laſt month; ſince which, every diſpatch poſſible, both day and night, has been uſed towards refitting them.

I have the pleaſure to acquaint their lordſhips, that the Ville de Paris of 104 guns, the Glory of 74, the Hector of 74, the Cato of 64, the Jaſon of 64, the Ardent of 64, the Amiable of 32, and the Ceres, (which I ſhall ſend with this expreſs) are all ſafe arrived in this harbour.

It is with concern I acquaint their lordſhips that the Cæſar of 74 guns, and

and looked upon as one of the beſt ſhips belonging to the French fleet, was burnt in the night of the action, and upwards of 400 men, with a lieutenant and 150 Engliſh ſeamen, periſhed with her, notwithſtanding every aſſiſtance poſſible was given. This fatal accident was owing to the extreme bad diſcipline of the French ſeamen, all of whom, upon their ſhip's ſtriking, were guilty of every enormity and diſobedience to their officers.

By what I can learn from the priſoners, it was ſuppoſed to be the Diadem that ſunk in the action.

18. This day a moſt ſevere ſtorm of thunder and lightning ſtruck the city of London and its ſuburbs with terror. It was followed by a luminous phænomenon, which appeared in the weſt, in the form of a ſpear, and continued viſible near five minutes, and on its diſappearing, that part of the firmament became beautifully illuminated with an immenſe number of rays, projecting from a point, and ſpreading like a fan, till, growing fainter and fainter, they wholly diſappeared. Seen from different places, it aſſumed different forms. One of the heavieſt claps of the thunder burſt over a houſe in the Borough, and forced down the roof, ſplit the ſtack of chimneys from top to bottom, twiſted the iron work of a caſement in ſeveral ſhapes, and lifted the door of an upper room off the hinges, removing it to a conſiderable diſtance. A water-ſpout burſt near Clapham common.

The ſame day a moſt awful ſtorm of thunder and lightning ſtruck the inhabitants in Thornbury, Glouceſterſhire, and its neighbourhood, with terror. A ball of fire fell upon the church, broke down one of the pinnacles, and covered the pavement within with mortar and ſhattered ſtones. At Pilton, near Wells, the ſame ſtorm very much damaged the church, killed a poor man that was tolling the bell, and two oxen that were grazing in an adjacent field.

Trieſte, June 18. The emperor has within ſome time paſt ſhewed great marks of his attention to this place, by advancing four millions of florins to the merchants of this town for the increaſe of their commerce, not only in Aſia, but in Africa, and alſo in America; and has alſo promiſed them every ſuccour in his power which their circumſtances appear to require.

19. Information is received from Ruſſia, that on the 27th of laſt month a fire broke out in that part of Peterſburg where the general market is ſituated, and in leſs than four hours a ſquare of near a mile was burnt to the ground. All the ſhops where the different articles of proviſions were ſold, the butchery, fiſhery, and, in ſhort, the whole aggregate of edible commodities, by which the city was ſupplied, all periſhed in one common conflagration.

20. The three gold medals left by Sir William Brown, to be annually given by the univerſity of Cambridge, were this year determined in favour of Mr. Goodall and Mr. Becher, ſcholars of king's college. The medals for the Greek ode and epigrams to the former; and that for the Latin ode to the latter. Subjects for the odes, *Ad pacem*; for the epigrams, *Stans pede in uno*.

The annual prizes given by the members for the univerſity of Cambridge, were determined in favour of Dr. Smith of St. John's, and Dr. Dampier of King's, ſenior bachelors; Dr. Pedley of St. John's, and Dr. Douglas of Benet college, middle bachelors.

Subject

Subject for the ſenior bachelors was,

Utrum auctoritati Sacrarum Literarum confirmandæ inſerviat mythologia Græca.

For the middle bachelors,

Utrum ad emendandos magis, an corrumpendos civium mores conferat muſica.

This day the following gentlemen had the degree of doctor in medicine conferred upon them by the univerſity of Edinburgh, after going through the uſual public and private exerciſes:

From Holland, Mr. John Theod. Vander Kemp---*de Vita, et Vivicatione materiæ humanum corpus conſtituentis.* From the W. Indies, Mr. Harper Hall---*de Melæna.* From Ireland, Mr. Andrew Sayers----*de Menorrhagia*; Mr. Edward Hart----*de Morbis Mammarum complectens.* Of G. Britain, Mr. Wm. Gourlay ---*de Eryſipelate*; Mr. Wm. Corp---*de Phthiſi Pulmonali*; Mr. John Randulphus Fenwick---*de Plethora*; Mr. Geo. Paron---*de Typho Greviore Pectchiali*; Mr. Jonathan Stokes----*de Ulcere Dephlogiſticato.*

29. This day were admitted to the following degrees in the univerſity of Cambridge: doctors in divinity; John Jenner, of Jeſus college; Jas. Burſlem, of Pembroke-hall. Doctors in phyſic; Cha. Grove, of St. John's; John Caulet, of the ſame, and Hen. Topping, of King's.

JULY.

1. A communication was opened between Dover and Calais, and four Engliſh and four French veſſels appointed to ſail alternately from each port.

2. This day the anniverſary commemoration of founders and benefactors was celebrated in the theatre at Oxford, when the anniverſary ſpeech, ſuited to the occaſion, was ſpoken by the rev. Dr. Bandinall, univerſity orator; after which, the Engliſh eſſay on *original compoſition*, and the Latin verſes on *Columbus*, to which the chancellor's prizes had been previouſly adjudged, were publicly recited; the former by the rev. Mr. Robertſon, chaplain of Chriſt church; and the latter by Mr. James, of Queen's college. The ſame day, in full convocation, Jas. Price, M. A. was created doctor in medicine.

Dover, July 5. Yeſterday evening, about half paſt nine o'clock, their royal highneſſes the duke and ducheſs of Glouceſter arrived at the Ship inn, where they ſupped and ſlept, and this day at twelve o'clock embarked on board one of the paſſage yachts for Calais. Their royal highneſſes were ſaluted by the cannon at the caſtle and forts.

5. This day the rev. Bennet Allen ſurrendered himſelf at the ſeſſions-houſe in the Old Bailey, where he and Robert Morris, eſq; were indicted for the wilful murder of Lloyd Dulany, eſq. Mr. Allen was ſuppoſed to have a conſiderable ſhare in the management of the Morning Poſt, in which paper, about three years ago, was inſerted an article highly reflecting on the character of Daniel Dulany, brother to the deceaſed, which produced a challenge, in which the challenger was the ſufferer. Mr. Morris acted as ſecond to Mr. Allen in the duel.

The jury brought in a verdict of Bennet Allen, guilty of manſlaughter only. Robert Morris, not guilty.

Mr. Morris was immediately diſcharged, and the Recorder paſſed ſentence on Mr. Allen, of one ſhilling fine, and ſix months impriſonment in Newgate.

6. This day came on at the Old Bailey, the trials of George and Joſeph Weſton, for robbing the Briſ-

tol mail, when both were acquitted on that indictment, for want of ſufficient legal evidence; but being afterwards indicted, the one for forgery, the other on the black act, they were both found guilty. They appeared to be two of the moſt artful villains that have appeared at any time this century, and have robbed the country of an immenſe ſum.

Nine other convicts received ſentence of death in the courſe of this ſeſſions.

11. The diſpute, that has for ſome years ſubſiſted between the common-council of London and the acting governors of the royal foundations of St. Bartholomew's, Chriſt's, Bridewell and Bethlem, and St. Thomas's hoſpitals, is now finally adjuſted by articles of agreement, made between the Lord-Mayor, commonality, and citizens of London, and the preſidents, treaſurers, and ſeveral other perſons, now acting as governors of the ſaid ſeveral hoſpitals, which have been ratified and eſtabliſhed by an act of parliament, that received the royal aſſent on Friday laſt, the principal articles whereof, in favour of the common-council are, that at the firſt court of common-council to be held after the 21ſt day of December next, 48 perſons ſhall be nominated, being members of the common-council of the city of London, out of which number twelve ſhall be ſent to St. Bartholomew's hoſpital, 12 to the united hoſpitals of Bridewell and Bethlem, 12 to Chriſt's hoſpital, and 12 to St. Thomas's hoſpital, to be governors thereof reſpectively, and ſuch names ſhall be entered in the books of the ſaid hoſpitals, and in the liſt of the governors thereof reſpectively, in the order in which they ſhall be ſo ſent; and ſhall from thenceforth be governors in all matters relating to the ſaid hoſpitals, for ſo long a time as they ſhall continue to be members of the ſaid court of common-council, or ſhall be re-elected as ſuch members of the ſaid court: and as often as any one or more of the ſaid twelve members of the ſaid court of common-council ſhall die, or ceaſe to be members of the ſaid court, the common-council ſhall nominate another perſon in the place of him ſo dying or ceaſing to be a member, and ſhall fill up all future vacancies which ſhall happen, ſo as that 12 members of the court of common council and no more, ſo nominated and ſent to the ſaid ſeveral hoſpitals, may, for the time being, be governors of the ſaid hoſpitals. Provided that nothing ſhall prejudice the rights, of ſuch members of the court of common council as are now governors of any of the ſaid hoſpitals, or ſhall hereafter become ſo, by election or nomination of the governors of ſuch hoſpital, in the manner heretofore uſed and accuſtomed, over and above and beſides the 12 members of the ſaid court, who ſhall be governors by virtue of this agreement.

Florence, July 11. On the 5th of this month an ordonnance of the grand duke was publiſhed, which totally aboliſhes the tribunal of the inquiſition in the grand-duchy of Tuſcany.

12. We hear from France, that on the 28th of laſt month, at the village of Venify and its neighbourhood, in the diſtrict of Senonois, after ſome ſevere claps of thunder and a rumbling noiſe like the flouriſh of a thouſand drums, there fell a ſtorm of hail, the ſtones of which were as large as an ordinary apple, with a hard ſubſtance in the middle cryſtallized, by which ſeveral perſons were dangerouſly wounded, and all the game and fruits of the earth deſtroyed. This was ſucceeded by ſo dreadful a fall of rain, that in leſs than two

hours the inhabitants were obliged to take refuge on the tops of their houſes, while the torrent below carried every thing before it. Moſt of the cattle periſhed, and much of the country is laid waſte.

Whitehall, July 13, 1782.

The following letters from John Maxwell, eſq; governor of the Bahama iſlands, were received at the office of the right hon. Thomas Townſhend, one of his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, the 11*th curt.*

New Providence, May 14, 1782.

My Lord,

The large army under the command of the governor of the Havannah, conſiſting of three frigates, 60 ſail of tranſports, 40 of which were topſail veſſels, having 2500 troops on board, inveſted me the 6th curt. at day-break, and ſummoned me to ſurrender, upon honourable terms, at nine o'clock. I called my council together, who were unanimous in their opinion, that as the ſtrength of the country was then out in privateers, and an invalid garriſon of 170 fit for duty (on the ramparts only) and juſt arrived, they adviſed me to propoſe terms honourable.

Not ſatisfied it was doing juſtice to my character, I called the officers of the garriſon preſent, the militia officers, and the principal inhabitants, who were unanimous in their opinion, that to make a defence of a few hours would not entitle them from the governor but to terms of diſcretion. I have the honour to be, your lordſhips

moſt obedient humble ſervant,

JOHN MAXWELL.

New Providence, May 14, 1782.

My lord,

The Spaniſh troops under the command of Don Juan Manuel Cagigal, were the ſecond diviſion going to the cape, in order to join their firſt under the command of Don Galvez; but as they had no tranſports of their own they wiſely laid an embargo, by which means they procured a ſufficient number from the Americans, who readily hired their veſſels to go againſt Providence at their own riſque. However, the Spaniſh general diſappointed them exceedingly in not including them in the capitulation, and now compels them to proceed farther, paying them as tranſports. Jamaica was the original object, and we might have eſcaped a viſit, had not the winds, and the aſſurances given them by ſeveral of our own inhabitants, who were employed by government in flags of truce, of the facility of reducing this place, joined to the conſideration of the riſque of the veſſels being on the American account, induced them to make the attempt, in which they have been too ſucceſsful, but I am certain they adhere to their firſt intention of attempting Jamaica.

Immediately on my arrival I gave your lordſhip my opinion of the inhabitants, and the ſtrength requiſite to keep the iſland in order. In the council of war, conſiſting of the militia officers, and principal inhabitants, there were 33 unanimouſly of opinion to capitulate.

Encloſed is a return of their ſtrength, and of the number of veſſels employed by them. I beg your lordſhip will ſuſpend any unfavourable opinion of my conduct until it is properly inveſtigated, which I have in my power to accelerate, in virtue of the laſt article of capitulation, which, though I did not expect, yet as it had been granted at St. Kitt's, the general handſomely inſerted it. I have the honour to be,

your lordſhip's moſt obedient humble ſervant,

J. MAXWELL.

Right hon. lord George Germain.

SIR,

The conſiderable ſea and land forces with which I find myſelf before this place, and the ſmall reſource that your excellency has both for garriſon and defence, induced me, for the ſake of humanity, to manifeſt to you, that I am come by order of the king my maſter, and in his royal name, to take poſſeſſion of this and the other Bahama iſlands, and finding myſelf in a condition of making immediate uſe of them for its reduction and ſpeedy diſpatch of this buſineſs, a delay that exceeds the time of twelve hours for conſultation is not in my power to grant you.

I am ready to grant a capitulation that can be determined upon in this ſpace of time; if not the individuals that are involved in the diſaſter muſt ſubmit to the diſcretion and mercy of the conquerors. God protect your excellency many years.

Your excellency's moſt attentive humble ſervant,

JUAN MANUEL DE CAXIGALLY.

On board of the ſhip the South Carolina, under ſail before New Providence, one of the Bahama-iſlands, this 6th of May, 1782, at ſix o'clock in the evening.

I do hereby certify the above a true tranſlation from the original.

NICH. M. ALMGREEN.

New Providence, Sworn interpreter.
May 6, 1782.

Bahama, Providence, May 6, 1782.

SIR, *four o'clock, P. M.*

I have diſpatched capt. Hunt to inform your excellency I am attacked by two American frigates, one large one, ſome row galleys, and 40 ſail of tranſports from the Havannah, with troops on board. Three Britiſh frigates would relieve me. I am in haſte.

J. MAXWELL.

To the right hon. lieut. gen. Leſlie, or officer commanding Charles-Town.

The following are the principal articles of capitulation agreed on at Naſſau, in New-Providence, this 8th day of May, 1782, between his excellency Don Juan Manuel de Cagigal, captain-general and commander in chief over the iſland of Cuba, governor of the Havannah, and lieutenant-general of his catholick majeſty's arms; and his excellency John Maxwell, eſq; captain general, governor, and commander in chief of the Bahama iſlands, chancellor, vice-admiral, and ordinary of the ſame, and a lieutenant-colonel in his majeſty's army:

The poſſeſſion of the iſlands of New-Providence, Eleuthera, and Harbour-iſland, as alſo of all other the Bahama-iſlands, together with the artillery, powder, arms, ammunition and ſtores, as alſo all the forts and poſts in the ſame, now in poſſeſſion of the troops of his Britannick majeſty, ſhall be delivered up to the troops of his Catholic majeſty, together with an inventory thereof. The Britiſh garriſon to march out with all the honours of war, arms ſhouldered, drums beating, colours flying, two field pieces, with ſix rounds of ammunition, and the ſame number of rounds to each ſoldier, and then deliver up their arms; and that all officers, military and civil, retain their ſide arms; after which the troops ſhall be embarked as ſpeedily as poſſible on board of veſſels, ſufficiently provided and victualled, at the expence of his Catholic majeſty, to be ſent without any unneceſſary delay to any port in Great Britain or America, in the poſſeſſion of his Britannic majeſty, at the option of governor Maxwell. The troops to be under the immediate direction of their own reſpective officers, and not to ſerve againſt Spain, or her allies, until an equal number of priſoners belonging to Spain, or her allies,

ſhall

ſhall be given by Great Britain in exchange, according to the eſtabliſhed cuſtom of equality.---*Granted*; and the troops are to be ſent to any port in Great-Britain, or to Bermuda, or to any of his Britannic majeſty's iſlands in the Weſt-Indies, except Jamaica; and not to ſerve againſt any of the powers at war againſt Great Britain, until duly exchanged.

Out of reſpect to governor Maxwell's diſpoſition for defence, and his humanity to the unfortunate priſoners, I ſhall not conſider him as a priſoner of war longer than until he is landed with his troops at a Britiſh port.

JUAN M. DE CAGIGAL.

State of the troops of the iſland of New Providence, Fort Naſſau, May 6, 1782.

Regulars.—Commiſſioned officers: 1 governor, 1 lieut. governor, 1 capt. 4 lieutenants.—Staff: 1 chaplain, 1 ſurgeon's mate, 1 commiſſary.—Royal artillery: 1 matroſs, 2 artificers.—Preſent fit for duty: 14 ſerjeants, 3 drummers, 186 rank and file.—Sick: 3 ſerjeants, 1 drummer, 35 rank and file.

Militia.—Commiſſioned officers: 1 major, 3 captains, 5 lieutenants, 3 enſigns.—Preſent fit for duty: 4 ſerjeants, 3 drummers, 125 rank and file. JOHN MAXWELL.

Edward Cooper,
lieut. R. G. battalion.

Return of the enemies force againſt New Providence.

American ſhip Carolina, —— Gillon, maſter, 40 guns, 300 men. N. B. Mounts 28 Swediſh thirty-ſix pounders on one deck.—Brig Queen of France, —— Hun, maſter, 12 guns, 60 men.—Brig Dolphin, —— Forbes, maſter, 8 guns 40 men.—Brig Galvez, 12 guns, 40 men.—Brig Mayflower, 12 guns 40 men.—Schooner (name unknown) —— Callagan, maſter, 10 guns, 40 men.—Schooner Hannah, —— Gardner, maſter, 10 guns, 25 men.—Schooner Polly, —— Cook, maſter, 4 guns, 12 men.—Brig (name unknown) —— Murray, maſter, 12 guns, 40 men.

Spaniſh.---Seventeen armed ſhips and polacres; ten brigs and armed galleys; four ſloops armed; ſix ſchooners armed; with ſeveral other ſmall veſſels, in all 63 ſail; about 2500 troops, regulars and militia; total amount of ſoldiers and ſeamen including Americans as well as Spaniards, about 5000 men.

17. This day the electors of Weſtminſter aſſembled purſuant to advertiſement, when Mr. Fox was called to the chair. The buſineſs for which they met was, to bring forward a petition to parliament early in the next ſeſſion, for a more equal repreſentation of the people, and for ſhortening the duration of parliament, which was unanimouſly agreed to. After which, Mr. Fox addreſſed the aſſembly in a maſterly ſpeech, aſſigning his reaſons for his late reſignation.

Spa, July 24. We have had the happineſs to enjoy here for two days the company of the grand duke and the grand ducheſs of Ruſſia, under the names of count and counteſs du Nord. Theſe illuſtrious travellers arrived on the 22d. The ſame day arrived their royal highneſſes the archducheſs, governante of the low countries, and the duc de Saxe Teſchen, her ſpouſe. On the 22d there was a ridotto, and a very ſplendid ball, which was honoured with the preſence of their royal and imperial highneſſes, as well as with that of their royal highneſſes the duke and ducheſs of Glouceſter, other princes and princeſſes, and a great number of perſons of diſtinction. This day the count and counteſs du Nord departed from hence.

Edinburgh, July 24. This day came on at Holyrood Houſe, in conſequence of his majeſty's proclamation, the election of a peer (as one of the 16 repreſentatives of the Scottiſh nobility) in the room of the late earl of Loudoun: the candidates were, the earls of Buchan and Lauderdale. The latter was choſen by a majority of two, the numbers being 13 to 11.

Conſtantinople, July 24. Our apprehenſions with regard to the plague are fully confirmed by many accidents which have happened in different parts of this reſidence, and in two Greek villages ſituated on the canal. It is probable the diſorder was brought hither from Ceres, nigh Salonica, (where it has broken out with violence) as it was firſt confined to the people who trade in thoſe parts. At preſent it begins to ſpread, and as the weather is very moiſt and unſettled, there is great reaſon to fear it will become general.

Yeſterday evening, about ſix o'clock, a fire broke out at Conſtantinople, in a quarter called Balatta, moſtly inhabited by Jews. As the wind was rather high, the flames ſpread with ſuch rapidity, that, notwithſtanding every effort, in about three hours the whole city was threatened with deſtruction. It is impoſſible to paint the horrid ſcene exhibited by this alarming conflagration, which raged with equal violence for about fifteen hours, and ſpread through one of the moſt inhabited parts of the town. The number of houſes deſtroyed is computed at 10,000, beſides moſques, churches, and other public edifices.

At this inſtant (three o'clock P. M.) the fire, which had appeared nearly extinguiſhed, broke out anew in three diſtinct places, and proceeded in different directions. The wind, which had fallen, is again pretty high, and the greateſt apprehenſions are now entertained for the fate of the city. The grand Signor, Vizir, and all the grandees, have attended theſe ſeventeen hours, to encourage the exertions of the people to check the progreſs of the flames.

Whitehall, July 27. Intelligence has been received at the right hon. Mr. Secretary Townſhend's office, that general Meadows, with the troops under his command, and that part of the fleet lately commanded by commodore Johnſtone which was deſtined for India, arrived at Bombay the 6th of January: that a ceſſation of hoſtilities had taken place between the Eaſt India company's troops and the Marattahs, in conſequence of which the governor and council detached two battalions of ſeapoys to the relief of Tellicherry, which had for a long time been beſieged by Hyder Ally's forces; that, with the aid of this re-inforcement, major Abingdon had made a ſally from the fort, in which he completely routed the enemy, killed about 500 men, and took 1200 priſoners, among whom was their leader, Serdar Cawn, a brother-in-law of Hyder Ally, with 50 pieces of cannon, 60 elephants, many horſes, a large quantity of ammunition and grain, and treaſure to the amount of three lacks of rupees.

30. Late laſt night, juſtices Wright and Addington, with a ſtrong body of conſtables, viſited ſeveral E O tables at the weſt end of the town, and in the neighbourhood of Covent-Garden, which they moſt laudably broke up, and took the perſons found at play, with the maſters of the tables into cuſtody, and lodged them in Covent-Garden round-houſe. About the ſame time a detachment of civil officers viſited a table in St. Martins-

Martins-le-Grand, which they broke to pieces.

31. At laſt Maidſtone aſſizes, Charles Storey, labourer, was capitally convicted of the robbery and murder of Henry Perkins, journeyman paper-maker, late of Chartham in Kent, on May 22, in the pariſh of Thannington, near Canterbury. He was executed on Pennenden Heath, near Maidſtone, on the 26th inſtant, and on the 27th his body was hung in chains on Chartham Downs, near the ſpot on which the murder was committed.

AUGUST.

3. The count de Graſſe landed on Wedneſday laſt on South Sea Common, Portſmouth, and went to the George, where dinner had been ordered for him and his ſuite by Sir Peter Parker, who treated the count in the moſt ſumptuous and liberal manner, until the count had permiſſion to go to London, which was not until Friday morning, when he ſet off from the commiſſioner's houſe, with his ſuite, attended by the admiral, who had previouſly ſent an expreſs to the George at Godalmin, to prepare dinner and beds. They arrived at Mrs. Nugent's, mother of lady Parker, in Queen-ſquare, Weſtminſter, on Saturday, about three o'clock, from whence he walked up by the Park and Charing-Croſs, to the Royal Hotel in Pall-Mall. The count was dreſſed in the naval uniform of France.

7. On Saturday came on at the caſtle at Wincheſter, the trial of Mr. David Tyrie, of Goſport, for holding a treaſonable correſpondence with the French miniſtry. The trial began at twelve o'clock at noon, and laſted till near eight o'clock at night, when he was, upon the cleareſt evidence, convicted of the offence, and received ſentence to be executed at Portſmouth on the 24th inſt. to be drawn upon a hurdle to the place of execution, and to be quartered, as in caſes of high treaſon. A great number of papers were produced in the hand-writing of the priſoner and a woman he lived with, which had been depoſited with a gentlewoman, who delivered them up to government; and a packet was intercepted, which he had delivered to the captain of a ſwift-ſailing veſſel, to carry either to Boulogn or Cherbourg, which ever port he could beſt make, to be delivered to the commandant, to be forwarded with all diſpatch to the miniſter of the marine at Paris. The papers contained accurate accounts of all the navy of Great Britain, both in and out of commiſſion; a copy from the weekly returns to the Navy-office from the ſeveral dock-yards, of the progreſs made in the building and repairing the royal navy: authentic accounts of the deſtination of our fleets and cruiſers; a propoſal to furniſh the French miniſtry, for the ſum of 700l. with our ſignals; a plan for obtaining intelligence from all the boards and offices of government, by bribing a clerk in each office, with the exact ſum requiſite to accompliſh ſuch corruption, and a propoſal to fix ſpies at Portſmouth and Plymouth, to obtain intelligence of the operations of our fleets.

11. About eight o'clock the count de Graſſe ſet out from the Royal Hotel, Pall-mall, in a poſt coach and four, in which alſo were the count his nephew, and his firſt lieutenant: two others of his officers followed him in a poſt-chaiſe. They paſſed through Kent-ſtreet in their way to Dover, in order to embark for France.

Peterſburg, Aug. 12. This day the braſs equeſtrian ſtatue of the em-

peror Peter the Firſt was opened to public view in this city. About five o'clock in the afternoon her imperial majeſty, after having dined at the Hermitage, came in her barge, attended by ſeveral of the firſt nobility, and landed on the New-Quay; from whence, on a platform covered with red baize, ſhe proceeded to the ſenate-houſe, where, from a balcony, handſomely fitted up for her majeſty's reception, ſhe had a full view of the ſtatue, the royal yachts on the river (of which there were ſeveral, all dreſſed in the various colours of different nations), and of the prodigious concourſe of people aſſembled on the occaſion. On her arrival, her majeſty found the ſtatue encloſed with a ſcreen, on which were painted rocks, uncultivated ſpaces, and other emblems of the rude ſtate in which the emperor found his country. Her majeſty had not been long on the balcony, when, on a ſignal given by a rocket, the ſcreen which concealed the ſtatue, on a ſudden, and as it were by magick, fell, and diſcovered one of the moſt exquiſite pieces of workmanſhip that was ever known to any age or country. The ſudden appearance of the ſtately figure, big with majeſtic fire, galloping up a precipice on a furious ſteed, moſt exquiſitely finiſhed, in all the action of contending eagerneſs, together with the firing of cannon from the caſtle, admiralty, and yachts, and a running fire of about 10,000 ſoldiers, produced an effect on the mind not eaſily to be deſcribed. After the firing ceaſed, and the empreſs had contemplated the ſtatue for ſome time, with the greateſt ſeeming ſatisfaction, all the regiments of guards, the regiment of artillery, and three other regiments, which were drawn up on the occaſion, marched round it, lowering their colours as they paſſed by the balcony where the empreſs was placed. After this part of the ceremony was ended, her majeſty was rowed back to the Hermitage in the ſame manner ſhe came. In the evening the city was illuminated, and every place manifeſted joy at the happy remembrance of the father of their country.

14. On the 8th of this month a very artful robbery, rather of the uncommon ſort, was committed in the houſe of Mrs. Forteſcue, a widow lady, at Tottenham-green. Mrs. Forteſcue, and her daughter, were out on a tea-viſit in the neighbourhood. About four o'clock in the afternoon, a gentleman, who called to enquire after the family, not being able to make them hear, and ſuſpecting miſchief, got together ſome neighbouring ſervants, and forced the ſtreet door. Upon going up ſtairs, the two maid-ſervants were diſcovered faſt bound to ſeparate beds, in ſeparate rooms; the one with her hands tied together behind, the other's tied before. Private drawers were found ranſacked; the plate, the money, and particular valuables, with great judgment ſelected; whilſt others, of more ſpecious appearance, had been rejected. Mr. alderman Townſend, who was applied to, preſently came, examined the girls, and, for reaſons that appeared clear to him, choſe to conſider them as accomplices. But nothing could prevail on the lady to entertain that opinion of her ſervants, and they remained with her all night under the ſame roof. However, being examined on the Monday following, one of them confeſſed their concern in the whole tranſaction, gave information where the effects were carried, and of their accomplices, one of whom was mother of one of the girls, and receiver of the ſtolen goods.

Paris,

Paris, Aug. 14. Prince Doria Pamphili, the Pope's nuncio at this court, received a few days ago ſeveral letters from China, addreſſed to him by ſome miſſionaries; according to which the Tartars of the province of Canton have riſen againſt the imperial authority, which had attributed to the province of Pekin certain rights and privileges, which the Tartars only enjoyed ſince the eſtabliſhment of the dynaſty of the Tartar princes on the throne of China, in 1640. Theſe rights and privileges extend to the importation and exportation of divers commodities, and to the cuſtoms which the commerce of China pays, as well on the banks of the royal canal, as upon other canals and rivers. This rebellion, the miſſionaries ſay, may be attended with fatal conſequences to the peaceable reign of the preſent emperor, ſon of the ſage Yong Teheng.

16. About two in the morning the moſt dreadful fall of rain began at Dublin and its neighbourhood, that was ever remembered in that country. It continued for fourteen hours, with a violence that was truly alarming. The diſtreſſes of the inhabitants in different parts of Dublin are beyond deſcription. Ringsend bridge was borne down by the flood.

20. This morning his royal highneſs prince Alfred, the laſt born ſon of their majeſties, died of a conſumption, aged one year and eleven months.

Vienna, Aug. 21. His imperial majeſty has iſſued an ordonnance, enacting that all perſons employed at court, who may be proved to be in debt, ſhall be ſuſpended from their office; and in caſe, during the time of ſuch ſuſpenſion, they ſhould neglect to ſettle matters with their creditors, to loſe their places.

24. David Tyrie was executed this morning for high treaſon at Wincheſter.

Conſtantinople, Aug. 26. On the 22d inſtant, about ten o'clock at night, a fire broke out in the quarter called Gibali, ſituated towards the middle of the harbour, which a high north wind extended to ſuch a degree, as to baffle, for ſome time, the efforts made to ſuppreſs it. This conflagration, the greateſt perhaps that ever happened, continued during ſixty-two hours, without intermiſſion, with ſuch fury, that one of the largeſt palaces, the habitation of the Aga of the Janiſſaries, diſappeared in leſs than ten minutes. The flames proceeded from ſea to ſea, and burned even the interior of the Seven Towers, at the oppoſite extremity of the city. In this direction the fire raged three miles in length, through the richeſt and beſt inhabited ſtreets, on the front ſometimes upwards of a mile broad, and ſometimes leſs, according to the irregular hilly ſituation of the city. In ſome places it extended in different directions, ſo that at one time there appeared no leſs than eleven diſtinct conflagrations, moſt of which ceaſed only at the ſea-ſide, after conſuming the very wharfs. It is impoſſible to eſtimate the loſſes of all kinds occaſioned by this calamity; but it is certain, that numbers of people periſhed in the flames, and that many were driven by them into the ſea, and unfortunately drowned. Previous to theſe ſad diſaſters with which this unfortunate city has been lately viſited, it was ſuppoſed to contain 70,000 houſes, of which it is believed about two-fifths now lie in ruins. It is more eaſy to conceive than deſcribe the ſcene of diſtreſs which a city in this lamentable ſituation muſt exhibit, with, perhaps, 200,000 unprovided inhabitants.

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The Grand Signior, and all the miniſters of the Porte, as uſual, attended on this awful occaſion, and diſtributed money to the people; and an order was publiſhed by the Mufti to ſuſpend the faſt of the Ramazon, that the people might recruit their ſtrength, and be the more able to work. Owing to the direction of the wind, which continued high during the fire, the flames did not approach the quarter of the Porte and Seraglio: but the people of the law have ſuffered prodigiouſly, and, amongſt other public edifices, all the chancellors of the Janiſſaries, upwards of 50 moſques, 300 corn mills, and 200 publick ovens have been deſtroyed.

27. This morning between ſix and ſeven o'clock, were privately interred in Weſtminſter Abbey, the remains of his late Royal Highneſs Prince Alfred. The body was brought from Buckingham-houſe in a coach and ſix, attended by two noblemen, and was followed by the Lord Chamberlain and four other noblemen and another coach and ſix; after which followed the empty coaches of the above Nobility. When the body arrived at the Abbey door, it was taken out and ſupported to the vault by four yeomen, the Lord Chamberlain with his white wand, and the ſix noblemen following. The ceremony was performed by the Dean of Weſtminſter.

Stockholm, Aug. 27. On Sunday morning, the 25th inſtant, the queen of Sweden was ſafely delivered of a prince; which important event was announced here by the diſcharge of 216 pieces of cannon.

30. An expreſs was received at the Admiralty from Lord Howe, with the melancholy tidings of the loſs of the Royal George, of 100 guns. This accident happened about ten o'clock on Thurſday morning, while they were giving her a partial heel. It appears that her lower-deck ports were not laſhed in, and the ſhip thwarting on the tide with a ſquall from the north weſt, filled with water, and ſhe ſunk in the ſpace of about three minutes. She was a very fine ſhip, and was built at Woolwich in 1755. The brave admiral Kempenfelt, major Graham, lieutenant Symonds, and another lieutenant of the ſhip, with two lieutenants of marines, ſeveral midſhipmen, upwards of 400 ſeamen, and 200 women periſhed in her. Admiral Kempenfelt was writing in his cabin when the accident happened.

SEPTEMBER.

1. This day Mrs. Saunders, who kept the mills at Dorking in Surry, was robbed by five men, who ruſhed into her houſe armed with cutlaſſes and piſtols, and with horrid imprecations demanded the keys of her money, which being complied with, they took from her one poſt Bank bill of 50*l.* two notes, one of 30*l.* and the other of 20*l.* a two-guinea piece, four dollars, three gold rings, and about 100*l.* in caſh, beſides other goods. They blindfolded Mrs. Saunders and her ſon.

Edinburgh, Sep. 2. "Yeſterday a meeting was here, of ſeveral noblemen and gentlemen, to conſider of a plan for raiſing a volunteer corps of ten companies, to ſerve without pay, (until they are called out on actual ſervice) on Lord Shelburne's plan. They are to be cloathed in the Highland dreſs, and called the Caledonian band. The meeting agreed unanimouſly to aſſociate immediately, and appointed the following officers, viz.

"The Marquis of Graham, colonel; the earl of Buchan, lieutenant-colonel; major Alexander Donaldſon,

aldſon, late of the 42d regiment, major. Captains, lord M'Donald, (grenadiers) D. Steward, eſq; lord Provoſt of Edinburgh; the honourable Mr. Fraſer, of Lovat; Mr. William Morriſon, writer; Robert Dundaſs, eſq. advocate; Niel Ferguſon, eſq. advocate; Dan. M'Laughlan, eſq. of M'Laughlan; James Grant, eſq. of Corriemonie, and— M'Kenzie, eſq. advocate, (The field officers, and four firſt named captains, have accepted.) Mr. John Wright, engineer; Dr. Gregory Grant, Phyſician; the Rev. Mr. Robinſon, Miniſter of the Erſe chapel here, chaplain.

"The lieutenants and enſigns are afterwards to be choſen by the privates from among themſelves. Beſides this regiment, now about to be aſſociated, Edinburgh and Leith have on foot each, a well diſciplined defenſive band, cloathed and armed at their own expence."

Conſtantinople, Sept. 6. On the evening of Auguſt 26th, the depoſed Grand Vizir was ſent into exile to Demotica, nigh Adrianople: his ſucceſſor, Jejen Mehemmet, has entered into that important office with great applauſe, and bids fair to quell the fermentation and diſcontent of the populace. It now appears that the late conflagrations have actually demoliſhed about two thirds of the city.

11. The Recorder of London received a letter from Mr. Secretary Townſhend, directed to the Old Bailey, ſignifying the King's pleaſure that he ſhould report to him in council upon ſuch caſes as ſhould appear to call for immediate puniſhment, his majeſty, in order to deter perſons from being guilty of acts of cruelty, being determined to grant no pardon or reſpite to any perſons convicted of ſuch offences, on any ſolicitations whatever.

16. This morning Charles Kelley, Francis Meſſenger, Evan Price, Joſeph Caddie, and John Stunnel, the two former of whom were convicted of burglaries, and the three latter of footpad robberies, attended with circumſtances of cruelty, were executed at Tyburn.

18. This day the ſeſſions, which began at the Old Bailey on the 11th, ended, when no leſs than 27 felons were captitally convicted; among whom, were John and Jane Graham, for forging, counterfeiting, and publiſhing promiſſory notes of the Bank of England. Alſo one Henry Berthand, for falſely perſonating Mark Groves, the real owner of 100l. ſtock in the 3 per cent conſols, and transferring the ſaid ſtock, as if he had been the real owner; Charlotte Goodall and John Edmunds, for ſtealing, in the houſe of Mrs. Forteſcue, of Tottenham, money and goods to the amount of 400*l.* and Priſcilla Goodall, mother of Charlotte, for being acceſſary in purſuading her to commit the above robbery; and John Weatherby and John Lafore, for counterfeiting the ſilver coin of this kingdom.

24. In the London Gazette of this date are diſpatches from Rear Adm. Digby, commander in chief of his majeſty's ſhips in North America, containing a liſt of captures, 34 in number, made by his ſquadron from the 1ſt of May to the 11th of Auguſt, the day his diſpatches are dated; and alſo a letter from Capt. Salter, of the Santa Margarita, giving an account of his engagement with a French frigate of 36 guns, and 301 men, whom he met with off Cape Henry in the Cheſapeak, in ſight of eight ſail of large ſhips, who were bearing down with a crowd of ſail. In that ſituation he thought it prudent to ſtand from her, and bear away to the northward. The frigate gave chace, till both loſt ſight of

of the large ships, when the frigate thought proper to tack, and steer to the westward. It was then resolved to tack likewise, and stand after her. In a quarter of an hour she did the same. At five P. M. being within a cable's length of each other, she with her starboard, and the Margarita with her larboard tacks on board, she opened her fire, and gave a broadside, and immediately wore. The Margarita reserved her fire till an opportunity offered to rake her while wearing, which was effected with a well-directed fire from the starboard guns; then gradually closed each other within pistol shot, keeping her on the starboard beam. The action was continued in this manner, warmly on both sides, for an hour and a quarter, when she struck, and proved to be l'Amazone, commanded by the Vicomte de Montguioté, who was killed in the early part of the action. —Capt. Salter sent his lieutenant and one-third of his ship's company to take possession of her, and kept her in tow all night; but in the morning, observing the enemy's whole fleet, consisting of 13 sail, in pursuit, he was obliged to cut and fly. The Santa Margarita had 36 guns and 255 men.

27. At the annual meeting of the Royal College of Physicians, for the purpose of electing officers for the year ensuing, Dr. Pitcairn was re-elected President; Dr. Warren, Dr. Turton, Dr. Reynolds, and Dr. Pepys, were elected censors; Dr. Thomlinson, treasurer; and Dr. Reynolds, register. At the same time the following gentlemen were elected commissioners for licensing madhouses; Dr. Pitcairn, Sir Noah Thomas, Dr. Healde, Dr. Pepys, and Dr. Burges.

OCTOBER.

3. This day a chapter of the most noble order of the Garter was held for investing the most noble Charles Duke of Rutland, with the ensign of that most noble order.

4. William Mayhew was executed, pursuant to his sentence, for assaulting and robbing Eliz. Randal, and most indecently and cruelly using her. He was a most sullen abandoned wretch, and when at the gallows seemed wholly indifferent about his approaching dissolution. He was about 19 years of age.

8. At a court of Aldermen, the committee appointed to examine the merits of a petition from the company of Shipwrights, praying to be allowed their livery, made their report, in which it appeared, that the free shipwrights were an antient company, they having traced an inrollment of an apprentice as far back as the reign of Richard II; and therefore were of opinion that they ought to have livery, with which opinion, the court coincided, and precepts for the future were ordered to be issued accordingly.

10. This day a monument erected in Guildhall, to the memory of the late Earl of Chatham, was opened to public view, and on which is the following inscription:

"In grateful acknowledgment to the supreme disposer of events, who, intending to advance this nation for such time as to his wisdom seemed good, to a high pitch of prosperity and glory, by unanimity at home—by confidence and reputation abroad—by alliance wisely chosen and faithfully observed—by colonies united and protected—by decisive victories by sea and land—by conquests made by arms and generosity in every part of the globe—and by commerce, for the first time, united with and made to flourish by war—was pleased to raise up as a proper instrument in this memorable work,

WILLIAM PITT.

"The mayor, aldermen, and com-

mon

men council, mindful of the benefits which the city of London received in her ample ſhare in the general proſperity, have erected, to the memory of this eminent ſtateſman and powerful orator, this monument in her Guildhall, that her citizens may never meet for the tranſaction of their affairs, without being reminded that the means by which providence raiſes a nation to greatneſs, are the virtues infuſed into great men; and that to withhold from theſe virtues, either of the living or the dead, the tribute of eſteem and veneration, is to deny to themſelves the means of happineſs and honour.

"This diſtinguiſhed perſon, for the ſervice rendered to king George II. and to king George III. was created

EARL OF CHATHAM.

"The Britiſh nation honoured his memory with a public funeral, and a public monument amongſt her illuſtrious men in Weſtminſter abbey."

14. The following malefactors were executed at Tyburn, viz. Henry Berthand, for perſonating Mark Grove, and tranſferring 100*l.* ſtock at the Bank as if he had been the real owner thereof; John Graham, for altering a Bank note of 15*l.* ſo as to make the ſame appear to be a Bank note of 50*l.* William Odom, for robbing Elizabeth Burnell and Martha Crowthe in the Spa-fields; William Jones, alias Filch, for ſtealing a deal box from the Caſtle and Falcon inn, containing a quantity of haberdaſhery goods; Charlotte Goodall and John Edmonds, for ſtealing in the dwelling houſe of Mrs. Forteſcue, at Tottenham, a great quantity of plate, linen, &c. Peter Verrier for a burglary in the dwelling-houſe of Mrs. Pollard, in Great Queen-ſtreet; Thomas Gladenboul, for aſſaulting Robert Chilton on the highway, and robbing him of a gold watch; and John Weatherby and John Layfee, for coining and counterfeiting ſhillings and ſixpences.

15. This day Mrs. Philips, of Eriſmall, near Milton-hall, in Suffolk, was moſt inhumanly murdered by ſome villains, who called her up in the dead of the night under pretence of ſome dogs being among her ſheep, and when they had dragged her about a quarter of a mile from home, knocked her on the head, and then returned and robbed the houſe.

18. A fire broke out in the barn of farmer Child, at Lambourne in Berkſhire, which communicated to other barns and dwelling houſes, and conſumed property to the amount of at leaſt 9000*l.* Seventeen dwelling houſes, fifteen barns full of corn, four ricks of wheat, two malt houſes with upwards of 100 quarters of malt, a brewhouſe, ſtorehouſes well ſtocked with beer, outhouſes, &c. &c. were all deſtroyed before the flames could be extinguiſhed.

19. Francis Gray was executed at Tyburn, for the murder of Mr. Herd.

The ſame day the ſeſſions ended at the Old Bailey, when nine convicts received ſentence of death.

20. This day Mr. Adams, Miniſter Plenipotentiary from the united ſtates of America to the ſtates general, after having concluded a treaty of amity and commerce between the two republics, took his leave of the Preſident of their H. M. and alſo of his ſerene highneſs the Prince Stadtholder, and in a few days after ſet out for France, leaving Mr. Dumas as American Charge d'Affaires.

Whitehall, October 26.

Extracts of letters from the right hon. general Elliott, governor of Gibraltar, dated Gibraltar, September 11 and 12, 1782, and received at the

the office of the right honourable Thomas Townſend, his majeſty's principal ſecretary of ſtate for the home department, October 24.

September 11.

An attempt to try the effect of a heavy fire from our batteries with carcaſſes, hot ſhot, and ſhells, upon the enemy's firſt-eſtabliſhed advanced works and batteries, ſeemed ſo very practicable, that the commanding officer of the artillery was immediately directed to take the lieutenant general's orders for that purpoſe. In conſequence the arrangement was very judiciouſly made, and completely executed by the artillery officers. The firing having commenced on the 8th inſtant, at ſeven o'clock in the morning, by ten o'clock their Mahon battery, conſiſting of ſix pieces of ordnance, and one adjoining of two guns, were ſet on fire, and by five o'clock P. M. were entirely conſumed, with gun-carriages, platforms, and magazines, bomb proof. Part of the communication to the eaſtern parallel, and the trenches and parapet for muſquetry in front of the battery, were alſo deſtroyed. The thirteen gun battery, next the bay, was ſo much damaged, being on fire in ſeveral places, that the enemy were put to the neceſſity of taking down one half of it, which they have now begun to re-eſtabliſh. The ſucceſs not only much exceeded my expectations, but had the happieſt effects in other reſpects, as it provoked the enemy to open their new mortar batteries, and recommence a fire from their forts and lines, for which they ſeemed by no means prepared. The enemy's loſs in our ſight was very conſiderable, as their endeavours to ſtop the progreſs of the flames laid them open to a very ſevere and well-directed fire. Notwithſtanding the great number of the enemy's ſhot and ſhells, we ſuffered no material loſs.

The next morning by day-break the enemy opened their new ſixty-four gun-battery upon us, with all their mortars, and continued to fire without intermiſſion from thence, as well as from their lines, (their whole artillery amounting to about 100 pieces of cannon, and 60 mortars) ſeemingly by way of retaliation, it being the general opinion their preparations were not ſufficiently compleat to begin their powerful attack, which, however formidable in appearance, I will venture to aſſure, that the impreſſion upon our works as yet is ſcarcely perceptible.

On the ſame day the enemy's ſquadron, conſiſting of ſeven ſail of the line Spaniſh, and two French, with a large frigate and xebeque, taking the advantage of a Levant wind, got under ſail from the Orange Grove, and one of them paſſing very ſlowly within random ſhot fired many guns upon the South Baſtion and Ragged Staff, continuing his cannonade until he got beyond Europa. The ſquadron then went to the eaſtward of the rock, and formed in a line, (the admiral leading) came before the batteries of Europa, and under a very ſlow ſail commenced a fire from all their guns, until the laſt ſhip had paſſed. They repeated this manœuvre at two o'clock the following morning, and again in the forenoon of the ſame day. Theſe ſucceſſive cannonades did not any ways damage the works. Some of the leading ſhips came pretty near the point of the firſt attack; but having been frequently ſtruck by our ſhot, they afterwards kept at a greater diſtance. Two of the Spaniſh ſhips went early in that morning to Algeziras, to repair, as we im-

imagine. All the batteries at Europa were manned by the Marine brigade, (encamped there,) with a ſmall proportion of artilleriſts. The guns were extremely well laid and pointed; the whole under the immediate command of brigadier Curtis.

About five in the afternoon of the ſame day ſixteen of the enemy's gun boats came over from Algeziras, formed in a line, and fired upon the garriſon. Our batteries obliged them to retire in leſs than half an hour, not without ſome of them having ſuffered, as there is reaſon to ſuppoſe.

29. A court of common-council was held at Guildhall, at which were preſent the lord-mayor, recorder, and ſeven aldermen.

The lord-mayor acquainted the court, that the reaſon of his calling them together ſo unexpectedly was on account of the indiſpoſition of Robert Peckham, eſq. lord-mayor elect, and of a requiſition from him to be diſcharged from ſerving the ſaid office, which requeſt being read,

A motion was made, that at the requeſt of Robert Peckham, eſq. lately elected lord-mayor of this city for the year enſuing, and in conſideration of the reaſonable excuſes offered in the ſaid requeſt, this court doth diſcharge him from the ſaid election of lord-mayor; the ſame was unanimouſly reſolved in the affirmative, and he was accordingly diſcharged.

30. A little after two o'clock in the morning, a fire broke out in the lower part of the houſe of Mr. Veal, paſtry-cook, oppoſite the Saracen's-head, Snow-hill, and the flames raged with ſuch rapidity, as to produce conſequences the moſt terribly affecting to the feelings of humanity. Seven lives are loſt; thoſe of Mr. and Mrs. Veal, their four children, and ſervant-maid.

The ſame day the ſeſſion for the high court of admiralty was held at Juſtice-hall in the Old-Bailey, before Sir James Marriott, knt. baron Skinner, and judge Perryn, when Joſeph Evans was tried for being on board a French privateer, called the Eſcarmator, under a French commiſſion, and taking two brigs, which the Fly cutter, belonging to his majeſty retook, and the French privateer. Several witneſſes were called, who proved him to be on board, and likewiſe that he was a Britiſh born ſubject. The judge ſummed up the evidence, when the jury withdrew for about a quarter of an hour, and found him guilty.

John Banniſter was next put to the bar, on a charge of piratically taking a brig, called the Sally, Gleder, maſter, under a Dutch commiſſion, called the Vivraton, belonging to Amſterdam, when ſeveral witneſſes were called, who proved the fact to the ſatisfaction of the court, and likewiſe proved him to be a natural born ſubject. The priſoner was then called to make his defence: he ſaid, that he had been taken by a French privateer, and had deſerted, and was ſo much diſtreſſed that at Fluſhing he was obliged to go on board the above privateer, but could not call any evidence to prove the ſame. The judge ſummed up the evidence, and the jury withdrew for half an hour, and found him guilty, but recommended him to mercy. There being no other priſoner for trial, the ſeſſions were ended, when Sir James Marriott pronounced ſentence of death upon them immediately.

31. This day a common-hall was held at Guildhall, for the election of a lord-mayor for the year enſuing, when Nathaniel Newnham, eſq. was declared duly elected.

NO-

NOVEMBER.

Admiralty Office, Nov. 7, 1782.

Captain Henry Duncan, of his majesty's ship the Victory, arrived this morning with dispatches from lord viscount Howe, and also with dispatches from capt. Curtis, of the Brilliant, who commanded the brigade of seamen at Gibraltar, of which the following are extracts:

Extract of the triplicate of a letter from lord viscount Howe, to Mr. Stephens, dated on board the Victory, October 21, 1782, Cape Spartel E. N. E. 40 leagues.

Reserving the more particular account of my proceedings to be delivered on my return to England, I send the Peggy cutter now to acquaint you, for the information of the lords commissioners of the Admiralty, that after much delay by contrary winds and very unfavourable weather, the fleet arrived off of Cape St. Vincent on the 9th inst.

According to the advices previously obtained, I had reason to expect to find the enemy off of Cape St. Mary's: but by authentic intelligence I had then an opportunity to procure, I learnt that the combined fleets, consisting of fifty sail of three and two-decked ships, had taken a station, some time before, in Gibraltar bay.

On the morning of the 11th the fleet entered the Straits, and the van arriving off of Gibraltar bay a short time after the close of day, a very favourable opportunity offered for the store ships to have reached their destined anchorage without molestation from the enemy; but, for want of timely attention to the circumstances of the navigation, pointed out in the instructions communicated by captain Curtis, only four of the thirty-one, which had kept company with the fleet on the passage, effected their purpose.

Very tempestuous weather in the night of the 10th had put two of the enemy's two-decked ships on shore, a third lost her foremast and bowsprit, and a fourth had been driven under the works of the garrison and captured; two more went out of the bay to the eastward. With the rest of their force they put to sea the evening of the 13th to interrupt the introduction of the remaining store ships; and having the wind at W. N. W. they bore down upon the fleet, then off Fangerolle, in order of battle. Upon sight of the fleet (standing to the southward) about nine that night, they appeared to haul to the wind on the larboard tack. In the morning of the 14th, the fleet being to the southward of the enemy six or seven leagues, and the wind changing soon after to the eastward, the opportunity was taken to pass such of the store-ships as were then with the fleet into the bay.

On the night of the 18th, the rest of the store-ships, which had been ordered to a special rendezvous with the Buffalo, on sight of the enemy on the 13th (the Thompson victualler, that had parted company in the mean time, excepted) were likewise anchored in Rosia bay. The troops, embarked in the ships of war, together with a large supply of powder, being landed at the same time, and the wants of the garrison amply provided for in every respect, I proposed taking advantage immediately of the easterly wind, which had prevailed the two or three preceding days, for returning through the Straits to the westward.

At break of day on the 19th, the combined force of the enemy was seen at a little distance to the N. E.

The

The fleet being at that time so nearly between Europa and Ceuta Points, that there was not space to form in order of battle on either tack, I repassed the Straits followed by the enemy.

The wind changing next morning (the 20th) to the northward, the combined fleets (consisting of forty-five or forty-six ships in the line) still retained the advantage of the wind.

The British fleet being formed to leeward to receive them, they were left, uninterruptedly, to take the distance at which they should think fit to engage. They began their cannonade at sun-set on the van and rear, seeming to point their chief attack on the latter, and continued their fire along their whole line, at a considerable distance, and with little effect, until ten at night. It was returned occasionally from different ships of the fleet, as their nearer approach at times afforded more favourable opportunity for making any impression upon them.

The enemy hauling their wind, and the British fleet keeping on all night with the full sail directed before the commencement of their fire, the fleets are now much separated; but as I conceive the knowledge of the relief of Gibraltar may be of much consequence at this time, I take the opportunity, while it is now almost calm, and the ships are refitting the damages they have sustained in their masts and rigging by the enemy's fire, to forward this dispatch without farther delay.

P. S. The Minerva naval transport, with the baggage of the regiments embarked in the ships of war, separated from the fleet in the night of the 13th, and was, I hear, since taken by the enemy.

Extract of a letter from lord viscount Howe to Mr. Stephens, dated on board the Victory, at sea, October 24, 1782.

SIR,

Deeming it essential to his majesty's service, that the debarkation of the troops and stores at Gibraltar should be communicated to the lords commissioners of the Admiralty as soon as possible, I sent the Peggy cutter, the 21st inst. with a general report of my proceedings, in execution of my orders to that period.

A duplicate of that report went in the Buffalo, ordered for England the next day on account of the state of her wounded masts; and I enclose a triplicate of the same by this conveyance, to connect the relation of the different circumstances respecting the employment of the fleet, which have since occurred. Some of the ships having sustained more damage in their masts and yards by the fire of the enemy on the 20th than was first observed, the necessary repairs were not completed until the 22d. But as it was mostly calm in the mean time, no advantage could have been made of an opportunity to follow the enemy, (who, when last seen on the 21st, were standing off to the N. N. W. by the wind on the starboard tack) if the masts had been earlier secured.

A list of the killed and wounded will likewise accompany this dispatch. I have only to express my regret, that the little confidence the enemy shewed in their superiority, by keeping always as near as they could haul to the wind, prevented the full effect of the animated exertions, which I am sure would have been made by every officer and seaman in the fleet under my command, if they could have closed with their opponents: but as I judged such

nearer approach could not then be ſeaſonably attempted, I made no change in the diſpoſition of the ſhips as formed at firſt to receive the enemy.

For ſimilar reaſons I do not dwell more particularly on the merits of the flag officers of the fleet on the ſame occaſion, being certain they would difregard any commendations of their efforts againſt an enemy who declined giving them an opportunity to diſcharge the duty of their ſtations, in repelling a more ſerious attack: but at the ſame time I am reminded of the advantages derived to his Majeſty's ſervice, from the extenſive knowledge of the difficult navigation within the Straits acquired by, and the unremitted aſſiduity of, my firſt captain, Leveſon Gower.

Having had but very little wind from the N. E. chiefly ſince the 21ſt, I cannot much longer, with prudence (under the reduced ſtate of the water and ſtores in many of the ſhips), make the purſuit of the enemy's fleets, which I ſuppoſe are on their return to Cadiz, the firſt object of my attention.

Captain Duncan, of the Victory, taking his paſſage, in the Latona, is charged with this diſpatch; and as captain Curtis, who was ſent off to me for the laſt time on the 19th, with general Elliott's confidential ſentiments, could not be put on ſhore again, in conſequence of the return of the enemy from the eaſtward that morning, I have appointed him to command the Victory, for the time being, until their lordſhips pleaſure is ſignified for his future conduct.

Total of the killed and wounded from the fire of the combined fleets, the 20th of October, 1782.

Killed	—	68
Wounded	—	208
		276

Officers names killed and wounded.

Goliah. Mr. Wheatly, third lieutenant, and Mr. Wooden, maſter, ſlightly wounded.

Ganges. Captain Fielding, wounded in the arm.

Royal William. Mr Willis, ſecond lieutenant, loſt his right thigh, the third lieutenant wounded in leg and arm.

Britannia. Boatſwain wounded, loſt his leg.

Panther. Mr. Robert Sturges, midſhipman, killed.

Courageux. Mr. Auguſtus Hervey, midſhipman, killed.

Berwick. Mr. John Lampen, fourth lieutenant, killed.

Cambridge. Mr. Baxter, midſhipman, killed.

Buffalo. Boatſwain and maſter's mate wounded.

Vengeance. Second lieutenant, Eaſtly, wounded.

HOWE.

Extract of a letter from captain Curtis, of his majeſty's ſhip Brilliant, to Mr. Stephens, ſecretary of the Admiralty, dated Camp at Europa, Gibraltar, September 15, 1782.

Be pleaſed to acquaint my Lords Commiſſioners that the combined fleet of France and Spain, conſiſting of thirty-eight ſail of the line, arrived in this bay on the 12th inſtant; ſix ſail of the line were here before.

At eight o'clock in the morning of the 13th, the ten battering ſhips of the enemy lying at the head of the bay, under the command of Admiral Moreno, began to get under ſail, in order to come againſt the garriſon; every thing was in readineſs for their reception. At ten the Admiral's ſhip was placed about one thouſand yards from the King's Baſtion, and commenced his fire. The others were very ſhortly afterwards poſted to the North and South of him, at ſmall diſtances aſunder, and began their cannonade. They were all fixed

fixed to the ſtations alloted them in a maſterly manner. Our batteries opened as the enemy came before them: the fire was very heavy on both ſides: the red-hot ſhot were ſent with ſuch preciſion from the garriſon, that in the afternoon the ſmoke was ſeen to iſſue from the upper part of the Admiral, and one other, and men were perceived to be uſing fire engines and pouring water into the holes, endeavouring to extinguiſh the fire. Their efforts proved ineffectual: by one o'clock in the morning the two before mentioned were in flames, and ſeveral others actually on fire, though as yet not in ſo great a degree. Confuſion was now plainly obſerved among them, and the numerous rockets thrown up from each of the ſhips, were a clear demonſtration of their great diſtreſs: their ſignals were anſwered from the enemy's fleet, and they immediately began to take away the men, it being impoſſible to remove the ſhips. I thought this a fit opportunity to employ my gun-boats, and I advanced with the whole, (twelve in number, each carrying a twenty-four or eighteen-pounder) and drew them up ſo as to flank the line of the enemy's battering ſhips, while they were annoyed extremely by an exceſſive heavy and well directed fire from the garriſon. The fire from the gun-boats was kept up with great vigour and effect. The boats of the enemy durſt not approach; they abandoned their ſhips, and the men left in them to our mercy, or to the flames. The day-light now appeared, and two feluccas, which had not yet eſcaped, endeavoured to get away; but a ſhot from a gun-boat, killing five men in one of them, they ſubmitted. The ſcene at this time before me was dreadful to a high degree, numbers of men crying from amidſt the flames, ſome upon pieces of wood in the water, others appearing in the ſhips where the fire had as yet made but little progreſs, all expreſſing by ſpeech and geſture the deepeſt diſtreſs, and all imploring aſſiſtance, formed a ſpectacle of horror not eaſily to be deſcribed. Every exertion was made to relieve them; and I have inexpreſſible happineſs in informing my Lords, that the number ſaved amounts to thirteen officers, and 344 men. One officer and twenty-nine wounded, (ſome of them dreadfully) taken from among the ſlain in the holds, are in our hoſpital, and many of them in a fair way. The blowing up of the ſhips around us, as the fire got to the magazines, and the firing of the cannon of others, as the metal became heated by the flames, rendered this a very perilous employment; but we felt it as much a duty to make every effort to relieve our enemies from ſo ſhocking a ſituation, as an hour before we did to aſſiſt in conquering them. The loſs of the enemy muſt been very conſiderable. Great numbers were killed on board, and in boats. Several launches were ſunk. In one of them were four-ſcore men, who were all drowned, except an officer and twelve of them, who were floated under our walls upon the wreck. It was impoſſible that greater exertions could have been made to prevent it, but there is every reaſon to believe that a great many wounded periſhed in the flames. All the battering ſhips were ſet on fire by our hot ſhot, except one, which we afterwards burnt. The Admiral left his flag flying, and it was conſumed with the ſhip.

A large hole was beat in the bottom of my boat, my cockſwain was killed, and two of the crew were wounded by pieces of timber falling on her when one of the battering ſhips

blew up. The ſame cauſe ſunk one of my gun-boats, and damaged another.

Two of the enemy's bomb ketches were brought forward, and continued to throw ſhells into the garriſon during the attack of the battering ſhips.

A conſiderable detachment of ſeamen did duty as artilleriſts upon the batteries, and gave great ſatisfaction.

The officers and men of the brigade of ſeamen under my command, in whatever ſituations they were placed, behaved in a manner highly becoming them.

I have the honor to encloſe herewith a liſt of the battering ſhips. They were of different ſizes from 1400 to 600 tons burthren. Their guns, in all 212, were braſs twenty-ſix pounders, and entirely new.

The enemy had collected, from different ports, between two and three hundred large boats, beſides a vaſt number belonging to this vicinity, to be employed in carrying the troops, or any other ſervices connected with their operations againſt this fortreſs.

The loſs in the brigade of ſeamen on the 13th and 14th, conſidering the nature of the attack, has been very trifling, having had only one killed and five wounded.

State of the Combined Force of the Enemy in the Bay of Gibraltar at the time of the attack of the ten battering ſhips, on the 13th of September, 1782.

Spaniſh ſhips of three decks	2
Of the line - - -	28
French ſhips of three decks	5
Of the line - - -	9
	44
Spaniſh ſhips from 50 to 60 guns	3
Battering ſhips - -	10
Floating battery - -	1
Bomb ketches - -	5

Beſides frigates, xebecks, many ſmaller cruizers, a great number of gun and mortar boats, and a multitude of other boats.

ROGER CURTIS.

A Liſt of the Spaniſh battering ſhips burnt before Gibraltar, on the 14th of September, 1782.

	Gs. in uſe.	Gs. in reſerve.
Paſtora, the Admiral	21	10
Paula, Prima	21	10
Talla Piedra	21	10
El Reſorio	19	10
St. Chriſtoval	18	10
Principe Carlos	11	4
Paula, Secunda	9	4
Saint Juan	9	4
Santa Anna	7	4
Los Dolores	6	4
	142	70
	70	
Total of Gs.	212	

The proportion of men on board them was thirty-ſix for each of the guns in uſe, excluſive of officers and the marines for working the ſhips.

ROGER CURTIS.

Extract of a letter from capt. Curtis, of his Majeſty's ſhip Brilliant, to Mr. Stephens, ſecretary of the Admiralty, dated Camp at Europa, October 16, 1782.

On the evening of the 8th inſtant, it being deemed proper to uſe all means to ſend home an account of the late events at this place, which had hitherto been impoſſible, the Governor purchaſed a ſmall veſſel, and ſhe was ſent off for Leghorn, or any other port in Italy, with our diſpatches.

On the afternoon of the 10th, it blew very freſh from the ſouth-weſt.

The

The enemy made many ſignals along ſhore, and two frigates and a cutter arrived from the weſtward. Towards the following morning the gale increaſed, and guns of diſtreſs were heard from the combined fleets in the Bay. Juſt at the break of day, the Saint Michael, a Spaniſh ſhip mounting 72 guns, was diſcovered very near the garriſon, in a crippled ſtate, and after having two men killed and two wounded from the fire of our batteries, he fell on ſhore near to the South Baſtion. As the day advanced, the fleet of the enemy appeared to have ſuffered conſiderably by the gale. A ſhip of the line and a frigate were on ſhore near the Orange Grove; a French ſhip of the line had loſt her fore-maſt and bow-ſprit. A ſhip of three decks and another of the line were forced from their anchors and ran to the eaſtward; ſeveral others were driven far over towards the garriſon, but withal to the northward. I took poſſeſſion of the Saint Michael as ſoon as poſſible, landed the priſoners, and carried out anchors to prevent her going farther on ſhore. I have no doubt of ſaving her. She is a very fine ſhip, and was commanded by Don Juan Moreno, a Chéf D'Eſcadre, and had on board about 650 men.

At three in the afternoon of the 11th, the ſignals made by the enemy indicated the approach of the Britiſh fleet. The Latona anchored in the Bay ſoon after ſun-ſet. Only four of the convoy fetched into anchorage, the remainder were driven to the back of the rock, to which place the fleet alſo repaired.

Extract of a letter from capt. Curtis to Mr. Stephens, ſecretary of the Admiralty, dated on board the Victory at Sea, October 22, 1782.

The admiral Lord Howe having conducted the remaining ſhips of the convoy into the Bay of Gibraltar on the evening of the 18th, and landed the troops at the ſame time, General Elliott charged me with the final communications his excellency had to make to his Lordſhip, and I embarked on board the Latona frigate, for the purpoſe of repairing to the Victory, and left the bay about midnight. The ſituation of the enemy's fleet the next morning, cut off my return to Gibraltar, and I was put on board this ſhip in the evening, when the fleet brought to, after it had gained the Atlantic.

I have great pleaſure in acquainting my Lords, that the Saint Michael, a Spaniſh man of war of 72 guns, which was driven from her anchors in a gale of wind very early on the morning of the 11th, and captured under the walls of Gibraltar, as mentioned in my letter of the 16th, was got off on the 17th, and has not received the leaſt damage. She is a very fine ſhip, of large dimenſions; and I am ſorry that having loſt her mizen-maſt, and the moſt of her ſtores being taken out to lighten her, it was impoſſible to ſend her home with the fleet.

The enemy threw a prodigious number of ſhells at the Saint Michael, while ſhe was on ſhore, with the intent to deſtroy her; and they annoyed us exceſſively in the getting her off, but without any obſtruction to our work, or doing us any material damage.

11. A court of general officers met at the Horſe-guards, in obedience to a warrant from his Majeſty, to try the hon. lieutenant-general Murray, late governor of Minorca, on ſeveral charges exhibited againſt him by lieutenant-general Sir William Draper, Kt. of the Bath, late deputy-governor or ſecond in command of the ſame iſland.

14. This day the Rev. John Disney, D. D. F. A. S. and chaplain to the lord bishop of Carlisle, resigned his church preferment, consisting of the rectory of Panton and vicarage of Swinderby, both in the county and diocese of Lincoln, not being able (from a disapprobation of certain parts of the liturgy, and particularly those relating to the doctrine of the Trinity) to officiate any longer, according to the rules of the established church.

Whitehall, November 16.

The letters, of which the following are copies and extracts, from the right honourable general Elliot, governor of Gibraltar, were received on Thursday last at the office of the right honourable Thomas Townshend, his Majesty's principal secretary of state for the home department.

(COPY.)

Gibraltar, September 15, 1782.

My Lord,

The enemy having collected his whole force by sea and land; forty-four sail of the line, besides three inferior two-deckers, ten battering ships, five bomb-ketches, several frigates and xebecques, a great number of gun and mortar boats, a large floating battery, many armed vessels, and near three hundred boats, purposely constructed for carrying troops:

Their land batteries mounted with above one hundred pieces of cannon, and an equal number of mortars and howitzers:

An army near forty thousand men:

On the 13th instant, at eight in the morning, all the battering ships, commanded by Don Buenventura Moreno, rear-admiral, were put in motion, and came forward to the several stations previously determined they should take up: the admiral being placed upon the capital of the King's Bastion, the other ships extending three to the southward of the flag, as far as the Church Battery; five to the northward, about the height of the Old Mole; and one a very little to the westward of the admiral; by a quarter before ten, they were anchored in line, at the distance of a thousand to twelve hundred yards: immediately a heavy cannonade began from all the ships, supported by the cannon and mortars in the enemy's lines and approaches: at the same instant our batteries opened with hot and cold shot from the guns; and shells from the howitzers, and mortars. This firing continued, without intermission, on both sides, until noon, when that of the enemy from their ships seemed to slacken, although but little. About two o'clock the admiral's ship was observed to smoke, as if on fire, and a few men busy upon the roof, searching for the cause. Our batteries never discontinued: the enemy's fire from the ships gradually decreased. About seven in the evening they fired from a few guns, and that only at intervals. At midnight the admiral's ship was plainly discovered beginning to burn; an hour after it was completely in flames: eight more of the ships took fire in succession. Signals of distress being now made, the launches, feluccas, and boats of the whole fleet, began to take out the men from on board the burning ships. Many shot were still fired from those in which the flames had yet made no considerable progress; and the fire from the enemy's batteries on shore, did not in the least diminish. Brigadier Curtis, who, with his squadron of gun-boats, lay ready to take advantage of any favourable circumstance,

ſtance, left the New Mole at two o'clock, and about three, formed a line upon the enemy's flank, advancing and firing with great order and expedition; which ſo aſtoniſhed and diſconcerted the enemy, they fled precipitately with all their boats, abandoning the ſhips, in which ſome officers and numbers of their men, including many wounded, were left to periſh. This unavoidably muſt have been their wretched fate, had they not been dragged from amidſt the flames, by the perſonal intrepidity of brigadier Curtis, at the utmoſt hazard of his own life, a life invaluable to his Majeſty's ſervice. For ſome time I felt the utmoſt anguiſh, ſeeing his pinnace cloſe to one of the largeſt ſhips at the inſtant ſhe blew up, and ſpread her wreck to a vaſt extent all round. The black cloud of ſmoke being diſperſed, I was again revived by the ſight of the pinnace, little apprehending that the Brigadier was in the utmoſt danger of ſinking, ſome pieces of timber having fallen into, and pierced the boat (killing the coxſwain, and wounding others of the men), ſcarce any hope left of reaching the ſhore: providentially he was ſaved by ſtopping the hole with the ſeamens jackets, until boats arrived to their relief—One of our gun-boats was ſunk at the ſame moment.

In the courſe of the day, the remaining eight ſhips ſeverally blew up with violent exploſions; one only eſcaped the effect of our fire which it was thought proper to burn, there being no poſſibility of preſerving her.

The admiral's flag remained flying on board his ſhip, till ſhe was totally conſumed.

Your Lordſhip will be pleaſed to inform his Majeſty, that the royal artillery, additional gunners, and marine brigade only could be employed on this ſervice, which they executed with the deliberate coolneſs and preciſion of ſchool practice, but their exertion was infinitely ſuperior. The fire was inceſſant, and the batteries abundantly ſupplied with ammunition; every ſoldier in the garriſon, not on duty, eagerly preſſing to ſhare in the honourable labours of the day. The enemy's daring attempt by ſea was effectually defeated by the conſtant and well ſupported fire from our batteries; but the well-timed, judicious, and ſpirited attack made by brigadier Curtis, rendered this ſucceſs a complete victory.

The enemy's loſs, killed, burnt, drowned, and wounded, muſt have been great indeed.

I encloſe a liſt of the ſhips deſtroyed: and of priſoners taken, all by brigadier Curtis, except one Spaniſh officer, with eleven French ſoldiers, who, out of fourſcore, eſcaped on the wreck of their boat. Two large launches from the fleet were taken, with the officers and men belonging to them. The ſincere gratitude all the priſoners of war expreſſed for their deliverance from the various horrors that ſurrounded them, afforded the higheſt ſatisfaction to humanity.

I am happy to ſay, my Lord, that notwithſtanding the enemy's violent efforts, our loſs has not been great in number; yet ſuch gallant individuals muſt ever be regretted.

Captain Reeves, of the Royal Artillery, was the only officer killed, and is much to be lamented, for his knowledge and conſtant unwearied attention to every duty. Our wounded officers will all do well; and we are hopeful not to loſe many of the ſoldiers.

The Duke de Crillon, a general of the higheſt reputation, having the chief command of the allied forces, Princes of Royal blood of France, dignified characters of Europe, firſt nobility of Spain, and great military officers, being preſent with the beſieging army, an amazing concourſe of ſpectators, that filled the camp, and covered the adjacent hills on this occaſion, induce us to believe, the combined powers had formed the moſt ſanguine expectations of ſucceſs from their battering ſhips, deemed perfect in deſign, completed by dint of prodigious labour, and unlimited profuſion of expence, and, by common report, pronounced invincible.

I am, my Lord, with reſpect,

Your moſt obedient,

And moſt humble ſervant,

G. A. ELIOTT.

To the Earl of Shelburne, &c.

(COPY.)

Gibraltar, Sept. 28, 1782.

My Lord,

The public diſpatches will be delivered by captain Vallotton, my firſt aide-du-camp, who is ſufficiently well informed to anſwer any farther particulars your Lordſhip may wiſh to have minutely explained.

Capt. Vallotton is an active, intelligent, and zealous officer: If his Majeſty is graciouſly pleaſed to beſtow any mark of favour upon him, I am ſure he will never prove undeſerving.

I am, my Lord, with reſpect,

Your moſt obedient,

And moſt humble ſervant,

G. A. ELIOTT.

The Earl of Shelburne, &c.

(EXTRACT.)

Gibraltar, Oct. 2, 1782.

The night of the 30th ult. between ten and twelve, the enemy's mortar boats threw a number of ſhells for the town, encampments, and hoſpital; at the ſame time the land-batteries increaſed the quantity of their fire; but no injury was done to our works, ſtores, or magazines.

Extract of the returns of killed and wounded in the ſeveral corps at Gibraltar, from the 9th of Auguſt to the 17th of October, 1782, *inclusive.*

6 Serjeants, 1 drummer, 58 rank and file, killed.

2 Majors, 2 captains, 2 captain-lieutenants (one ſince dead), 6 lieutenants (one ſince dead), 20 ſerjeants, 2 drummers, 366 rank and file, wounded.

Names of officers wounded.

58th Regiment. lieutenant Whitham.

72d Regiment. major Horsfall.

73d Regiment. captain M'Kenſie, lieutenant Wharton, lieutenant Kennet M'Kenſie.

Artillery. Major Lewis, captain Grove, captain-lieutenant Seward, lieutenant Boag, lieutenant Godfrey.

Wounded and ſince dead.

Artillery. Capt. lieutenant Reeves, Lieutenant Grumly.

(Signed) G. A. ELIOTT.

Extract of a letter from Lord Viſcount Howe, admiral of the blue, &c. to Mr. Stephens, dated on board the Victory, off St. Helen's, the 14*th of November,* 1782.

In addition to the contents of my laſt letter of the 24th, I am to inform you, that as ſoon as the maſts of the ſhips, damaged by the enemy's fire, were properly ſecured, the firſt opportunity was taken (on a light

light breeze from the N. E. ſucceeding the calm which intervened) to ſtand to the northward the 22d at night, under all the ſail poſſible, with requiſite care for keeping the fleet, duly connected, to get up again with the enemy.

The wind continuing in the ſame quarter till the 25th, and more eaſterly the three following days, the ſame preſſed ſail was carried as before; but as the enemy, who had perſiſted to avoid a renewal of the action of the 21ſt, could not (as the wind ſince remained) be forced thereto, except by working in with the Barbary ſhore for an uncertain time, which the ſtate of the ſhips in many reſpects did not admit, I brought the fleet to, on the 28th, to prepare the detachments directed by my inſtructions at that period.

In the ſame Gazette are diſpatches from Lord Pigot at New York, dated Oct. 9. They contain a liſt of prizes, in number 15, with captain Elphingſton's account of the taking the Aigle, ſaid to be the fineſt frigate ever fitted out from France. She had treaſure on board to a very conſiderable amount, and ſome officers of the firſt rank for the French army, who, together with the greateſt part of the treaſure, got ſafe on ſhore. The Aigle was purſued through an unknown channel at the mouth of the Delaware, till ſhe ſtuck faſt, and could not be reached but by ſome ſmall ſhips, which being properly placed obliged her to ſurrender.

21. This day a veſſel with the diving-bell came into Portſmouth harbour, having fiſhed up 16 guns, with cordage, &c. belonging to the Royal George.

22. A court of proprietors was held at the India Houſe, when Sir Henry Fletcher took the chair, and after the minutes of the laſt general court were read, he informed the proprietors, that the directors had finally agreed to reſcind the order for the recall of governor Haſtings; but that, upon acquainting his Majeſty's miniſters with the determination of the court, agreeable to act of parliament, government had expreſſed their diſapprobation of the ſame; and his Majeſty, intending to bring the buſineſs before parliament, had commanded, that no ſuch diſpatches, as were directed by the proprietory court, ſhould be ſent to the general governor of Bengal. This intimation occaſioned much converſation. Governor Johnſtone ſaid, he had long ſince ſeen a ſettled deſign ſomewhere to nibble away the charter rights of the company. He therefore propoſed, that a committee of nine proprietors ſhould be appointed to watch over the buſineſs of the Eaſt India Company, as it may be agitated in parliament, to ſhew government that they would by no means permit encroachments on their rights without a legal reſiſtance. Nine proprietors were accordingly appointed to meet for that purpoſe.

23. A committe of ſix aldermen and twelve commoners, deputed by the court of aldermen and common council, to entertain Lord Rodney, waited on his lordſhip at his houſe in Hertford-ſtreet, when Sir Watkin Lewes, as chairman, preſented him the thanks of the court. His lordſhip afterwards dined with the committee at the London tavern. In the evening, many houſes in the city were illuminated.

30. This being St. Andrew's day, the Royal Society held their anniverſary meeting in Somerſet Place, in the Strand, when the following gentlemen were elected for the Council.

Of the old Council.	Of the new Council.
Sir Joſ. Banks, Bt.	Iſaac Hawk. Browne,
Peter Holford, Eſq.	Eſq.
Edward Hooper, Eſq.	Sir Wm. Chambers,

N. Maſkelyne, D.D.	Earl of Dartmouth.
P. Hen. Maty, M.A.	Rt. Hon. W. Ellis.
Lord Mulgrave.	John Frere, Eſq.
Joſeph Planta, Eſq.	Mr. W. Harriſon.
Sir W. Muſgrave, Bt.	Joſeph Hoare, D. D.
R. Saunders, M. D.	Cyril Jackſon, D. D.
W. Watſon, M. D.	Philip Stephens, Eſq.
Sam. Wegg, Eſq.	Sir Noah Thomas.

And the officers were, Sir Joſeph Banks, Bt. Preſident; Paul Henry Maty, M. A. ſecretary; Joſeph Planta, Eſq. ſecretary; Sam. Wegg, Eſq. treaſurer.

Whitehall, Nov. 30, 1782.

Copy of a letter from Archibald Campbell, Eſq. governor of Jamaica, dated Oct. 10, 1782; *received at the office of the right honourable Thomas Townſhend, his Majeſty's principal ſecretary of ſtate for the home department, Nov.* 29.

Jamaica, October 29, 1782.

My Lord,

I have the pleaſure to inform your lordſhip, that the plan which I projected for defeating the Spaniards in their attack upon the Britiſh ſettlers and Muſquito Indians at Cape Gracias a Dios, has ſucceeded equal to my moſt ſanguine expectations.

Captain John Campbell, of the Wanks River diſtrict, who had collected 150 able negroes for the purpoſe of harraſſing the Spaniſh garriſon ſtationed at Black River, continued with unremitting aſſiduity, from the 14th of July, to annoy the enemy, and narrow the limits of their poſts to the eaſtward, till by a judicious movement of his whole corps to the weſtward, he paſſed their centinels unnoticed, got cloſe on the night of the 23d of Auguſt, to Cape River Fort (lately Fort Dalling) and, by a very gallant aſſault, carried it with the loſs of two men only. Sixty-five Spaniards were killed on the ſpot, nine taken priſoners moſtly wounded, and about forty eſcaped by flight. Three field pieces braſs, three field pieces iron, one cohorn, and one garriſon piece, with a quantity of ammunition, and one ſtand of colours, fell into the hands of the aſſailants who deſtroyed the works, and retreated to their former ground.

This ſucceſs, together with repeated ſkirmiſhes, in which the enemy met with conſiderable loſs, contributed to render the Spaniards at Black River an eaſy conqueſt to the force then in motion againſt them.

On the 28th of Auguſt the little army formed at Cape Gracias a Dios, conſiſting of eighty American rangers under major Campbell, five hundred ſhoremen, free people of colour, and negroes, and ſix hundred Muſquito Indians, under their reſpective chiefs, who had elected for their leader lieutenant-colonel Deſpard (captain in the 79th regiment) reached the mouth of Plaintain River, about ſeven leagues to the eaſt-ward of the enemy.

On the 30th the troops arrived at Black River Bluff, oppoſite to the eaſtern Block-houſe, when the enemy diſpatched a flag to enquire who they were and what they wanted. A ſummons to ſurrender the Spaniſh poſts, and artillery, to his Britannick Majeſty's forces, was ſent to the Commandant in reply; and, after ſome altercation, the garriſon, conſiſting, of twenty-ſeven officers, and ſeven hundred and fifteen rank and file, chiefly of the regiment of Guatimala, thought fit to lay down their arms as priſoners of war, ſtipulating to be conducted to Omoa in the moſt convenient and expeditious manner. With this detachment were taken 1 ſtand of colours, 2 twelve pounders, 7 ſix pounders, 11 four pounders iron, 4 four pounders braſs, 1 eight-inch howitzer, and 1000 firelocks, which, together

together with the artillery in Fort Dalling, amount to 31 pieces of cannon, 1 cohorn, 1 howitzer, 1000 firelocks, a quantity of ammunition, and 2 ſtand of colours.

I have likewiſe the pleaſure to inform your lordſhip, that the day after the Spaniſh troops laid down their arms at Black River, a polacre of 16 guns, loaded with proviſions for the Spaniſh garriſon at that poſt, was taken by one of captain Parry's ſquadron. This polacre had alſo ſome money on board, and 100 ſoldiers as a reinforcement for Truxillo.

The buſineſs of the ſhore being over, I have directed Odell's Rangers to return immediately to Jamaica; and I can aſſure your lordſhip, that the Britiſh ſettlers, and friendly Indians on that coaſt, have for this ſeaſon, a fair proſpect of enjoying their plantations in tranquillity; while the Spaniards, who have been at an immenſe expence and fatigue, have loſt the fruits of their coſtly and laborious exertions.

Captain Thomas of his Majeſty's ſhip Reſource, who can inform your lordſhip of the ſtate of matters in this quarter, will have the honour of preſenting to you the Spaniſh colours taken at Cape River Fort, and the works of Black River, which I beg may be laid at his Majeſty's feet.

I have the honour to be,
with great reſpect,
My Lord, &c.
ARCH CAMPBELL.

To the Earl of Shelburne.
&c. &c. &c.

Admiralty-Office, Nov. 30, 1782.

Lieutenant Alexander Allen (commander of his Majeſty's armed tranſport the Royal Charlotte) arrived at this office yeſterday with diſpatches from Vice-Admiral Sir Edward Hughes, Knight of the Bath, and commander in chief of his Majeſty's ſhips in the Eaſt-Indies, of which the following are extracts.

Extract of a letter from Sir Edward Hughes to Mr. Stephens, dated on board his Majeſty's ſhip Superbe, at ſea, April 4, 1782.

I ſailed on the 31ſt of January from Trincamale for Madras Road, in order to get a ſupply of proviſions and ſtores, of both which the ſhips were then in want.

On the 8th of February I anchored in Madras Road, and the ſame day received advice from Lord Macartney, the governor of that place, that a French ſquadron, conſiſting of thirty ſail of ſhips and veſſels, was at anchor about twenty leagues to the northward of that port. In the afternoon of the 9th, captain Aims, in his Majeſty's ſhip Monmouth, with the Hero, Iſis, and the armed tranſport Manilla, joined me in the Road. I continued to uſe all poſſible diligence in getting the neceſſary ſtores and proviſions on board the ſeveral ſhips until the 15th of February, when the enemy's ſquadron, conſiſting of 12 ſail of line of battle ſhips, 6 frigates, 8 large tranſports, and 6 captured veſſels, came in ſight to the northward, ſtanding for Madras Road, and about noon, the ſame day, anchored about four miles without the Road.—In the mean time I placed his Majeſty's ſhips in the moſt advantageous manner to defend themſelves, and the other ſhips in the Road with ſprings on their cables, that they might bring their broadſides to bear more effectually on the enemy, ſhould they attempt an attack.

At four in the afternoon the enemy weighed and ſtood to the ſouthward, when I immediately made the ſignal to weigh, and ſtood after them, having

having received on board a detachment of 300 officers and men of his Majeſty's 98th regiment, who were diſtributed to the ſhips of the ſquadron that were the worſt manned. I ſtood with the ſquadron, as per margin *, to the ſouthward all that night under an eaſy ſail, and in the morning at day-light, found the enemy's ſhips had ſeparated in the night; their twelve line of battle ſhips, and a frigate bearing eaſt of me, diſtant about four leagues, and ſixteen ſail of their frigates and tranſports bearing ſouth-weſt diſtent about three leagues, and ſteering a direct courſe for Pondicherry; on which I inſtantly made the ſignal for a general chace to the ſouth-weſt in order, if poſſible, to come up with and take their tranſports, well knowing the enemy's line of battle ſhips would follow to protect them all in their power. In the courſe of the chace our copper-bottomed ſhips came up with and captured ſix ſail of ſhips and veſſels; five of which were Engliſh taken by the enemy, when to the northward of Madras, out of which I ordered the Frenchmen to be taken, and the veſſels to proceed with their own crews to Negapatam; the ſixth was the Lauriſton, a tranſport, having on board many French officers, 300 men of the regiment of Lauſanne, and laden with guns, ſhot, powder, and other military ſtores: this ſhip, ſo valuable to us, and of ſo much conſequence to the enemy, was taken by captain Lumley, of his Majeſty's

So ſoon as the enemy's ſquadron diſcovered my intention to chaſe their tranſports, they put before the ſhip Iſis.

* Superbe, Exeter, Monarca, Hero, Worceſter, Burford, Monmouth, Eagle, Iſis, Seahorſe, Combuſtion.

wind, and made all the ſail they could after me; and, by three o'clock in the afternoon four of their beſt ſailing line of battle ſhips were got within two or three miles of our ſternmoſt ſhips, and the ſhips in chace were very much ſpread by the enemy's ſhips they were chacing, ſteering different courſes, ſome to the S. E. others to the ſouth, and ſeveral to the S. W. I therefore judged it neceſſary to make the ſignal for the chacing ſhips to join me, which they all did about ſeven o'clock in the evening, and I continued ſtanding to the S. E. under an eaſy ſail all that night, the enemy's ſquadron in ſight, and making many ſignals.

At day-light in the morning of the 17th, the body of the enemy's ſquadron bore N. by E. of ours, diſtant about three leagues, the weather very hazy, with light winds and frequent ſqualls of ſhort duration, from the N. N. E. the enemy crouding all the ſail they could towards our ſquadron.

At ſix in the morning I made the ſignal for our ſquadron to form the line of battle a-head; at 25 minutes paſt eight, our line a-head being formed with great difficulty, from the want of wind and frequent intervals of calms, I made the ſignal for the leading ſhip to make the ſame ſail as the Admiral, and made ſail for me in the line a-head, intending to weather the enemy, that I might engage them cloſely. At ten the enemy's ſquadron having the advantage of the ſqualls from the N. N. E. (which always reached them firſt, and in conſequence continued longeſt with them) neared us very faſt, and I made the ſignal for our line to alter the courſe two points too leeward, the enemy then ſteering down on the rear of our line, in an irregular double line a breaſt,

At

At half paſt noon I made the ſignal for our ſquadron to form the line of battle a-breaſt, in order to draw the rear of our line cloſer to the center, and prevent the enemy from breaking in on it, and attacking it when ſeparated. At three in the afternoon, the enemy ſtill puſhing on to our rear in a double line a-breaſt, I again altered my courſe in the line, in order to draw our rear ſhips ſtill cloſer to the center; and, at 40 minutes after three, finding it impoſſible to avoid the enemy's attack, under all the diſadvantages of little or no wind to work our ſhips, and of being to leeward of them, I made the ſignal for our ſquadron to form at once into the line of battle a-head. At four the Exeter (which was the ſternmoſt ſhip in our rear when formed in line of battle a-head on the larboard tack) not being quite cloſed to her ſecond a-head, three of the enemy's ſhips in the firſt line bore right down upon her, whilſt four more of their ſecond line, headed by the Hero, in which ſhip monſ. Suffrein had his flag, hauled along the outſide of the firſt line towards our center. At five minutes paſt four the enemy's three ſhips began their fire on the Exeter, which was returned by her and her ſecond a-head. At ten minutes paſt four I made the ſignal for battle, and at twelve minutes paſt, the action became general from our rear to the center, the commanding ſhip of the enemy, with the others of their ſecond line, leading down to our center, yet never at any time advancing farther than oppoſite to the Superbe, our center ſhip, with little or no wind, and ſome heavy rain during the engagement.

Under theſe circumſtances the enemy brought eight of their beſt ſhips to the attack of five of ours, as the van of our line, conſiſting of the Monmouth, Eagle, Burford, and Worceſter, could not be brought into action without tacking on the enemy; and although the ſignal for that purpoſe was at the maſt-head ready for hoiſting, there was neither wind ſufficient to enable them to tack, nor for the five ſhips of our center and rear, then engaged with the enemy, hard preſſed, and much diſabled in their maſts, yards, ſails, and rigging, to follow them without an almoſt certainty of ſeparating our van from our rear.

At ſix in the afternoon, a ſquall of wind from the S. E. took our ſhips and paid them round head on the enemy to the north-eaſtward, when the engagement was renewed by our five ſhips, with great ſpirit and alacrity, from our ſtarboard guns; and at twenty-five minutes paſt ſix, juſt before dark, the enemy's ſhips engaged with ours, having viſibly ſuffered ſeverely, the whole of them hauled their wind and ſtood to their N. E.

At this time the Superbe had loſt her main-yard, ſhot into two pieces in the ſlings, had five feet water in her hold, and continued for ſome time to gain on all her pumps, until ſeveral of the largeſt ſhot-holes under water were plugged up, and neither brace nor bowline left entire; and the Exeter, almoſt reduced to the ſtate of a wreck, had made a ſignal of diſtreſs. The other three ſhips in our rear, the Monarca, Iſis, and Hero, had ſuffered leſs, as the enemy's fire appeared plainly to be directed principally againſt the Superbe and Exeter.

It is with particular pleaſure I have to acquaint their lordſhips that the officers and men of the five ſhips, engaged againſt ſo ſuperior a force of the enemy, behaved through the whole

whole action with the greateſt ſteadineſs and bravery.

After the action I ſtood to the ſouthward under little ſail all night; and in the morning, at day-light, found the Superbe's mainmaſt, foremaſt, and bowſprit ſo much wounded, as to render it exceeding dangerous to carry ſail on them; the Exeter's maſts were alſo much damaged, and the ſhot-holes, in all the ſhips that had been engaged, ſo far under water, as to render it impoſſible to ſtop them, but by giving the ſhips deep heels in ſmooth water; all which, and the wind continuing to blow from the northward, determined me to proceed to Trincamale, as the only proper place to refit the diſabled ſhips, and I accordingly arrived there on the 24th; and having done, with the utmoſt expedition, what repairs were abſolutely neceſſary to put the diſabled ſhips into a condition for ſervice, I ſailed from that place with the ſquadron on the 4th of laſt month. On the 12th I arrived at Madras with the ſquadron, having ſeen nothing of the enemy's ſquadron on my paſſage from Trincamale to that place. The accompanying incloſure contains an exact liſt of their ſquadron, and the number of troops embarked on it at the Mauritius. The ſquadron was commanded by M. D'Orve when it left the iſlands; but he dying a few days after its arrival on this coaſt, the command devolved on monſ. Suffrein. On their paſſage from the iſlands to this coaſt they fell in with his majeſty's ſhip the Hannibal, captain Chriſtie, off the weſt coaſt of Sumatra, and took her: this ſhip raiſed the number of their line of battle ſhips to twelve, againſt nine under my command; had ſhe joined me, our diſparity both in number and force would not have been ſo great.

I am much concerned to inform their lordſhips, that his majeſty's ſloop the Chaſer, commanded by captain Parr, was captured by the enemy's frigate the Bellona, in her way to Madras Road, from a cruize on the northern part of this coaſt.

April 4, 1782.

A liſt of the names, force, and commanders of the French ſquadron now on the Coromandel coaſt, and of the land forces embarked on them and tranſports at the Mauritius, the 7th of December laſt, and now landed to join Hyder Ally.

Ships of the line.	Guns.	Commanders.	Men.
L'Hero	74	M. Du Suffrein, Chef D'Eſcarde,	625
L'Orient	74	Capt. Du Pallaire	625
L'Annibal	74	Tromelin	625
Le Brilliant	64	St. Felix	516
L'Ajax	64	Bouvet	516
La Severe	64	Sultier	516
Le Sphynx	64	Duchaleau	516
L' Arteſien	64	L'Alandrois	516
Le Vengeur	64	Forbin	516
La Flamand	50	DeQueberville	430
Eng. Hanibal	50		
Frigates.			
LaPurvoyeuſe	40	Capt. Du Galle	400
La Fine	40	Perier de Salvert	400
La Bellona	36	Bovard 1ſt Officer	350
La Subtile	22	De Reaulieu	240
La Silphide	18		200
La Dilligente	8		80

Flutes and Tranſports.

Lauriſton, Bon Amis, Maurepas, Briſon, Deux Amis, Fille Unique, St. Anne, Duc de Tuſcany.

Land Forces.

Regiment D'Auſtraſie	659	Men
De L'Iſle de France	800	
De Legion du Lauſane	455	
Volontiers de Bourbon	139	
De Regiment D'Artillerie	200	
Caffres of the Iſlands	1157	
Sepoys	47	
	3457	

Abſtract

Abſtract of the killed and wounded on board his majeſty's ſhips.

Ships.	Killed.	Wounded.	Total.
Superbe,	11	25	36
Exeter,	10	45	55
Monarca,	1	5	6
Hero,	9	17	26
Iſis,	1	3	4
	32	95	127

Among whom were the undermentioned officers, viz.

Superbe. Capt. Steevens, wounded, (ſince dead), lieuts. Hughes and Newcombe, wounded.

Exeter. Captain Reynolds, killed; lieut. Charles Jones, wounded.

Extract of a letter from Sir Edward Hughes to Mr. Stephens, dated on board his Majeſty's ſhip Superbe in Trincamale Bay, May 10, 1782.

I had the pleaſure to addreſs you by letter on the 4th of laſt month, and have now that of communicating to you, for their Lordſhips farther information, an account of the tranſactions of his majeſty's ſquadron as per margin *, and of the enemy's, to this time.

In my laſt I mentioned the junction of his majeſty's ſhips Sultan and Magnanime with the ſquadron on the 30th of March; both ſhips were then very ſickly, and much reduced by the ſcurvy; but as I had on board the ſquadron a reinforcement of troops for this garriſon, and a quantity of military ſtores, I judged it moſt for the public ſervice, eſpecially as I knew the enemy's ſquadron was to the ſouthward, not to return to Madras to land the ſick and ſcorbutic of theſe two ſhips, but to proceed directly for Trincamalé, and there to land the reinforcement and military ſtores, as well as the ſick of the Sultan and Magnanime, without either ſeeking or ſhunning the enemy.

In purſuance of this reſolution I ſtood with the ſquadron to the ſouthward, and on the 6th of April fell in with a French ſhip, laſt from Mauritius, having on board diſpatches from France for their commanders in chief by ſea and land: this ſhip was chaſed on ſhore and burnt near Tranquebar, the officers and men eſcaping with the diſpatches.

On the 8th, about noon, I came in ſight of the enemy's ſquadron, conſiſting of 18 ſail, in the N. E. quarter, and continued my courſe for this place. On the 9th, 10th, and 11th, the enemy ſtill in ſight. On the 11th, having made the coaſt of Ceylon, about 15 leagues to windward of Trincamale, I bore away for that place. On the 12th, at day-light, the poſition of the enemy's ſquadron being altered by my bearing away, ſo as to give them the wind of ours, I diſcovered them crouding all the ſail they could ſet after us; and their copper-bottomed ſhips coming faſt up with the ſhips in our rear, I therefore determined to engage them.

At nine in the forenoon I made the ſignal for the ſhips in our ſquadron to form the line of battle ahead on the ſtarboard tack, at two cables length diſtance from each other, the enemy then bearing N. by E. diſtant about ſix miles, and the wind at N. by E. they continued manœuvring their ſhips, and changing their poſitions in their line,

* Superbe, Sultan, Hero, Monarca, Burford, Exeter, Magnanime, Monmouth, Worceſter, Eagle, Iſis, Seahorſe, Combuſtion fireſhip.

line, till fifteen minutes paſt noon, when they bore away to engage us; five ſail of their van ſtretching along to engage the ſhips of our van, and the other ſeven ſail ſteering directly on our center ſhips, the Superbe, the Monmouth her ſecond a-head, and the Monarca her ſecond a-ſtern. At half paſt one the engagement began in the van of both ſquadrons; three minutes after I made the ſignal for battle. The French admiral in the Hero, and his ſecond a-ſtern the L'Orient, bore down on the Superbe within piſtol ſhot. The Hero continued her poſition, giving and receiving a ſevere fire for nine minutes, and then ſtood on, greatly damaged, to attack the Monmouth, at that time engaged with another of the enemy's ſhips, making room for the ſhips in his rear to come up to the attack of our center, where the engagement was hotteſt. At three the Monmouth had her mizen-maſt ſhot away, and, in a few minutes after, her main-maſt, and bore out of the line to leeward. At forty minutes paſt three the wind unexpectedly continuing far northerly without any ſea breeze, and being careful not to entangle our ſhips with the ſhore, I made the ſignal for the ſquadron to wear, and haul their wind in a line of battle a-head on the larboard tack, ſtill engaging the enemy. At forty minutes paſt five, being in fifteen fathom water, and apprehenſive leſt the Monmouth might, in her diſabled ſtate, drift too near the ſhore, I made the ſignal for the ſquadron to prepare to anchor. At forty minutes paſt ſix the enemy's ſquadron drew off in great diſorder to the eaſtward, and the engagement ceaſed, their admiral having ſhifted his flag from the Hero to the French Hannibal, on account of the Hero's diſabled ſtate; and ſoon after I anchored with the ſquadron, the Superbe cloſe to the Monmouth, in order to repair our damages, which, on board the Superbe and Monmouth, were very great in the hulls, maſts, ſails, and rigging; and almoſt all the ſhips had ſuffered conſiderably in their maſts, ſails, and rigging.

Much about this time the French frigate La Fine, being ordered, I ſuppoſe, to tow and aſſiſt their diſabled ſhip the Hero, fell on board his majeſty's ſhip Iſis, and had actually ſtruck his colours to her; but taking advantage of the darkneſs of the night, and the ſtate the Iſis was in, juſt come out of action, in which ſhe had a number of men killed and wounded, and otherwiſe ill manned, the frigate got clear of the Iſis, and eſcaped.

An account of the number of officers and men killed and wounded on board the ſeveral ſhips of the ſquadron, is herewith encloſed.

On the morning of the 13th, at day-light, I found the enemy's ſquadron had anchored about five miles without us, in much diſorder and apparent diſtreſs, but they had loſt no lower maſts: both ſquadrons were buſily employed in repairing damages, drawing into order for defence, the enemy ſeeming to apprehend an attack from us, and I myſelf uncertain if they would not renew the engagement, in order to get hold of the Monmouth. In theſe ſituations both ſquadrons continued at anchor till the 19th in the morning, when the enemy's got under ſail with the land-wind, and ſtood out to ſea cloſe-hauled, and at noon tacked with the ſea breeze, and ſtood in for the body of our ſquadron, as if with intent to attack; but after coming within two miles of us, finding us prepared to receive them, they

they again tacked and ſtood to the eaſtward by the wind; and I have not ſince been able to learn certainly where they are gone. Having refitted the Monmouth in the beſt manner our ſituation would admit, with jury, main, and mizen maſts, I ſailed with his majeſty's ſquadron for this place on the 22d, and anchored here on the evening of the ſame day, immediately landing the reinforcement and military ſtores deſtined for the garriſon, and the ſick and wounded.

In this ſituation of the ſquadron and its men, I thought it beſt for his majeſty's ſervice to remain at anchor here, and to ſet about the repairs of the hulls, maſts, and rigging of the ſeveral ſhips, whilſt the ſick enjoy every benefit of freſh meat, vegetables, and wine, on ſhore, for their recovery.

I have the ſatisfaction to inform their lordſhips, that I ſhall be able to remaſt the Monmouth by the end of this month, from the ſpare ſtores on board the ſeveral ſhips; and that the damage they ſuſtained in the laſt engagement will be every way made good about that time.

Abſtract of the killed and wounded on board his majeſty's ſhips, viz.

Ships.	Killed.	Wounded.	Total.
Superbe,	59	96	155
Exeter,	4	40	44
Magnanime,	—	7	7
Monmouth,	45	102	147
Monarca,	7	28	35
Worceſter,	8	26	34
Burford,	6	36	42
Eagle,	—	22	22
Hero,	2	13	15
Sultan,	—	9	9
Iſis,	6	51	57
	137	430	567

Among the killed were the following officers, viz.

Superbe—Two lieutenants, maſter.
Monmouth—One lieutenant of marines.
Worceſter—One lieutenant.
Burford—One lieutenant of marines.
Names not mentioned.

Extract of a letter from Sir Edward Hughes to Mr. Stephens, dated on board his majeſty's ſhip Superbe, in Trincamale Bay, June 2, 1782.

I have the particular pleaſure to adviſe you for their lordſhips information, that his majeſty's armed tranſport the Royal Charlotte joined me in this bay to-day, and brings advice of the ſafe arrival of his majeſty's armed tranſports the San Carlos, Reſolution, and Raikes, with the Porpoiſe ſtoreſhip, at Madras. On their paſſage round Ceylon, they were chaſed by four ſhips of the enemy's ſquadron. Eighteen of which they ſaw at anchor off Batacalo, a Dutch port on this iſland, about twenty leagues to the ſouthward of Trincamale, but loſt them in the night, from which and other intelligence I have good reaſon to believe, that the whole of the French ſquadron under monſ. Souffrein is now there.

Extract of a letter from Sir Edward Hughes to Mr. Stephens, dated on board his majeſty's ſhip Superbe, in Trincamale Bay, June 15, 1782.

On the 9th of this month I received intelligence, that the French ſquadron was about to ſail from Baticalo a few days before, and on the 10th I ſent an officer in an armed veſſel, with orders to proceed along the coaſt to the ſouthward with caution, and to reconnoitre that port, which he did; and returned to me on the 11th, with certain intelligence that

the French ſquadron had ſailed thence.

As I have reaſon to believe the enemy's ſquadron is gone to the coaſt of Coromandel, in order to procure what ſupplies they can of naval ſtores from the Danes at Tranquebar (whoſe outward ſhips generally arrive about this time with large quantities of naval ſtores), and to co-operate with Hyder Ally and their own land forces, it is my intention to embark in a day or two all ſuch men, now at the hoſpital here, as can be any way ſerviceable on board; and I hope to be in condition to ſail from hence by the 20th, in purſuit of them.

DECEMBER.

Utrecht, Dec. 2. All the officers of the Scotch brigade are, on pain of being broke, not only to take the oath of the council of ſtate, and that to the province and city to which they are ſent, but one of the following tenor, viz.

"I declare and ſwear, that during all the time of that ſervice which binds me to the united provinces, and ſo long as I ſhall not have obtained my legal diſmiſſion, that I will not acknowlege any one out of theſe provinces as my ſovereign, and I do not think myſelf obliged to reſpect or obſerve, nor will I reſpect or obſerve, any order or command, but thoſe of their high mightineſſes, as is more amply explained in the general oath I have taken, promiſing and ſwearing, as I do by theſe preſents, to be faithful and attached to their ſaid high mightineſſes, to the lords of the province in whoſe employ I am, and to the magiſtrates of the cities or towns where I may be garriſoned, and to ſerve honeſtly and truly under the orders of the captain-general of theſe provinces, and their ſaid high mightineſſes the ſtates general, and particularly to reſpect and obey his highneſs, and the other chiefs or commanders which are or may be ſet over me."

The above three regiments, when they are new clothed, are to wear the uniform of theſe provinces; in the mean time they are not to carry the arms of the enemy any longer in their colours, nor to beat their march; they are to receive the word of command in Dutch, and their officers are to wear orange-coloured ſaſhes, and are to carry the ſame ſort of ſpontoons as the officers of other Dutch regiments.

Peterſburgh, Dec. 3. Their imperial highneſſes the great duke and ducheſs arrived at the palace of this capital on Sunday evening, at ſix o'clock, in perfect health, after an abſence of upwards of a twelvemonth.

7. This day the ſeſſions ended at the Old Bailey, when twenty capital convicts received ſentence of death.

10. This being the anniverſary of the inſtitution of the Royal Academy, a general aſſembly of academicians was held for the choice of officers; when the following gentlemen were elected:

Sir Joſhua Reynolds, Preſident.

Council.	Visitors.
Edward Burch	James Barry
Ch. Catton	J. B. Cipriani
P. J. Loutherbourg	R. J. Loutherburg
Joſ. Nollekens	Jerem. Meyer
James Barry	Rev. Mr. Peters
George Dance	A. Carlini
Jerem. Meyer	Rich. Coſway
Jn. Richards, Eſqrs.	Joſ. Nollekens
	Joſ. Wilton, Eſqrs.

19. At a general meeting of the county of York, held this day in the city of York, the following petition was agreed to by the freeholders, and directed to be tranſmitted to parliament.

To

To the Hon. the Commons of Great Britain, in Parliament aſſembled.

The humble PETITION of the Freeholders of the County of York,

Sheweth,

That your petitioners, ſenſible of the original excellency of the conſtitution of this country, moſt ardently wiſh to have it maintained upon the genuine principles on which it was founded.

Your petitioners farther ſhow, that it is neceſſary to the welfare of the people, that the commons houſe of parliament ſhould have a common intereſt with the nation; and that in the preſent ſtate of the repreſentation of the people in parliament, the houſe of commons do not ſufficiently ſpeak the voice of the people.

Your petitioners therefore humbly pray this honourable houſe to take into their moſt ſerious conſideration the preſent inadequate ſtate of the repreſentation of the people in parliament, and to apply ſuch remedy to this great and alarming evil as to this honourable houſe may ſeem meet.

And your petitioners ſhall ever pray, &c.

The following reſolutions were alſo agreed to at this meeting:

Reſolved unanimouſly, that this meeting having adopted a petition, requeſting a reformation of parliament in general terms, and being apprehenſive that, from the generality of the petition, the intention of this meeting may be miſconſtrued, as aiming at a reformation of parliament on principles, and to an extent which they do not mean to recommend, do find it neceſſary to declare that if,

I. A bill ſhall be paſſed in parliament for aboliſhing at leaſt fifty of the moſt obnoxious boroughs; providing for the electors in the ſeveral boroughs aboliſhed a proper gratuitous compenſation for their extinguiſhed franchiſes; and enabling them to vote, together with other freeholders, in elections for knights of the reſpective ſhires to which they belong; and alſo adding an adequate number of members, not leſs than a hundred, in a due proportion to the ſeveral counties and the metropolis:

II. And if the ſeptennial bill ſhall be repealed:

III. And if a bill ſhall be paſſed for admitting proprietors of copyhold lands of inheritance, with fine certain, of the clear yearly value of 40 ſhillings, to vote at county elections of members of parliament throughout the kingdom:

IV. And laſtly, if a bill ſhall be paſſed for ſetting aſide nominal and fictitious votes in Scotland, and for regulating elections to parliament in that part of the kingdom, in a manner agreeable to the true intent and ſpirit of the conſtitution.

The correction of parliamentary abuſes, effected by thoſe meaſures, will eſtabliſh a reformation of parliament which this county would highly approve.

Reſolved unanimouſly, that this meeting, truſting in the experienced zeal of their repreſentatives, Sir George Savile and Henry Duncombe, Eſq. as far as circumſtances will allow, to promote the reaſonable wiſhes of their conſtituents to accompliſh a ſubſtantial reformation of parliament as aforeſaid, and to ſupport farther meaſures of ſtrict frugality, ſo indiſpenſably neceſſary in the preſent condition of this country, doth poſtpone offering to their worthy repreſentatives any inſtructions on the ſaid matters.

Reſolved unanimouſly, that the chairman be directed to communicate the preceding reſolutions to Sir

George Savile and Mr. Henry Duncombe, and at the ſame time, in ſtrong terms, to expreſs to them this meeting's grateful ſenſe of their faithful and diſintereſted ſervices in parliament; and alſo to acquaint Sir George Savile with what regret the intimation of his abſence from this meeting, occaſioned by ſevere indiſpoſition, was received by his conſtituents; and with what ſincerity they wiſh the re-eſtabliſhment of his health.

Reſolved unanimouſly, That the committee of aſſociation be re-appointed with its former powers.

Reſolved unanimouſly, That this meeting is fully ſenſible of the benefits which will accrue to the nation from the ſalutary and oeconomical bills of reform, which were paſſed in the laſt ſeſſion of parliament; which reform, it truſts, will be perſevered in, until the grievances complained of in the former petition of this county are completely redreſſed.

Admiralty-Office, Dec. 24, 1782.

Extract of a Letter from Capt. Thomas Pringle, Commander of his Majeſty's Ship Dædalus, to Mr. Stephens, dated at Spithead, Dec. 13, 1782.

I beg you will inform their lordſhips, that yeſterday at noon, cloſe in with ſhore of Mount's-Bay, I took the French cutter privateer La Legere du Dunkirque, George Furnauld, commander, mounting eight guns, and manned with forty men; which privateer had been three days out of Breſt.

Admiralty-Office, Dec. 24, 1782.

Extract of a Letter from James Luttrell, Eſq. Commander of his Majeſty's Ship Mediator, to Mr. Stephens, dated, Plymouth Sound, Dec. 19, 1782.

You will pleaſe to acquaint their lordſhips with my arrival here with the Menagere, one of my prizes, having left the Alexander to follow two days ago. It was my intention to have returned to England as ſoon as poſſible, for the reaſons given in my letter, dated off Ferrol the 6th current, but having received intelligence from a neutral veſſel, that an American frigate was ready to ſail from Bourdeaux, the wind being eaſterly, I returned to the ſouthward, to be able to fall into her track; and on the 12th of December, at ſeven A. M. we diſcovered five ſail on our lee-beam, made ſail, and gave chace. At eight their hulls were above water; they were forming in a cloſe line of battle, and ſhortened ſail to their topſails to wait for us: the headmoſt was L'Eugene, frigate built, of 36 guns, and 130 men, commanded by M. le Capitaine Baudin, laden for the French king, and bound to Port-au-Prince; ſhe lay with a French pendant and enſign flying; next to her was an American brig, of 14 guns and 70 men, with American colours; next to her a two-deck ſhip, the length of a ſixty-four, armed en flute, called the Menagere, French pendant and enſign flying, commanded by M. de Foligne, capitaine de Brutot, of the department of Rochfort, mounting on her main-deck twenty-ſix long twelve-pounders, and four ſix-pounders on her quarter-deck and forecaſtle, with a complement of 212 men, laden with gunpowder, naval ſtores, and bale goods, for the French king's ſervice at Port-au-Prince; next to her lay the Alexander, of 24 nine-pounders and 102 men, with a French pendant and an American enſign, commanded by a captain Gregory, who appears to have been an Iriſhman, but has a congreſs commiſſion, laden with ſtores, proviſions, &c. for the French king's uſe, at Port-au-Prince; next

to

to her lay the Dauphin Royal, of 28 guns and 120 men, bound to the Eaſt Indies, having a French pendant and enſign flying: and having determined, without loſing a moment's time, to endeavour to throw their ſquadron into confuſion, and, if poſſible, to take advantage of ſome of them; and relying on the good ſailing of the Mediator, to bring her off, if I could not ſee a probability of ſucceſs after a few broadſides, I continued bearing down, with all ſail ſet, on the enemy, except ſuch ſails as might be in the way of quick manœuvres: at ten received a few ſhot from the Menagere's upper deck, which convinced me ſhe had no lower deck guns, though ſhe had all the ports complete to the eye: continued to approach the enemy, and receive fire from their line, and employed occaſionally in tacking, wearing, bearing down, &c. At half paſt ten, having very much approached the rear of their line, it broke, the brig and Dauphin Royal crowding ſail away from the reſt; upon which the Menagere, Eugene, and Alexander, wore under an eaſy ſail. At eleven I bore down, and cut off the Alexander from her conſorts, employed fighting both ſides occaſionally; and the firſt broadſide, when very cloſe to the Alexander, made her ſtrike her American colours, and let fly her ſheets; the Menagere and Eugene, after firing at us for ſome time, crowded all ſail, and went away before the wind: boarded the prize, and laid her head towards the enemy, under an eaſy ſail, to permit us to take out one hundred priſoners, meaning to chaſe the Menagere. At half paſt twelve made all ſail in chaſe, leaving the prize to follow or bear away for England if we run her hull down. At three the Eugene hauled her wind away from the Menagere. At five began firing at the Menegere, to prevent her aiming at our maſts, by covering ourſelves with ſmoke. At half paſt five had gained very conſiderably on the Menagere, and occaſionally fired broadſides at each other. At ſix a ſudden ſquall caught me, with three of my lower deckers run out, and obliged me to put before the wind, the water ruſhing in till knee-deep on the deck; but with the chain pumps we ſoon cleared our ſhip, and as ſoon as ſhe was ſafe I hauled towards the enemy, crowding ſail to regain her. At ſeven began again to fire at each other, and our maintop-gallant-maſt and foretop-gallant-yard were ſhot away: continued inceſſantly firing at each other till nine, when I had got within piſtol-ſhot of the Menagere's quarter, and put my helm a-weather to pour in a broadſide of round and grape-ſhot from all my guns, which ſhe being aware of threw up in the wind, hauled down her colours, and hailed that ſhe had ſtruck. I inſtantly ordered my people to deſiſt firing, ſhortened ſail, and judging myſelf then within about five miles of the entrance of Ferrol, where they muſt have heard our guns, I haſtened to get both ſhips from off the land. At eleven P. M. my prize the Alexander joined us. The foreſhrouds and a great deal of running rigging being ſhot away detained us, but in two hours we received two hundred priſoners more, and were able to make a little ſail together to weſtward off ſhore. At day-break we ſaw the iſland Siſargo, diſtant about five or ſix leagues, and in the offing the Dauphin Royal, with her maintop-maſt gone, and other ways diſabled; and the brig with all her maſts gone, except part of her lower

maſts; I thought it, however improper to riſque the king's ſhip, by leaving ourſelves with fewer men; for having ſent fifty on board the large ſhip, and twenty on board the Alexander, beſides manning the Spaniſh prize, I had remaining only one hundred and ninety; half of whom muſt ſleep at nights, and the reſt were few to work the ſhip, and guard three hundred and forty priſoners; for this reaſon I hope their lordſhips will approve of my not chaſing the Dauphin Royal and brig; the former ſtood in towards the land, the brig ſeemed returning to Bourdeaux, from whence this armed convoy ſailed on the 9th current.

On the 14th of December, at ten P. M. captain Stephen Gregory, of the Alexander, laid a plot to occaſion the priſoners to riſe, and hoped to have taken the Mediator from me; but through the indefatigable attention of lieutenant Rankin, of the Marines, in the diſpoſal and regulation of centries, &c. as a guard, and the lucky precaution we had taken of ordering the gratings of all the hatches in the lower gun deck to be battoned down with capſtan bars, leaving room for only one man at a time to come up abaft, where, in caſe of an alarm, we had fixed our rendezvous, the deſperate ſcheme of Gregory was prevented without bloodſhed, the priſoners finding no paſſage where they could get up. The alarm he fixed on was, to fire an eighteen-pounder gun in the gun-room where he lay; for he meſſed with my lieutenants, and had received every friendly attention. At ten at night I felt a terrible ſhock from ſome exploſion, and heard a cry of fire: I was ſoon after informed, that the lee port was blown away by the gun into the ſea, and the water making in. As ſoon as I had wore ſhip on the other tack, to get the port-hole covered with tarpaulins and ſecured, I went down, found the gun-room on fire, and every thing ſhattered that was near the exploſion; Gregory, with his accomplices, dreſſed, though they had pretended to go to bed: and, in their cot was found gunpowder, which they had provided to prime the gun with; and, in ſhort, every proof neceſſary for a conviction of Gregory's having fired it for an alarm to make the priſoner's riſe: he had alſo endeavoured to provide himſelf with a ſword, but being diſappointed in his project, he begged his life. A cry of fire forwards was heard among the priſoners when the ſignal gun was fired; but all being diſcovered and ſettled, I ordered Gregory, together with thoſe of his officers and men, whom I ſuſpected concerned in the plot, to be put in irons, and kept on bread and water. I think it my duty to trouble their lordſhips with this narrative, in juſtice to his majeſty's colours, under which no priſoners are undeſervedly treated with rigour. The officers of the Menagere having always conducted themſelves like men of honour, I was happy to have the pleaſure of continuing them at my table, with the uſual confidence in their parole; and the priſoners in general have had every mark of humanity and attention ſhewn to them that our own ſafety would admit of. When their lordſhips conſider the force offering us battle, and at firſt united to oppoſe us, they will, I truſt, be convinced, that our ſucceſs was chiefly owing to the exertions and activity of the officers and men in working the ſhip, as well as in fighting her.

The enemy's ſhot having been entirely aimed with a view to diſmaſt us, fortunately prevented my officers and men from receiving any hurt:

hurt: my lower rigging forward, and ſome abaft, was ſhot away: alſo the maintop-gallant-maſt, ſtudding-ſail and yard, and foretop-gallant-yard, top-maſt, rigging, ſails, and running rigging in general much cut, which, with a few ſhot in the bows, is all the damage we have as yet diſcovered to have happened to his majeſty's ſhip Mediator in the action.

Killed and wounded on board the Menagere.

M. Daimaignac, a gentleman of property in the Iſland of St. Domingo, killed.

Three ſeamen killed.

Seven or eight ditto wounded.

Killed and wounded on board the Alexander.

Six ſeamen killed.

Eight or nine ditto wounded.

27. Yeſterday afternoon a pacquet was received at the Admiralty-Office from capt. Inglefield, commander of his majeſty's ſhip Centaur, of ſeventy-four guns, containing the melancholy advice of that ſhip having foundered in the Atlantic, near the Azores. At the time of her ſinking moſt of her crew were on board, there not being a ſingle ſail in ſight to give them any aſſiſtance. A ſhort time previous to her going down, part of the crew took to her remaining boats, which were three in number, her other boats being ſtove in the hurricane: but of theſe, two, it is ſaid, ſunk from being too much laden, and all on board them periſhed. The other, which was a ſmall launch, containing only twelve men, beſides the captain and a boy, fortunately eſcaped to Fyal, one of the Azores, at which place the above unhappy few, ſave one, arrived, after an elapſe of ſixteen days from the time they firſt took to the boat.

When the wretched ſurvivors above mentioned quitted the ſhip, they could take with them only water ſufficient for three days, but which was ſo managed as to ſerve them nine days; after which time, they were reduced to the wretched extremity of drinking their own urine; thoſe who attempted to drink ſea-water being inſtantly in great agonies.

It farther appears, that ſhortly after, the Centaur was in ſight of the Ville de Paris, but in conſequence of her being diſmaſted, ſhe was ſeparated from that ſhip by a violent ſwell, and loſt ſight of her in the night. After which ſeparation, ſhe continued for upwards of three weeks driving at random, not being able to hoiſt the leaſt canvas. During this period, they had not the good fortune to fall in with any ſail whatever; and the ſhip's guns being thrown overboard, and all her powder ſpoiled, they had it not in their power to make ſignals of diſtreſs, had a veſſel been diſcovered. The ſhip being very leaky, her hands were employed night and day baling at all the hatchways. In this heavy duty many of them died from fatigue.

The Centaur's complement was ſix hundred and fifty men, which is fifty more than the eſtabliſhed number of hands allowed to ſeventy-four gun ſhips. Her gun-deck was the moſt capacious and firm of any ſhip in the royal navy. She carried guns of thirty-two pounders on her gun-deck.

The above unfortunate ſhip ſailed from England with commodore Walſingham, when he went out to the Weſt-Indies in the Thunderer. The ſimilarity of the fate of thoſe two ſhips is rather a remarkable circumſtance.

The Centaur was taken from the French in the year 1759, by the

fleet under the command of admiral Boſcawen. She was then almoſt new, and was conſidered, at the time ſhe was captured, as the firſt ſhip, in point of equipment, that ever ſailed from Breſt.

30. On Saturday morning captain Inglefield, late of the Centaur, waited upon the board of admiralty with farther particulars reſpecting the loſs of that ſhip, and the diſtreſſes they underwent before they arrived at Fyal. It appears, that a tolerable ſupply of proviſions and water was put into the long-boat with the part of the crew which took to her; but on her ſuddenly going down, the launch into which captain Inglefield, with ten of the men, and a boy, had embarked, was left with no other ſubſiſtence than a few biſcuits, a ſmall piece of pork, and part of a hock of bacon, with two quart bottles of water; and on this little ſtore of food they exiſted for ſixteen days. They alternately relieved each other at rowing till their ſtrength, for want of nouriſhment, was ſo exhauſted that they were reduced to depend ſolely on the blanket ſail which they had hoiſted. When captain Inglefield firſt took to the boat he was uncertain which way any land lay, but determined providentially on the right courſe. On their approach within a few leagues of Fyal, they fell in with a fiſhing-wherry, which took them in tow, and carried them into port: on their arrival at Fyal they were not able to ſtand, and were carried on ſhore on the ſhoulders of ſome of the hoſpitable inhabitants, whoſe treatment of them was friendly and humane in the higheſt degree.

Among other officers who periſhed when the Centaur went down, was captain George Auguſtus Keppel, nephew to lord Keppel. He was made poſt by lord Rodney during his command on that ſtation, was a very promiſing officer, and was coming to England for the benefit of his health.

BIRTHS *in the Year* 1782.

Jan. 11. The counteſs of Winterton was brought to bed of a daughter.

28. The lady of ſir John Henderſon, bart. of a daughter.

Feb. 19. The lady of Charles Loraine Smith, eſq. of a ſon and heir at his houſe in Bury-ſtreet.

March 7. The lady of lord Stourton, of a daughter.

Lady Carysfort, of a daughter.

8. The counteſs of Strathmore, of a ſon.

19. Lady Willoughby of Ereſby, lady of ſir Peter Burrel, of a ſon and heir to that ancient title.

April 8. Lady Frankland, lady of ſir Thomas Frankland, bart. a nineteenth child. Same day Mrs. Nicholas, their daughter, a thirteenth grandchild.

15. Counteſs of Tyrconnel, a ſon and heir.

May 30. Lady Althorpe of a ſon and heir, at his lordſhip's houſe in St. James's Place.

June 11. The lady of W. Pierce A'Court Aſhe, eſq. member for Heyteſbury, of two daughters, in Hill-ſtreet, Berkley-ſquare.

15. The counteſs dowager of Weſtmoreland, of a ſon, in Welbeck-ſtreet.

17. The lady of the hon. captain Rodney, ſon of admiral lord Rodney, of a ſon.

21. The lady of ſir Francis Blake, bart. of a daughter, at their houſe in Lincoln's-Inn-Fields.

June 23. Her ſerene highneſs the electreſs,

electreſs of Saxony, of a princeſs, at Dreſden; who was baptized the ſame day by the name of Maria Auguſta Nepomucina Antonica Franciſca Xaveria Alouyſia.

29. Lady Brownlow of a daughter.

30. Lady Cathcart of a ſon and heir.

July 10. Lady of Philip Egerton, eſq. of Oulton Park, Cheſhire, of her eighth ſon and thirteenth child.

16. Lady Charles Townſhend of a daughter.

18. Lady of col. Blount of a ſon.

24. Lady of ſir Thomas Clarges of two ſons.

Auguſt 2. Lady Pole, wife of ſir John William Pole, bart. of Shute, Devon, of a ſon and heir.

5. Lady of ſir William Aſhhurſt, of a ſon.

12. Lady of ſir John Borlaſe Warren, bart. of a ſon and heir.

24. Queen of Sweden, of a prince.

Lady Cunliffe, of a ſon and heir at Cheſter.

Sept. 2. The counteſs of Radnor, of a daughter.

4. The lady of ſir Matthew White Ridley, bart. of Blagden, Northumberland, of a ſon.

5. Lady Kinnaird, of a ſon.

7. The lady of ſir John Taylor, bart. of a daughter, at his houſe in Hill-ſtreet.

The hereditary princeſs of Baden Dourlach, of a princeſs, named Maria Elizabeth Wilhelmina.

12. The lady of ſir Hugh Owen, bart. of a ſon and heir.

16. Lady Aſhburton, of a ſon.

22. The lady of John Sinclair, eſq. of a ſon.

24. The lady of Oliver Cromwell, eſq. of a ſon and heir, at his houſe in Nicholas-lane. This child is the only male heir of the Cromwell family in a lineal deſcent from the memorable protector of that name.

Oct. 23. The lady of ſir Robert Smith, bart. of a daughter.

Nov. 1. Lady Grantham, of a ſon.

18. Her excellency baronneſs Kutzleben, of a daughter.

22. Lady of lord viſc. Turnour, of a daughter.

24. Lady of hon. Francis Talbot, of a ſon.

Dec. 3. Lady St. John, of a daughter.

MARRIAGES *in the Year* 1782.

Jan. 17. Rev. Mr. Archdeacon Law, to Mrs. Tomlinſon, of Carliſle, Cumberland.

31. At Liſbon, commodore Johnſtone, to miſs Charlotte Dee.

Feb. 7. Captain Foxlow, ſon of Samuel Foxlow, eſq. of Stavely-hall, in Derbyſhire, to the hon. miſs Murray, only daughter of lord John Murray.

9. Sir Hyde Parker, captain of the Goliah man of war, of 74 guns, to miſs Boutilier, daughter of J. P. Boutilier, eſq. of Henley.

Feb. 26. Lord George Henry Cavendiſh, brother to the duke of Devonſhire, to lady Elizabeth Compton, ſole heireſs to the late earl of Northampton.

March 9. Sir John Shaw, of Eltham, in Kent, to miſs Monſon, ſiſter to lord Monſon.

10. John Robinſon, eſq. of Denſton-hall, in Suffolk, to the hon. miſs Clive, eldeſt ſiſter of lord Clive.

31. Dr. Egerton, biſhop of Durham, to Miſs Boughton, ſiſter to ſir Edward Boughton, bart.

April 8. Sir John Papillon Twiſdon, bart. to miſs Geary, daughter of admiral Geary.

9. S. Courtenay, eſq. to miſs Cunliffe, eldeſt daughter of the late ſir Robert Cunliffe, bart. of Cheſter.

11. The

11. The rev. Thomas Blackburne, of Hale, to miſs Brooke, eldeſt ſiſter of ſir Ric. Brooke, bart.

15. Edward Dering, eſq. eldeſt ſon of ſir Edward Dering, bart. to miſs Anne Hale, fourth daughter of William Hale, eſq. of Kingſwald, in Hertfordſhire.

24. Alexander Hume, eſq. brother to ſir Abraham Hume, bart. to miſs Evelyn, daughter of William Evelyn, eſq. of St. Clare, in Kent.

26. John Larpent, jun. eſq. to miſs Anna Margaretta Porter, eldeſt daughter of the late ſir James Porter.

27. Edward Hartopp Wigley, eſq. to the hon. miſs Evans, daughter of lord Carbery.

May 2. The right. hon. the earl of Lincoln, to lady Anna Maria Stanhope, daughter of the late earl of Harrington.

5. Lord viſc. Chewton, eldeſt ſon of earl Waldegrave, to his firſt couſin lady Laura Waldegrave, daughter of the ducheſs of Glouceſter, by the late earl Waldegrave.

7. The hon Mr. Forteſcue, ſon of lord Forteſcue, to the hon. miſs Grenville, ſiſter to earl Temple.

12. The hon. Booth Grey, brother to the earl of Stamford, and member of parliament for Leiceſter, to miſs Mainwaring, eldeſt daughter of the late Charles Mainwaring, eſq. of Brombrow.

18. Sir Henry Hay Macdougall, of Makerſton, bart. to Miſs Iſabella Douglas, ſecond daughter of ſir James Douglas, knight, admiral of the White.

21. The hon. lieutenant-general Parker, to lady Cottrell Dormer.

23. The hon. Mr. Bouverie, brother to the earl of Radnor, to lady Catharine Murray, eldeſt daughter of the earl of Dunmore.

June 3. C. W. Boughton Rouſe, eſq. of Rouſe-Lench, in Worceſterſhire, and member of parliament for the borough of Eveſham, to miſs Hall, only daughter of Wm. Pearce Hall, eſq. of Downton, near Ludlow in Shropſhire.

6. Munbee Gelburn, eſq. of Portland-place, to the hon. miſs Chetwynd, eldeſt danghter of the right hon. Lord Chetwynd,

9. Sir T. Featherſtonhaugh, bart. to miſs Catharine Witney, daughter of George Boleyn Witney, eſq.

The right hon. lord viſcount Hinton, ſon of earl Paulett, to miſs Pococke, daughter of ſir George Pococke, K. B.

18. George Sykes, eſq. to Mrs. Anne Caldwell, ſiſter of ſir James Caldwell, bart.

21. The right hon. Charles Jenkinſon, late ſecretary at war, to lady Cope, widow of ſir Charles Cope, and daughter of ſir Cecil Biſhop.

22. Sir John Legard, bart. of Ganton, in Yorkſhire, to miſs Aſton.

Anthony Hodges, eſq. of Balney, in Oxfordſhire, to miſs Anna Aſton, ſiſter of the above lady.

July 3. Sir George Shuckburgh, bart. of Shuckburgh, in Warwickſhire, to miſs Darker, daughter of John Darker, eſq. of Gayton, in Northamptonſhire, and member of parliament for Leiceſter.

8. Albemarle Bertie, eſq. captain of his majeſty's ſhip Crocodile, to miſs Heywood, daughter of James Modiford Heywood, eſq. of Matiſton, in the county of Devon.

The right hon. the earl of Cavan, to miſs Gould, youngeſt daughter of ſir Henry Gould, one of the judges of the court of Common Pleas

23. Henry Ruſſel, eſq. of Lincoln's-inn, to miſs Anne Whitworth, youngeſt daughter of the late ſir Charles Whitworth.

The right hon. William Fitzwilliam, to miſs Eames, only daughter of John Eames, eſq. maſter in Chan-

Chancery, and one of the commiſſioners of the tax-office.

24. Hon. Philip Yorke, nephew to the earl of Hardwicke, to miſs Lindſey, daughter of lady Balcarras.

27. Sir Cecil Biſhop, bart. M. P. for Shoreham, to miſs Southwell.

31. The right hon. lord Caſtleſtewart, to miſs Sarah Lill, ſecond daughter of the hon. Godfrey Lill, ſecond juſtice of the court of Common Pleas in Ireland.

Aug. 2. Hugo Meynell, eſq. to the hon. miſs Ingram, daughter of lady Irwin.

James Jenkinſon, eſq. to miſs Betſey Dairy, only daughter of ſir Ch. Dairy.

3. John Fownes Luttrel, eſq. of Duncaſter-caſtle, in Somerſetſhire, member of parliament for Minehead, to miſs Drewe, of Grange, in Devonſhire.

15. Lord viſcount Maitland, ſon of the earl of Lauderdale, to miſs Todd, daughter of Anthony Todd, eſq.

Sept. 15. John Baker, eſq. of Blake-hall, in the county of Eſſex, to lady St. Aubin, widow of the late ſir John St. Aubin, of Clowance, in Cornwall, bart.

17. The right hon. Alexander lord Loughborough, lord chief juſtice of the Common-Pleas, to miſs Courtenay, one of the ſiſters of lord viſcount Courtenay.

24. Lord viſcount Lewiſham, ſon to lord Dartmouth, to lady Sarah Finch, ſiſter to lord Aylesford.

30. The right hon. the earl of Mexborough, to miſs Stephenſon, of Harley-ſtreet, Cavendiſh-ſquare.

Oct. 8. John Hamilton, eſq. of Pencaidland, Scotland, to miſs Dundas, daughter of the lord preſident of the Court of Seſſion.

26. At Glukſburgh in Germany, the duke of Brunſwick Luneburg Bevern, governor of that capital, to the ducheſs dowager of Slenvig Holſtein Glukſburgh.

Nov. 21. Abraham Hawkins, eſq. captain in the North Devon militia, to miſs Petre, a near relation of the earl of Abercorn, and niece to the late alderman Beckford.

23. Edward Perry Buckley, eſq. of Woolcombe, in the county of Dorſet, to the right hon. lady Georgiana Weſt.

Sir Michael le Fleming, bart. of Rydal, member for the county of Weſtmoreland, to the right hon. lady Diana Howard, daughter of the earl of Suffolk and Berkſhire.

Dec. 4. The hon. and rev. Mr. Cadogan, ſecond ſon of lord Cadogan, to Mrs. Bradſhaw, a widow lady.

23. The right hon. lord Edward Bentinck, brother to the duke of Portland, to miſs Cumberland, eldeſt daughter of Richard Cumberland, eſq. of Portland-place.

PROMOTIONS *in the Year* 1782.

Jan. 5. Lord viſc. Dalrymple appointed his majeſty's miniſter plenipotentiary to the king and republic of Poland.

Earl of Cheſterfield, lord-lieutenant of the county of Buckingham.

Lord viſc. Bulkeley, lord-lieutenant of the county of Carnarvon.

Dr. John Turton, appointed phyſician in ordinary to the queen, and alſo phyſician to the houſhold, and knighted.

C. Townley, eſq. Lancaſter herald at arms.

The hon. Stephen Digby, eſq. to be vice-chamberlain of her majeſty's houſhold.

The right hon. the earl of Shannon, to be one of his majeſty's moſt hon. privy council.

The right hon. lord viſc. Barrington, and the right hon. Henry Frederick

derick Carteret, to the office of poſtmaſter-general.

Feb. 9. Right. hon. lord Geo. Germain a baron and viſcount of Great Britain, by the titles of baron Bolebrooke in the county of Suſſex, and viſcount Sackville, of Drayton, in the county of Northampton.

11. John duke of Dorſet ſworn of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy council.

Rt. hon. Wellbore Ellis appointed one of his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate.

23. A congé d'elire paſſed the great ſeal, empowering the dean and chapter of Briſtol to elect a biſhop of that ſee, with a letter recommending the rev. Lewis Bagot, LL.D. dean of Chriſt Church, Oxford.

Thomas Thurlow, lord biſhop of Lincoln, recommended to be choſen dean of the cathedral church of St. Paul, London.

Lieut. gen. ſir Guy Carleton, K.B. to be general and commander in chief in America, in the room of ſir Henry Clinton.

The rev. Richard Farmer, D. D. and the rev. Thomas Vyner, M. A. to be prebendaries of Canterbury, in the room of Dr. William Tatton and Dr. Lyndford Caryl, both deceaſed.

March 26. His royal highneſs prince Frederick, biſhop of Oſnabrug, captain and colonel of the ſecond troop of horſe grenadier guards, vice lord Amherſt.

March 27. The right hon. Charles lord Camden, to be lord preſident of his majeſty's moſt hon. privy council.

The right hon. lord John Cavendiſh, chancellor and under treaſurer of his majeſty's exchequer.

The right hon. Charles James Fox, the right hon. Auguſtus Keppel, the right hon. John Dunning, and the right hon. Edmund Burke, ſworn of his majeſty's moſt hon. privy council.

Auguſtus Henry duke of Grafton to be lord privy ſeal.

The right hon. William earl of Shelburne, and the right hon. Ch. James Fox, to be his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate.

30. The moſt noble Charles marquis of Rockingham, knight of the moſt noble order of the Garter, the right hon. lord John Cavendiſh, lord viſcount Althorpe, James Grenville, and Frederick Montagu, eſqrs. to be commiſſioners for executing the office of treaſurer of his majeſty's exchequer.

The right hon. admiral Auguſtus Keppel, ſir Robert Harland, bart. vice-admiral Hugh Pigot, lord viſc. Duncannon, the hon. John Townſhend, Charles Brett, and Richard Hopkins, eſqrs. to be his majeſty's commiſſioners for executing the office of lord high admiral of Great Britain and Ireland.

The right hon. Iſaac Barré, to the office of treaſurer of his majeſty's navy.

The right hon. general Henry Seymour Conway to be commander in chief of all his majeſty's land forces in Great Britain.

His grace lieut. gen. Charles duke of Richmond, Lenox, and Aubigny, to the office of maſter-general of the ordnance.

The right hon. Thomas Townſhend, to be his majeſty's ſecretary at war.

The right hon. Edmund Burke, to the office of receiver and paymaſter-general of his majeſty's guards, garriſons, and land-forces.

The earl of Jerſey to be maſter of his majeſty's buck hounds.

The right hon. the marquis o Caermarthen to be his majeſty's lieutenant and cuſtos rotulorum of the

Eaſt

Eaſt Riding of the county of York; alſo the earl of Pembroke to be his majeſty's lieutenant and cuſtos rotulorum of the county of Wilts: and earl Temple to be his majeſty's lieutenant, and cuſtos rotulorum of the county of Buckingham.

The right hon. John Dunning, promoted to the dignity of a baron of Great Britain, by the name, ſtyle, and title of baron Aſhburton, of Aſhburton, in the county of Devon. The right hon. ſir Fletcher Norton, knight, to the dignity of a baron of Great Britain, by the name, ſtyle, and title of lord Grantley, baron of Markenfield in the county of York.

Earl of Effingham treaſurer, and earl of Ludlow comptroller, of the houſhold.

Rev. Thomas Dampier, D. D. promoted to the deanery of Roche ſter,

April 6. Harry duke of Bolton, governor and captain of the Iſle of Wight, governor and conſtable of Cariſbrook Caſtle, and lord lieutenant and cuſtos rotulorum of the county of Southampton.

Right hon. lord de Ferrars, captain of his majeſty's band of gentlemen penſioners.

Lord Rivers, a lord of his majeſty's bed chamber.

Right rev. Dr. John Hotham, biſhop of Oſſory, to the biſhoprick of Clogher, in Ireland, in the room of Dr. John Garnet, deceaſed.

Right rev. Dr. William Beresford, biſhop of Dromore, to the biſhoprick of Oſſory, in Ireland, in the room of Dr. J. Hotham, tranſlated.

23. Sir William Howe, K. B. lieut. general of the ordnance.

Hon. Thomas Pelham, maſter-ſurveyor of the ordnance.

24. Lord viſcount Howe, of the kingdom of Ireland, to be a viſcount of Great Britain, by the title of viſcount Howe of Langar, in the county of Nottingham. The rt. hon. admiral Auguſtus Keppel, viſcount Keppel of Elveden, in the county of Suffolk.

Vice admiral John Campbell, governor and commander in chief of the Iſland of Newfoundland, and of the Iſlands of Madelaine in the gulf of St. Lawrence.

May 4. George lord viſc. Chewton, vice-chamberlain of his majeſty's houſhold, ſworn of the privy council.

Thomas lord viſcount Weymouth, groom of his majeſty's ſtole, and firſt gentleman of his majeſty's bed-chamber.

Lieut. general John Burgoyne, commander in chief of his majeſty's forces in Ireland, and the hon. lieut. col. Richard Fitzpatrick, to be of the privy council in the kingdom of Ireland.

7. Lieut. col. Thomas Pigot, governor of the city of Cork.

11. Frederick earl of Carliſle, lord ſteward of his majeſty's houſhold.

George earl of Dalhouſie, his majeſty's high commiſſioner to the general aſſembly of the Church of Scotland.

Rev. Jeffery Ekins, D. D. dean of Carliſle, in the room of biſhop Percy.

Rev. Joſeph Jowett, LL.D. reader of the civil law in the Univerſity of Cambridge, in the room of biſhop Halliſax.

Lieut. gen. Archibald earl of Eglintoun, governor of Edinburgh Caſtle, in the room of the earl of Loudon.

Hugh Pigot, eſq. vice-admiral of the Red, to be admiral of the Blue.

25. Earl of Eſſex, a lord of his majeſty's bed-chamber.

28. Sir George Brydges Rodney, created

created baron Rodney, of Rodney-Stoke, in Somerſet.

Rear adm. Francis Samuel Drake, and capt. Edmund Affleck, baronets of Great Britain.

Sir Samuel Hood, created baron Hood of Catherington, in the kingdom of Ireland.

June 5. Lord Robert Spenſer, ſworn of the privy council.

11. Douglas, duke of Hamilton and Brandon, ſummoned to parliament by writ, as a peer of England, by the ſtyle of duke of Brandon, in Suffolk.

14. Earl Cholmondeley appointed his majeſty's envoy extraordinary and miniſter plenipotentiary to the court of Berlin.

William duke of Devonſhire to be lord lieutenant and cuſtos rotulorum of the county of Derby, in the room of George Cavendiſh, eſq. commonly called lord George Cavendiſh.

Sir William Howe, knight of the bath, lieutenant-general of the ordnance, ſworn of his majeſty's moſt hon. privy-council.

July 2. The right hon. Walter Huſſey Burgh, to be chief baron of the exchequer in Ireland, in the room of the right hon. James Baron Tracton, deceaſed.

Barry Yelverton, eſq. to be attorney-general for Ireland, in the room of the right hon. John Scott; and alſo to be of the privy-council.

William earl of Shelburne of the kingdom of Ireland, right hon. William Pitt, James Grenville, Rich. Jackſon, and Edward James Elliot, eſqrs. commiſſioners for executing the office of treaſurer of his majeſty's exchequer.

13. The right hon. Tho. Townſhend, to be ſecretary of ſtate.

The right hon. William Pitt, to be chancellor and under treaſurer of the exchequer, and alſo to be of the privy council.

The right hon. Auguſtus Keppel, ſir Robert Harland, bart. admiral Hugh Pigot, Charles Brett, Richard Hopkins, John Jefferies Pratt, and John Aubrey, eſqrs. to be lords of the admiralty.

The right hon. ſir George Yonge, to be ſecretary at war.

David Parry, eſq. to be governor of Barbadoes, in the room of major general James Cunninghame.

Archibald Campbell, eſq. to be governor of Jamaica, in the room of major-general John Dalling.

John Parr, eſq. to be governor of Nova Scotia, in the room of Francis Legge, eſq.

20. The right hon. Thomas lord Grantham, to be ſecretary of ſtate.

The right hon. Henry Lord Paget, to be lord lieutenant of the county of Angleſea.

27. Right. hon. Iſaac Barré, receiver and paymaſter general of his majeſty's guards, garriſons, and land forces.

Hon. Henry Dundas, treaſurer of his majeſty's navy.

30. Dr. Joſeph Dean Bourke, biſhop of Leighlin and Ferns, tranſlated to the archbiſhoprick of Tuam, with the united biſhoprick of Enaghoden, and the biſhoprick of Ardagh, in commendam, vacant by the death of the rev. Dr. Jemmet Browne.

Dr. Walter Cope, biſhop of Clonfert and Kilmacduah, tranſlated to the united biſhopricks of Leghlin and Ferns, in the room of Dr. Bourke.

Rev. John Law, D.D. [ſon of the biſhop of Carliſle] promoted to the united biſhopricks of Leighlin and Ferns, in the room of Dr. Cope.

31. The right hon. George earl Temple, to be lord lieutenant of Ireland.

Auguſt

Aug. 3. Dr. Shute Barrington, to be biſhop of Saliſbury, vice Dr. John Hume, deceaſed.

20. Dr. Richard Watſon, to be biſhop of Landaff, void by the promotion of Dr. Shute Barrington to the ſee of Saliſbury.

Francis Geary, eſq. admiral of the White, to be a baronet of Great Britain.

David Rae, eſq. to be one of the ordinary lords of the court of ſeſſion in Scotland, in the room of Alexander Boſwell, eſq. deceaſed.

Richard Tully, eſq. to be his majeſty's agent and conſul general at Tripoli.

21. Sir John Stepney, bart. envoy extraordinary at Berlin.

Sept. 28. The earl of Surrey, to be lord lieutenant and cuſtos rotulorum of the Weſt Riding of Yorkſhire, and York city.

Earl of Fauconberg, to be cuſtos rotulorum of the North Riding of Yorkſhire.

Oct. 2. Charles earl of Tankerville, ſworn of the privy-council.

Nov. 10. John Templar, eſq. maſter of the crown-office, in the room of ſir James Burrow.

Counteſs dowager of Aylesford, one of the ladies of the bedchamber to the queen.

Lord Charles Spenſer appointed vice-treaſurer of Ireland.

Dec. 28. Admiral ſir Peter Parker created a baronet of Great Britain.

DEATHS *in the Year* 1782.

Jan. 1. The right hon. lady Trevor, relict of John lord Trevor, and daughter of the late ſir Richard Steele.

Jan. 2. Lieut. general Francis Grant, colonel of the 63d regiment of foot, and formerly member of parliament for the county of Moray.

5. William earl of Panmure, of the kingdom of Ireland, colonel of the Royal North Britiſh dragoons, and a general in the army.

Right hon. Thomas lord Fairfax, a peer of Scotland, at his proprietary in Virginia, in the 89th year of his age.

Sir James Harrington, bart. one of the firſt baronets of England, and nearly allied to the royal houſes of Scotland and Portugal.

15. William Clement, M. D. repreſentative in parliament for the city of Dublin, and vice-provoſt of Trinity-college.

18. Sir John Pringle, bart. phyſician extraordinary to the king, and phyſician in ordinary to the queen, and late preſident of the Royal Society.

The right hon. Hugh Boſcawen, viſcount Falmouth, captain of the yeomen of the guard, one of his majeſty's privy-council, recorder of Truro, and a general in the army.

26. The right honourable John Campbell, earl of Breadalbane, viſcount Glenorchy, lord vice-admiral of Scotland, one of his majeſty's privy-council, and ſenior knight of the Bath.

Feb. 1. Lady Gilmour, relict of the late ſir Charles Gilmour, bart.

6. The lady of ſir John Henderſon.

The rev. ſir Henry Mill, bart.

8. Lieutenant-general Simon Frazer, colonel of the 71ſt regiment of foot, and member of parliament for the county of Inverneſs.

The right hon. lord Colvill.

Mar. 1. Hon. lieut. general William Keppel, colonel of the 12th regiment of dragoons, uncle to the preſent earl of Albemarle.

2. At Dublin, the right rev. Dr. John Garnett, lord biſhop of Clogher,

er, to which ſee he was tranſlated from the biſhoprick of Ferns, in the year 1758.

7. Sir Robert Foley, bart.

11. The right hon. lord Robert Bertie, uncle to the duke of Ancaſter, one of the lords of the bedchamber, a general of his majeſty's forces, colonel of the ſecond troop of horſe guards, governor of Duncannon in Ireland, and member for Boſton in Lincolnſhire.

13. Sir Charles Holt, bart.

14. The right rev. Dr. Thomas Newton, lord biſhop of Briſtol, and dean of St. Paul's.

18. Major-general William Thornton, lieutenant-colonel of the firſt regiment of foot-guards.

23. In Perthſhire, aged 76, ſir James Ramſey, of Bamff, bart.

25. Right hon. lady viſcounteſs Courtenay.

Aged 75, the hon. Mrs. Howard, widow of the late hon. Philip Howard, of Norfolk, ſiſter to the late ducheſs of Norfolk, and mother to the preſent lady Petre.

April 9. The right hon. lady Mary Forbes, lady of admiral Forbes.

21. The right hon. the earl of Clanrickard.

27. The right hon. earl Talbot.

Right hon. John Campbell, earl of Loudoun, lord Machlin, one of the ſixteen peers of Scotland, a general in the army, governor of Edinburgh caſtle, col. of the 3d regiment of foot guards, and F. R. S. aged 77.

May 8. Right hon. lady Mary Scott, relict, firſt, of Richard Haddock, eſq. and ſecondly, of Arthur Scott, eſq. commiſſioners of the navy, and ſiſter to the earl of Northampton.

14. The learned Dr. Solander, F. R. S. one of the librarians of the Britiſh Muſeum, and who had made the voyage round the world, in company with his friend ſir Joſeph Banks.

14. The right hon. Richard Lumley Saunderſon, earl of Scarborough, viſcount Lumley; alſo viſcount Lumley in Ireland; one of the joint vice-treaſurers of Ireland, and a member of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy-council.

29. Hon. Mrs. Shirley, mother to the preſent earl Ferrers.

General Monkton, governor of Portſmouth, and colonel of the 17th regiment of foot.

At the German Spa, the right honourable Elizabeth counteſs of Grandiſon.

Right hon. lord Robert Manners, great uncle to the duke of Rutland, a general of his majeſty's forces, colonel of the 3d regiment of dragoon guards, lieut. governor of Hull, and member of parliament for that town.

31. Lady Drake, only ſurviving daughter of the late William Peere Williams, eſq. and mother to lady North.

Right hon. viſcounteſs dowager Dudley, mother-in-law of the preſent viſcount.

The right hon. John Dennis, lord baron Trackton, chief baron of the court of exchequer, and one of the lords of his majeſty's moſt honourable privy-council in Ireland.

June 13. The dowager viſcounteſs Howe, mother to the preſent viſcount and ſir William.

Sir William Arnot, bart. late lieut. colonel of the Queen's regiment of dragoon guards.

14. Right hon. Edward earl Ligonier, knight of the Bath, lieut. general of his majeſty's forces, and colonel of the 9th regiment of foot in America.

23. At Durham, in the 33d year of his age, Tho. Blackburne, M.D. F.R.S.

F. R. S. He was the second son of the learned Mr. Archdeacon Blackburne. He refused subscribing to the Thirty-nine Articles when he was to have taken his degree of bachelor of arts at Cambridge, and afterwards proceeded to study physic, in which faculty he took the degree of doctor at Edinburgh in 1775.

23. The rev. John Blair, D. D. rector of St. John the Evangelist, Westminster, and one of the prebendaries of Westminster-abbey.

26. George William, prince of Hesse Darmstadt, brother of the reigning landgrave.

27. The right rev. Dr. John Hume, lord bishop of Salisbury.

July 1. The most honourable Charles Watson Wentworth, marquis of Rockingham, earl of Malton, viscount Higham of Higham Ferrers, baron Rockingham of Rockingham, baron of Malton, Waith, and Harrowden in England, and earl and baron of Malton in Ireland.

11. The rev. Sir Harry Parker, bart. rector of Rotherfield Grays, near Henley, brother to vice-admiral Hyde Parker.

25. At Edinburgh, Lady Mary Gordon, sister to the duke of Gordon.

August 14. Lady Hoskyns, relict of the late sir Chandos Hoskyns, bart.

20. His royal highness prince Alfred, the last-born son of their Majesties.

Gen. Fitzroy, uncle to lord Southampton, at his house in Arlington-street.

27. The right hon. John Dillon, earl of Roscommon, aged sixty-two.

30. At Edinburgh, aged 76, Alex. Boswell, esq. of Auchinleck, one of the senators of the college of justice, and many years one of the lords commissioners of justiciary.

Sept. 2. At Weymouth, aged 18, the hon. Heneage Legge, fourth son to the earl of Dartmouth.

25. Right hon. lady viscountess Folkestone, sister to the present lord Romney, relict of Jacob, first viscount Folkestone, and grandmother to the earl of Radnor.

Oct. 14. The right hon. the countess of Denbigh.

Nov. 5. Sir James Burrow, knt. master of the crown-office, which office he had held ever since the year 1724. He had published four volumes of Reports, and other works.

8. Sir John Clarke, bart.

10. The right hon. the countess of Hertford.

12. The right hon. the countess dowager of Westmoreland, sister to the duke of Gordon.

Dec. 9. Sir Nicholas Bayley, bart. late lord lieutenant of the county of Anglesey, and father of lord Paget.

12. Charles Gray, esq. of Colchester, aged 87, F. R. S. and one of the trustees of the British Museum. He represented that borough in five different parliaments.

13. Right hon. Margaret lady dowager Blantyre, at Lennoxlove, aged 85.

16. The rev. Mr. William Cole, vicar of Burnham, in Buckinghamshire, a gentleman eminent for his knowledge in English antiquities, who has bequeathed his valuable MS. collections, in upwards of one hundred volumes, comprehending parochial surveys, and a great number of historical anecdotes, to the British Museum, to be lodged in one box together, and not to be opened till twenty years after his decease.

27. Henry Home, lord Kaimes, judge in the courts of session and justiciary at Edinburgh, and well known to the learned world by his *Elements of Criticism*, and *Sketches of the History of Man*.

The LONDON GENERAL BILL *of*

CHRISTENINGS and BURIALS from December 9, 1781, to December 10, 1782.

Chriſtened { Males 8808 / Females 8293 } Buried { Males 9131 / Females 8787 } Increaſed in the Burials this year 2791.

Died under 2 Years 5320	20 and 30 - 1479	60 and 70 - 1515	100 - 6	104 - 1
Between 2 and 5 1221	30 and 40 - 1846	70 and 80 - 970	101 - 2	105 - 1
5 and 10 536	40 and 50 - 2164	80 and 90 - 415	102 - 1	109 - 1
10 and 20 629	50 and 60 - 1777	90 and 100 - 51	103 - 1	

Acts of Parliament paſſed from Nov. 27, 1781, to July 11, 1782.

An act for farther continuing an act made in the 17th year of the reign of his preſent majeſty, entitled, "An act to impower his majeſty to ſecure and detain perſons charged with or ſuſpected of the crime of high treaſon, committed in any of his majeſty's colonies or plantations in America, or on the high ſeas, or the crime of piracy."

An act for the better ſupply of mariners and ſeamen to ſerve in his majeſty's ſhips of war, and on board merchant ſhips, and other trading ſhips and veſſels.

An act for the relief of naval officers, ſeamen, marines and ſoldiers, with reſpect to prize and bounty-money not claimed in due time.

An act for the better detaining and more eaſy exchange of American priſoners brought into Great Britain.

An act for allowing farther time to negotiate by indorſement the bonds iſſued in purſuance of an act, made in the 14th year of the reign of his preſent majeſty, intituled, An act for more effectually carrying into execution certain propoſals made by the moſt noble Henry duke of Buccleugh, the moſt noble Charles duke of Queenſberry and Dover, and others, for redeeming the annuities granted by the company of the bank of Ayr, in that part of Great Britain called Scotland, known under the firm of Douglas, Heron, and company.

An act for continuing the term and powers of an act, made in the 33d year of the reign of his late majeſty king George the Second, intituled, "An act for laying a duty of two pennies Scots, or one ſixth part of a penny ſterling, on every Scots pint of ale, porter, or beer, brewed for ſale, or vended within the town and pariſh of Dalkeith."

An act for allowing farther time for enrolment of deeds and wills made by papiſts, and for relief of proteſtant purchaſers.

An act for providing quarters for certain foreign troops lately employed in his majeſty's ſervice, in the defence of the iſland of Minorca, for a limited time.

An act to prohibit the ranſoming of ſhips or veſſels captured from his majeſty's ſubjects, and of the merchandize or goods on board ſuch ſhips or veſſels.

An act for granting an additional duty upon tobacco and ſnuff; and for repealing certain duties payable upon the importation of brandy and arrack, and for granting other duties in lieu thereof.

An act for the preventing of bribery and corruption, in the election of members to ſerve in parliament for the borough of Cricklade in the county of Wilts.

An act for allowing the importation

tion of goods, of the growth, produce, or manufacture, of the iſlands of St. Chriſtopher, Nevis, and Montſerrat, into any ports of his majeſty's dominions in Europe or America, upon payment of the Britiſh plantation duties.

An act for charging a ſtamp duty upon inland bills of exchange, promiſſory notes, or other notes payable otherwiſe than upon demand.

An act for granting to his majeſty additional duties upon ſalt, and certain duties upon Glauber or Epſom ſalts, and alſo on mineral alkali or flux for glaſs made for ſale, &c.

An act for charging a duty on perſons whoſe property ſhall be inſured againſt loſs by fire.

An act for licenſing lottery-office keepers, and regulating the ſale of lottery-tickets.

An act to diſcharge and indemnify the United Company of Merchants of England trading to the Eaſt Indies, from all damage, intereſts, and loſſes, in reſpect to their having made default in certain payments due to the public, on ſuch payments being made at a future ſtipulated time; and to enable the ſaid company to continue a dividend of eight pounds per centum to the proprietors of their ſtock, for the preſent year.

An act to enable his majeſty to conclude a peace or truce with certain colonies in North America therein mentioned.

An act for reſtraining any perſon concerned in any contract, commiſſion, or agreement, made for the public ſervice, from being elected, or ſitting and voting as a member of the houſe of commons.

An act for better ſecuring the freedom of elections of members to ſerve in parliament, by diſabling certain officers employed in the collection or management of his majeſty's revenues from giving their votes at ſuch elections.

An act for reſtraining ſir Thomas Rumbold, Bart. and Peter Perring, Eſq. from going out of this kingdom for a limited time; and for diſcovering their eſtates and effects, and preventing the tranſporting or alienating the ſame.

An act for granting an additional duty upon white or manufactured bees wax imported into Great Britain.

An act to repeal ſo much of an act, made in the 19th year of king George II. (for the more effectually diſarming the Highlands in Scotland, &c.) as reſtrains the uſe of the Highland dreſs.

An act for enabling his majeſty to raiſe the ſum of one million, for the uſes and purpoſes therein mentioned.

An act to prevent the granting in future any patent office to be exerciſed in any colony or plantation now, or at any time hereafter, belonging to the crown of Great Britain, for any longer term than during ſuch time as the grantee thereof, or perſon appointed thereto, ſhall diſcharge the duty thereof in perſon, and behave well therein.

An act for enabling his majeſty to diſcharge the debt contracted upon his civil liſt revenues; and for preventing the ſame from being in arrear for the future, by regulating the mode of payments out of the ſaid revenues, and by ſuppreſſing or regulating certain offices therein mentioned, which are now paid out of the revenues of the civil liſt.

An act for the encouragement and diſciplining of ſuch corps or companies of men as ſhall voluntarily enroll themſelves for defence of their towns or coaſts, or for the general defence of the kingdom, during the preſent war.

An act for the better regulation of the office of paymaſter-general of his majeſty's forces.

An act for the better relief and employment of the poor.

PUBLIC PAPERS.

His Majeſty's Speech to both Houſes of Parliament, Nov. 27, 1781.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

WHEN I laſt met you in parliament, I acquainted you with the arduous ſituation of public affairs at that time, and I repreſented to you the objects which I had in view, and the reſolution with which I was determined to perſevere in the defence of my dominions againſt the combined power of my enemies, until ſuch a pacification could be made as might conſiſt with the honour of my crown, and the permanent intereſt and ſecurity of my people. The war is ſtill unhappily prolonged by that reſtleſs ambition which firſt excited our enemies to commence it, and which ſtill continues to diſappoint my earneſt deſire and diligent exertion to reſtore the public tranquillity: but I ſhould not anſwer the truſt committed to the ſovereign of a free people, nor make a ſuitable return to my ſubjects for their conſtant, zealous, and affectionate attachment to my perſon, family, and government, if I conſented to ſacrifice, either to my own deſire of peace, or to their temporary eaſe and relief, thoſe eſſential rights, and permanent intereſts, upon the maintenance and preſervation of which, the future ſtrength and ſecurity of this country muſt ever principally depend.

The favourable appearance of our affairs in the Eaſt Indies, and the ſafe and proſperous arrival of the numerous commercial fleets of my kingdoms, muſt have given you ſatisfaction; but in the courſe of this year, my aſſiduous endeavours to guard the extenſive dominions of my crown have not been attended with ſucceſs equal to the juſtice and uprightneſs of my views; and it is with great concern that I inform you, that the events of war have been very unfortunate to my arms in Virginia, having ended in the loſs of my forces in that province.

No endeavours have been wanting on my part to extinguiſh that ſpirit of rebellion which our enemies have found means to foment and maintain in the colonies, and to reſtore to my deluded ſubjects in America that happy and proſperous condition which they formerly derived from a due obedience to the laws; but the late misfortune in that quarter, calls loudly for your firm concurrence and aſſiſtance, to fruſtrate the deſigns of our enemies, equally prejudicial to the real intereſts of America, and to thoſe of Great Britain.

In the laſt ſeſſion you made a conſiderable progreſs in your inquiries into the ſtate and condition of our dominions and revenues in the Eaſt Indies:—You will, I am perſuaded, reſume the proſecution of that important deliberation with the ſame ſpirit and temper in which it was begun, and proceed with the ſame attention and anxiety to conſider, how thoſe remote provinces

may

may be held and governed with the greateſt ſecurity and advantage to this country, and by what means the happineſs of the native inhabitants may be beſt promoted.

Gentlemen of the Houſe of Commons,

I will order the eſtimates for the enſuing year to be laid before you. I rely on your wiſdom and public ſpirit for ſuch ſupplies as the circumſtances of our affairs ſhall be found to require. Among the many ill conſequences which attend the continuation of the preſent war, I moſt ſincerely regret the additional burthens which it muſt unavoidably bring upon my faithful ſubjects.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

In the proſecution of this great and important conteſt in which we are engaged, I retain a firm confidence in the protection of Divine Providence, and a perfect conviction of the juſtice of my cauſe; I have no doubt but that, by the concurrence and ſupport of my parliament, by the valour of my fleets and armies, and by a vigorous, animated, and united exertion of the faculties and reſources of my people, I ſhall be enabled to reſtore the bleſſing of a ſafe and honourable peace to all my dominions.

The Addreſs of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal in Parliament aſſembled.

Die Martis, 27 Novembris, 1781.

Moſt gracious ſovereign,

WE, your majeſty's moſt dutiful and loyal ſubjects, the lords ſpiritual and temporal, in parliament aſſembled, beg leave to return your majeſty our humble thanks for your moſt gracious ſpeech from the throne.

It is with equal concern and indignation that we ſee the war prolonged by that reſtleſs ambition which firſt excited your majeſty's enemies to commence it, and which ſtill continues to diſappoint your majeſty's earneſt deſire and diligent exertion to reſtore the public tranquillity.

We acknowledge, with the ſincereſt and warmeſt gratitude, your majeſty's wiſdom and conſtant attention to the real welfare of your people, equally conſpicuous in your earneſt deſire of peace, and in your fixed and unalterable reſolution never to ſacrifice, either to that deſire, or to the temporary eaſe and relief of your ſubjects, thoſe eſſential rights and permanent intereſts, upon the maintenance and preſervation of which the future ſtrength and ſecurity of this country muſt ever principally depend.

We feel great ſatisfaction in the favourable appearance of our affairs in the Eaſt Indies, and in the ſafe and proſperous arrival of the numerous commercial fleets of theſe kingdoms; but we regret that in the courſe of this year your majeſty's aſſiduous endeavours to guard the extenſive dominions of your crown, have not been attended with ſucceſs equal to the juſtice and uprightneſs of your majeſty's views; and we lament that the events of war have been ſo unfortunate to your majeſty's arms in Virginia.

We are gratefully ſenſible of the parental ſolicitude your majeſty has ſhewn for the general happineſs of your people, in the endeavours your majeſty has uſed to extinguiſh that ſpirit of rebellion which our enemies have found means to foment and maintain in the colonies, and to reſtore to your deluded ſubjects in America that happy and proſperous condition which they formerly derived from a due obedience to the laws; and we beg leave to aſſure your majeſty of our firm concurrence

and assistance to frustrate the designs of our enemies, equally prejudicial to the real interests of America, and to those of Great Britain.

We will, without loss of time, resume the deliberation upon the state and condition of the British possessions and revenues in the East Indies, will carry it on with the same spirit and temper in which it was begun, and proceed with the same attention and anxiety to consider how those remote provinces may be held and governed with the greatest security and advantage to this country, and by what means the happiness of the native inhabitants may be best promoted.

Firmly resolved to decline no difficulty or hazard in the defence of our country, and for the preservation of its essential rights and interests, we shall continue to give our most hearty concurrence and support in the prosecution of the great and important contest in which we are engaged.

We rely upon the protection of Divine Providence in so just a cause, and fully trust that, by the concurrence and support which we shall most chearfully give, by the valour of your majesty's fleets and armies, and by the vigorous, animated, and united exertions of the faculties and resources of your people, your majesty will be enabled to disappoint the ambitious designs of your enemies, and to restore the blessing of a safe and honourable peace to all your dominions.

His Majesty's Answer.

My Lords,

I Thank you for this very dutiful and affectionate address.—The assurances of your chearful concurrence and support in the prosecution of the great and important contest in which we are engaged, give me the highest satisfaction, and must have the most salutary effects.—It shall be my constant endeavour to make the best use of this support for the attainment of the sole end which I have ever in view, a safe and honourable peace."

Address of the House of Commons to his Majesty.

Most Gracious Sovereign,

WE, your majesty's most dutiful and loyal subjects, the commons of Great Britain in parliament assembled, return your majesty the thanks of this house, for your most gracious speech from the throne.

We assure your majesty, that we see with concern that the war is still unhappily prolonged by that restless ambition which first excited our enemies to commence it, and which still continues to disappoint your majesty's earnest desire and diligent exertion to restore the public tranquillity.

We are sensibly affected by your majesty's paternal expressions of concern for the real welfare of your subjects: and we receive with the strongest emotions of duty and gratitude your majesty's gracious and endearing declaration, that you should not answer the trust committed to the sovereign of a free people, nor make a suitable return to your subjects for their constant, zealous, and affectionate attachment to your person, family, and government, if you consented to sacrifice, either to your own desire of peace, or to their temporary ease and relief, those essential rights and permanent interests, upon the maintenance and preservation of which the future strength and security of this country must ever principally depend.

We declare, on our part, that we know no means of making to your majesty any return so suitable and so

ſo juſt, and of anſwering the great truſt committed to us by thoſe whom we repreſent, as by giving your majeſty this firm aſſurance, that we are reſolved to aſſiſt and ſupport your majeſty to the utmoſt of our power, in maintaining and preſerving the eſſential rights and permanent intereſts of your crown and people.

The favourable appearance of affairs in the Eaſt Indies, and the ſafe and proſperous arrival of the numerous commercial fleets of your kingdoms, have given us great ſatisfaction: but we ſincerely regret that your majeſty's aſſiduous endeavours to guard your extenſive dominions have not in all places been attended with ſucceſs; and we learn with the deepeſt concern, that the events of war have been very unfortunate to your majeſty's arms in Virginia, and have ended in the loſs of your forces in that province.

We are fully perſuaded, that the principal view of the confederacy of our enemies was to foment and maintain the rebellion in North America; and, under the ſpecious deluſion of the eſtabliſhment of an independent empire, to render your majeſty's colonies ſubſervient to the power and influence of the crown of France; but your majeſty may rely on our ſteady aſſiſtance to ſecond your majeſty's endeavours to defeat the dangerous deſigns of our enemies, equally prejudicial to the real intereſts of America and to thoſe of Great Britain.

We will not fail to reſume the great and momentous conſideration of the ſtate and condition of the dominions and revenues which this country poſſeſſes in the Eaſt Indies; and we truſt, that, in our deliberations on thoſe important matters, we ſhall proceed with the ſame ſpirit and temper in which they were begun, and with the ſame care and anxiety, to conſider how thoſe remote provinces may be held and governed with the greateſt ſecurity and advantage to this nation, and by what means the happineſs of the native inhabitants may be beſt promoted.

In this arduous conjuncture, we conſider it as our firſt duty to our country to grant your Majeſty ſuch ſupplies as the circumſtances of affairs ſhall be found to require. We cannot but feel that the war is burthenſome and expenſive; but we are convinced, at the ſame time, that it is juſt and neceſſary; and nothing on our parts ſhall be wanting to give efficacy and ſucceſs to the valour of your majeſty's fleets and armies: and we ſtill have a firm confidence, that, by a vigorous, animated, and united exertion of the reſources and faculties of the nation, and of the ſpirit of a free people, your majeſty will be enabled, under the protection of Divine Providence, to reſtore the bleſſing of a ſafe and honourable peace to all your dominions.

His Majeſty's Anſwer.

Gentlemen,

I Return you my cordial thanks for this very loyal, dutiful, and affectionate addreſs. It breathes the ſpirit and firmneſs of the repreſentatives of a brave and free people. Nothing could afford me ſo much ſatisfaction, or tend ſo effectually to the public ſafety and welfare in the preſent conjuncture.

His Majeſty's Speech on cloſing the Seſſion of Parliament, July 11, 1782.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

THE unwearied aſſiduity with which you have perſevered in

the discharge of your duty in parliament, during so long a session, bears the most honourable testimony to your zeal and industry in the service of the public; for which you have provided with the clearest discernment of its true interests; anxiously opening every channel for the return of peace; and furnishing with no less vigilance the means of carrying on the war, if that measure should be unavoidable.

The extensive powers with which I find myself invested to treat for reconciliation and amity with the colonies, which have taken arms in North-America, I shall continue to employ in the manner most conducive to the attainment of those objects, and with an earnestness suitable to their importance.

The zeal which my subjects in Ireland have expressed for the public service, shews that the liberality of your proceedings toward them is felt there as it ought; and has engaged their affections, equally with their duty and interest, in the common cause.

The diligence and ardour with which you have entered upon the consideration of the British interests in the East-Indies, are worthy of your wisdom, justice, and humanity.—To protect the persons and fortunes of millions in those distant regions, and to combine our prosperity with their happiness, are objects which amply repay the utmost labour and exertion.

Gentlemen of the House of Commons,

I return you my very particular thanks for the very liberal supplies which you have granted, with so much chearfulness and zeal, for the service of the current year. I reflect with extreme regret upon the heavy expence which the circumstances of public affairs unavoidably call for. It shall be my care to husband your means to the best advantage, and, as far as depends on me, to apply that œconomy which I have endeavoured to set on foot in my civil establishment, to those more extensive branches of public expenditure, in which still more important advantages may be expected.

My Lords and Gentlemen,

The important successes, which, under the favour of Divine Providence, the valour of my fleet in the West-Indies hath obtained, promise a favourable issue to our operations in that quarter. The events of war in the East Indies have also been prosperous. Nothing however can be more repugnant to my feelings than the long continuance of so complicated a war.

My ardent desire of peace has induced me to take every measure which promised the speediest accomplishment of my wishes; and I will continue to exert my best endeavours for that purpose. But if, for want of a corresponding disposition in our enemies, I should be disappointed in the hope I entertain of a speedy termination of the calamities of war, I rely on the spirit, affection, and unanimity of my parliament and people to support the honour of my crown, and the interests of my kingdoms; not doubting that the blessings of heaven, which I devoutly implore upon our arms, employed as they are in our just and necessary defence, will enable me to obtain fair and reasonable terms of pacification. The most triumphant career of victory would not excite me to aim at more; and I have the satisfaction to be able to add, that I I see no reason which should induce me to think of accepting less.

Then the lord chancellor, by his majesty's command, said,

My

My Lords and Gentlemen,

It is his majesty's royal will and pleasure, that this parliament be prorogued to Tuesday, the 3d day of September next, to be then here holden; and this parliament is accordingly prorogued to Tuesday, the 3d day of September next.

The Sixth Report of the Commissioners appointed to examine, take, and state the Public Accounts of this Kingdom.

Presented to the House of Commons on the 11th of February, 1782.

IN pursuance of the directions of the act by which we are appointed, our attention has hitherto been engaged, principally in marking the delay which affects the public money in its passage, either from the pocket of the subject into the Exchequer, or from the Exchequer back again into the possession of the person who becomes entitled to it; but of still greater importance to the public is the diminution it suffers in its progress.

Intent upon the object pointed out to us by the act, as the first for our consideration, namely, that the public might avail themselves, as soon as possible, of the balances in the hands of accountants; we have, in the offices that have as yet come under our examination, applied ourselves chiefly to the investigation of these balances, and reported upon them with as much expedition as we were able; adding only such suggestions of immediate regulation as arose out of the subject, and occurred to us in the course of that investigation, but deferring, as a matter separate and distinct, the execution of that part of the act which directs us "to report an exact state of the fees or gratuities paid or given in collecting, issuing, expending, and accounting for the public monies, and the authority under which such fees and gratuities are paid or received."

In the course of our examination into the office of the paymaster-general of the forces, we observed in the account of the payments made by him out of the deduction of twelve-pence in the pound, and one day's pay for the year 1778, annexed to our last report, No. 7, a charge of 32,571l. 7s. 10d. paid for fees at the Exchequer. So large a sum of fees paid by one officer, to one office in one year demanded our attention, and led us to require from this office the sum total of the fees paid at the receipt of his majesty's Exchequer, by the paymaster-general of the forces, during the year 1780; the accounts of that year being then under our consideration.

By the return made to that requisition, it appears that these fees, in the year 1780, amounted to 39,198l. 6s. 10d. and that they consisted of a poundage on the money issued.

As the annual supplies last year exceeded that of all former years, and may increase, and all poundage fees on those supplies will increase in proportion, we thought it incumbent upon us to proceed to an immediate examination into the article of fees, and of the principles upon which they are founded; to the intent, that, should they be deemed a subject worthy the interposition of the legislature, the public may not remain without the benefit of a speedy remedy for a pressing and increasing evil.

We have had under our examination two offices of large public expenditure; the pay-office of the navy, and the pay-office of the army. To each of these we issued our precepts for an exact state of the salaries, fees, and gratuities, received by the respective officers and clerks in those offices, from the 24th

of

of December, 1779, to the 25th of December, 1780, with the amount thereof received by each officer and clerk, during the ſaid period.

To the ſeveral branches of the receipt of his majeſty's Exchequer, that is to ſay, to the auditor, the clerk of the pells, the tellers, the chamberlains, the uſher, and the paymaſters of exchequer bills, we iſſued the like precepts; and returns were made to us from all theſe offices.

We have thought it expedient, in the courſe of this enquiry, where the office is not executed by the principal officer, but by his deputy, or firſt clerk, to examine the latter only, as probably beſt qualified to give us the information we wanted. We have omitted likewiſe, as more minute than neceſſary, to examine thoſe inferior officers and clerks who receive ſmall ſalaries only, or inconſiderable fees.

As our account of the emoluments of theſe offices is taken in a year of the moſt expenſive war, we have required and ſtated, where we have been able to obtain it, the net produce of each office in time of peace.

At the cloſe of our examination into each office, we have ſtated and inſerted, in the appendix, an account of the ſalaries, allowances, fees, and gratuities, diſtinguiſhed under their ſeveral heads, and the total amount thereof received by each officer and clerk in that office, with the ſums paid for taxes, and other diſburſements; and the net produce to each officer and clerk, during the year 1780; and diſtinguiſhing, as far as appeared to us, without entering into too long an examination, to what amount each office is a charge upon the public, the civil liſt, and individuals. But we muſt at the ſame time remark, that moſt of the ſums for fees and gratuities, ſtated by us, paid by individuals, are ultimately paid by, and a charge upon, either the civil liſt or the public. This latter diſtinction we have made, not conſidering the intereſt of the crown as ſeparate from the intereſt of the public; but becauſe the ſavings, if ſuch there ſhould be, in the one caſe, fall into the fund appropriated for the ſupport of his majeſty's civil government; and in the other, into the ſinking fund.

We have diſtinguiſhed the taxes paid by the officers, that is the land-tax, and the one ſhilling and ſix pence duties, from their other diſburſements; becauſe the charge of the public, in ſupporting theſe offices, is leſſened by as much of theſe taxes as gets back again into the Exchequer. But, not being able eaſily to diſcover what diminution they ſuffer in their progreſs, we have only ſtated the amount of them, without deducting them from the expences of the public.

From the return of the pay-office of the navy, and from the examinations of the right hon. Welbore Ellis, treaſurer of the navy; Andrew Douglas, eſq. his paymaſter; John Slade, eſq. firſt clerk in the caſhier's branch; Adam Jellicoe, eſq. firſt clerk in the pay-branch; George Swaffield, eſq. caſhier; Mr. John Fennel, chief clerk, and Mr. Robert Walker, ſecond clerk in the victualling branch, we obtained the following information relative to the profits accruing to the officers and clerks in this office.

The buſineſs in the pay-office of the navy is tranſacted by the treaſurer, the paymaſter, and thirty-five officers and clerks, nine of which are in the caſhier's branch, twenty in the pay-branch, and ſix in the victualling branch.

The profits of theſe officers conſiſt

ſiſt of ſix heads; ſalaries; allowances for extra ſervices, and for telling money at the Bank; perquiſites of odd pence; for caſting defalcations; and for entering probates, and other inſtruments.

The treaſurer and his paymaſter are paid by ſalaries only, and have no other fee or gratuity whatever. The officers and clerks receive ſalaries, and alſo the allowances and perquiſites above mentioned.

The treaſurer is appointed by the crown, and holds his office during pleaſure. He receives a ſalary of two thouſand pounds a-year, reduced, by the payment of the one ſhilling and ſixpenny duties, to 1850l. He appoints the paymaſter, and all the other officers and clerks in the office.

The paymaſter has a ſalary of 500l. a-year, reduced by the ſame duties to 462l. 10s. He executes alſo the offices of caſhier and accountant, for which he receives no additional ſalary or emolument whatever.

The ſalaries of the other officers and clerks are from forty to eighty pounds a-year, according to their ſeveral employments. Beſides which, they have the allowances and perquiſites following.

An allowance for extra ſervice, which is made to thoſe clerks who attend the payment of wages and the yards, and who complete what are called the full books for payment of the ſhips and yards. This allowance is intended to defray their travelling expences, and as a recompence for their extra trouble. The rate at which it is paid is ſeven ſhillings a-day for the number of days in which each clerk is ſo employed.

An allowance for telling money at the Bank is a poundage, at the rate of five ſhillings for every thouſand pounds, allowed by the navy-board to thoſe clerks who receive money at the Bank for the payment of the ſhips and yards; in conſequence of which allowance, each clerk is accountable for any deficiency there may be either in the weight or tale of the money he receives.

The odd pence is a perquiſite to thoſe officers and clerks, who are employed in making payments. Thoſe whoſe buſineſs it is to pay perfect bills, the navy courſe, and bills drawn by the navy and ſick and hurt boards, pay the even money only upon theſe bills, and retain to themſelves the odd pence under a ſhilling. Thoſe who are employed in the payment of the officers, ſeamen, and artificers in the dock-yards, retain the odd pence under ſix-pence; in conſideration of which, they are all bound to make good any miſtakes they may make in their payments.

The perquiſite for caſting defalcations, is a gratuity, uſually at the rate of one guinea by the hundred pounds, paid by the chaplains, ſurgeons, and purſers of the navy, to the officer who caſts and pays to them their ſeveral ſhares of the deductions made from the ſeamen's wages.

The perquiſite for entering probates of wills, letters of adminiſtration, and warrants of attorney, is a fee of two ſhillings and ſix pence each entry, paid to the clerk in whoſe department it lies to regiſter theſe inſtruments.

The ſalaries and allowances for extra-ſervices, and for telling money at the Bank, are paid, for the moſt part, quarterly, by bills aſſigned by the navy or victualling-boards upon the treaſurer, out of money received by him, either to pay ſalaries, or from old ſtores, or under ſome other head of ſervice ſpecified

in the assignments; and consequently all these are paid by the public.

The perquisites are either detained out of sums due to particular persons, or paid by those who apply to have their business transacted at the office; and therefore do not come out of the public purse, but from the pockets of individuals.

The authority upon which the receipt of the several profits of this office is grounded, is either an order of the privy-council, or usage.

By an order of the privy-council, dated the 25th of May, 1699, the salary of the treasurer of the navy is settled at two thousand pounds a year; that of his paymaster, at five hundred pounds; that of his accountant, at four hundred pounds; and the salaries of thirteen clerks, seven at eighty pounds each, and six at forty pounds each; and in the ordinary estimate of the navy voted by parliament every year, are inserted allowances,—to the treasurer of the navy, two thousand pounds; to his paymaster and cashier, five hundred pounds; to twenty-two clerks, six of them eighty pounds, nine fifty pounds, and seven forty pounds each. But an increase of the business in this office for these late years, has rendered it necessary to increase the clerks to the present number, thirty-five; and to every increase the consent of the navy-board is necessary.

The allowances and perquisites are such as have been usually paid and taken by the officers and clerks in their several departments, as far back as the memory of the oldest officers, now employed in this office, reaches.

From the account set forth in the appendix, it appears, that the gross amount of the emoluments received in the pay-office of the navy, was 8150l. 10s. ½d. of which the salaries, allowances for extra-service, and for telling money at the Bank, amounting to 6545l. 4s. 8d. was paid by the public; and the residue, being 1605l. 5s. 4½d. by individuals; the net receipt of this office was 7938l. ½d.

By the return made to us from the pay-office of the army, and the examinations of the right hon. Richard Rigby, pay-master-general of the forces; Timothy Caswall, esq. deputy paymaster; John Powell, esq. cashier; Charles Bembridge, esq. accountant; John Adam Frederick Hesse, esq. ledger-keeper; Thomas Bangham, esq. computer of off-reckonings; Robert Randal, esq. cashier of half-pay; and Robert Molesworth, esq. entering clerk; we received the following account of the salaries paid to, and the fees and gratuities taken by, the officers and clerks in the pay-office of the army.

This office consists of the paymaster-general, his deputy, a cashier, an accountant, a ledger-keeper, a computer of off-reckonings, a cashier of half-pay, and an entering clerk, with eight inferior clerks, an office-keeper, a house-keeper, and two messengers; and nine deputy paymasters abroad.

The paymaster-general appoints his deputies, and all the officers and clerks employed in his office; they are all paid by salaries or allowances, fees and gratuities.

The paymaster-general, his deputy, the inferior officers and clerks, and deputy paymasters abroad, have certain salaries or allowances only; the six officers who are next to the deputy paymaster, receive salaries, fees, and gratuities.

The paymaster-general is appointed by letters patent under the great seal, during pleasure; he receives

four

four annual allowances as paymaſter-general of the forces, and one as treaſurer of Chelſea hoſpital: the four are 3000l. as the particular ſalary belonging to his office, 1760l. for the payment of clerks, 600l. for the contingent expences of his office, and twenty ſhillings a day as one of the ſtaff upon the eſtabliſhment; the other allowance is twenty ſhillings a day as treaſurer of Chelſea hoſpital. The amount of theſe allowances is 6,092l. out of which he paid for himſelf and officers in taxes, 962l. 19s. 9d. to clerks 1707l. and for the contingent diſburſements of his office, 360l. 7s. 8d. making together 3,030l. 7s. 5d. which reduces his clear receipt to 3,061l. 12s. 7d.

The deputy paymaſter has two ſalaries, of 500l. a year each; one reduced, by the one ſhilling and ſixpenny duties, to 462l. 10s. the other paid without deduction; together, clear, 962l. 10s.

The ſix following officers are thoſe who have fees and gratuities as well as ſalaries.

The caſhier receives a ſalary of 200l. a year, reduced by the one ſhilling duty to 190l. and an additional annual allowance of 270l. paid to him without deduction. His fees and gratuities amounted to 6,715l. 19s. 6d. which, with his ſalaries, made his clear receipt 7,175l. 19s. 6d. But, as theſe fees are not always paid at the time the buſineſs is done, this ſum, though received in the year 1780, may include fees that accrued in a preceding year; it certainly does not include the fees for all the buſineſs done by him in that year; the remitters had not paid him their fees upon the warrants for the remittances iſſued to them after the month of February, 1780; and it appears from an account of thoſe remittances, extracted from the account of the extraordinary ſervices incurred by the paymaſter-general of the forces for the year 1780, that the ſum iſſued to them between the 1ſt of March, and the 31ſt of December, in that year, was 2,312,830l. the fees upon which being at the rate of one guinea by the thouſand pounds, amount to 2,427l. 12s. and being divided equally between the caſhier and accountant, would have added 1,213l. 16s. to the receipt of each, and would have increaſed that of the caſhier to 8,389l. 15s. 6d.

The ſalary of the accountant is 150l. a year, reduced by the one ſhilling duty to 142l. 10s. He received in fees 1,358l. 17s. 9d. which, added to his ſalary, makes his clear receipt to have been 1,501l. 7s. 9d. Had the remitters paid all their fees, it had been increaſed by the addition of 1,213l. 16s. to the ſum of 2,715l. 3s. 9d.

The ledger keeper's ſalary is 100l. a year, beſides which, he receives annually 80l. from the computer of off-reckonings, and 100l. from the caſhier of half-pay: his fees amounted to 394l. 16s. making, all together, 674l. 16s. He paid out of this ſum, for taxes, fifteen pounds, to his deputy 80l. pounds; and to another aſſiſtant fifty pounds; together, 145l. which reduced his net receipt to 529l. 16s. The preſent ledger-keeper has, by reaſon of his age and infirmities, executed his office by deputy, ever ſince his appointment in 1765.

The computer of off-reckonings has no other ſalary but that of eighty pounds, which he pays to the ledger-keeper; his net profits aroſe from his fees, which amounted to 1,038l. 5s. 6d.

The caſhier of half pay receives eighty pounds a year ſalary; the total of his fees was 617l. 5s. together,

gether, 697l. 5d. out of which he paid, for taxes, fourteen pounds, and to the ledger-keeper one hundred pounds; this reduced his clear receipt to 583l. 5s.

Sixty pounds is the ſalary of the entering-clerk, which, with 1,448l. 15s. 4d. received by fees, made his groſs receipt 1,508l. 15s. 4d. reduced by 10l. 10s. paid for taxes, to 1,498l. 5s. 4d.

The other clerks are paid from fifty to one hundred pounds a-year, according to their ſtations and employments in the office, and receive no fees or gratuities whatever.

The deputy paymaſters abroad are paid an allowance, ſix of them thirty ſhillings a day, and three of them three pounds a day.

The fees received by theſe officers are as various as the buſineſs they execute; each has fees peculiar to his branch: they conſiſt, ſome of them, of a poundage upon the ſums contained in warrants brought for payment, and in receipts; others, of certain ſums per regiment, paid either annually or upon tranſacting particular branches of the regimental buſineſs; others of them are certain ſums for reports, certificates, receipts, entries, or other articles of official buſineſs.

The gratuities are voluntary donations upon the payment of warrants, or for creating ſome trouble to the office; and are given to officers of the department where the buſineſs is tranſacted.

It appears from the account of the payments made by the paymaſter-general, out of the deductions of twelve-pence in the pound, and one day's pay, for the year 1780, that the ſalary and allowances to the paymaſter-general (except the twenty ſhillings a-day on the ſtaff) and the two additional ſalaries to the deputy and caſhier, and the allowances to the deputy-paymaſters abroad, are paid out of the deductions of twelve-pence in the pound; the twenty ſhillings a day on the ſtaff, is paid to him, in like manner as the general and ſtaff-officers in Great Britain are paid, out of the money granted for the ordinary ſervices of the army: all theſe payments are therefore a charge upon the public. The paymaſter-general himſelf pays the other ſalaries, out of the ſum of 1,760l. allowed him for that purpoſe. The fees and gratuities are paid by the remitters, contractors, agents, and perſons whoſe buſineſs brings them to the office, and therefore come immediately out of their pockets, though much the greateſt part of them ultimately fall upon the public.

Uſage of office is the general ground upon which theſe ſeveral payments reſt, except in the two inſtances of the additional allowances to the deputy and the caſhier, which are founded on ſpecial circumſtances. The five hundred pounds a year addition to the deputy, is paid to him by a warrant, dated 18th March, 1774; it commenced on the 10th October, 1771, and is to continue as long as he holds this office. The ground ſtated in the warrant is, that the then emoluments of the office were not an adequate compenſation for his trouble, care, and fidelity: predeceſſors in this office had not this additional ſalary; for they enjoyed, at the ſame time, what the preſent deputy had not, other appointments under the crown.

The warrant for the payment of the additional two hundred and ſeventy pounds a year to the caſhier, is dated the 10th of July, 1765, and ſtates it to be made to him for his trouble, care, diligence, and fidelity, in the execution of the buſineſs committed to his charge.

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The allowance to the paymaſter-general of twenty ſhillings a day upon the ſtaff, is voted annually upon the eſtabliſhment, and, together with the twenty ſhillings a day as treaſurer of Chelſea hoſpital, is inſerted in his letters-patent: all the ſalaries and allowances paid to him are ſuch as have been allowed to his predeceſſors in this office; and all the ſalaries, fees, and gratuities, received by the officers and clerks, and deputy-paymaſters, are the ſame as have been paid to, and received by, thoſe who have gone before them.

From the account in the appendix it appears, that the groſs amount of the emoluments received in this office, was 25,108l. 19s. 1d. the net amount was 23,561l. 1s. 8d. The ſum of 13,450l. received for ſalaries and allowances, was paid by the public: the ſum of 11,573l. 19s. 1d. for fees and gratuities, was paid by individuals.

There is moreover another gratuity given to the officers and clerks in each of theſe pay-offices upon paſſing the final accounts of a treaſurer and paymaſter-general in the office of the auditor of the impreſt. This gratuity is craved of the commiſſioners of the treaſury, by a memorial from the reſpective officers and clerks in each office, as a compenſation for their trouble in carrying on and making up the accounts of a treaſurer and paymaſter-general after his reſignation. The quantum of it bears ſome proportion to the total ſum contained in the account to be paſſed. It is allowed to them by a treaſury-warrant, out of the balance remaining in the hands of the accountant, and is therefore paid out of a public fund. Theſe allowances have been made ever ſince the Revolution, and, by the accounts of them from that period, tranſmitted to us from theſe offices, it appears, that in the pay-office of the navy, the inſtances of theſe gratuities, from the year 1683, to the year 1772, when the laſt accounts of Mr. Doddington, ending in the year 1756, were paſſed, are ſeventeen, and amount to 54,162l. 17s. 9¼d. And in the pay-office of the army, the inſtances from the ſame year, to the year 1772, when the accounts of lord Darlington, and others, ending 24th June, 1757, were paſſed, are nine, and amount to 46,112l. 18s. making together 100,275l. 15s. 9¼d. paid by the public during that period, in theſe gratuities.

In the Exchequer, ſix offices came under our examination; namely, the auditor of the receipt, the clerk of the pells, the tellers, the chamberlains, the uſher, and the paymaſters of exchequer bills. There are ſome circumſtances common to them all; ſalaries or allowances, fees, and gratuities, are the heads under which may be ranged the profits of all the officers and clerks.

The gratuities are uſual voluntary donations, either from public offices or individuals: the yearly accounts are made up to Michaelmas eve; and therefore the accounts of the receipts and payments for the year 1780, which is the year we are enquiring into, are made up to the Michaelmas of that year.

In the firſt five of theſe offices, the principal appoints the deputy and clerks. The firſt four of them have tables hung up in each office, by which their fees are regulated; theſe fees conſiſt either of a poundage, or of certain payments for particular articles of buſineſs tranſacted in each office, and are paid by the perſons either paying in, or receiving money out of the exchequer, or applying for their particular buſineſs.

The return made to our precept by

by the duke of Newcaſtle, auditor of the receipt of his majeſty's exchequer, and the examinations of Edward Wilford, eſq. his firſt clerk, and of Mr. Williams Jones, the tally-writer, ſupplied us with a knowledge of the ſtate of the emoluments received by the officers and clerks in this branch of the Exchequer, the buſineſs of which is tranſacted by the auditor and twenty-three fixed clerks, with other occaſional aſſiſtants when wanted.

The auditor is appointed for life, by a conſtitution under the hands and ſeals of the commiſſioners of the treaſury. All the exchequer bills, orders, debentures, patents, and other inſtruments which paſs this office, are ſigned by him; the official profits are not received by himſelf, but by his firſt clerk, who accounts with him for them every month; he receives eleven annual allowances, enumerated in an account tranſmitted to us, and inſerted in the appendix, amounting to 3,766l. 1s. he has a ſmall annual fee from the wardrobe, of 4l. 17s. and is entitled to fees on the receipt of money into, and iſſue of money out of the Exchequer; the firſt amounted to 170l. 13s. 9d. the latter, to 12,554l. 2s. 6d. The ſum he received by fees for entering patents, and upon impreſt bills, was 39l. 5s. and in gratuities, 345l. 7s. the groſs amount of all which was 16,880l. 6s. 3d. Out of which ſum he made the following payments: for taxes, 872l. 12s. to clerks, 1,662l. 10s. for incidental expences of office, 329l. 2d. together, 2,864l. 2s. 2d. which reduced his clear receipt to 14,016l. 4s. 1d.

The firſt clerk has an annual allowance of 100l. and the clerk's fees, amounting to 3,001l. 16s. 8d. his gratuities were, 142l. 17s. making, together, 3,244l. 13s. 8d. reduced, by payments for taxes, clerks, and incidental expences, to 2,752l. 3s. 6d.

The reſt of the clerks have ſalaries, in proportion to their rank and employment, paid to them either by the auditor, or his firſt or other clerks: they have fees likewiſe and gratuities of various kinds; and out of what they receive, make various payments. An account of all which, as tranſmitted to us from this office, is inſerted in the appendix.

The foundation of theſe allowances and fees, and the authority under which they are claimed and paid, are as follows:

Upon the king's acceſſion, a certificate is tranſmitted from the auditor's office to the treaſury, purſuant to their requiſition, conſiſting of two liſts; one containing the ſeveral fees, ſalaries, and allowances, that have by ancient cuſtom, letters patent, conſtitutions, or other authorities, been paid to the officers and miniſters of the Exchequer, either in right of their offices or employments, or in reward for their ſervices; the other containing the fees, ſalaries, or allowances, that have been ſettled and allowed them for their labour and expence in managing and performing the buſineſs of the annuities payable at the Exchequer. This certificate is ſent back to the Exchequer, annexed to a warrant directed to the auditor, authoriſing him to draw orders or paſs debentures for paying, from time to time, in the uſual manner, and at the accuſtomed times, to the officers, the ſums in the certificate mentioned; the firſt liſt amounting to 1,801l. 9s. out of the money applicable to his majeſty's civil government; the other, amounting to 5,900l. out of the reſpective funds applicable to the payment of the annuities.

This warrant ſtates the authority under

under which the treaſury iſſued it, to be, as to the firſt liſt, either the letters patent, conſtitutions, or authorities, whereby the officers hold their employments, or the general letters patent dormant (by which the king empowers them to make variety of payments, therein deſcribed, out of the civil liſt); and, as to the ſecond liſt, either the powers given to them by the reſpective acts of parliament relative to annuities, or any other power in them being.

In this certificate are contained the eleven allowances made to the auditor: the two firſt of them, amounting to 460l. 3s. 4d. are in the firſt liſt, and paid to him in right of his office: the other nine, making 3,305l. 17s. 8d. are in the ſecond liſt, and paid to him as a recompence for his trouble in the buſineſs of the annuities, by virtue of the power veſted in the treaſury by the ſeveral acts, to provide for the charges of management.

The fees of the auditor, upon the receipt of money, are, 1ſt, about one fourth part of the tally-court fees; of which fourth, his clerk attending in the tally-court has a ſhare. 2dly, Part of a ſum allowed by the treaſury to ſome of the exchequer officers for the tallies of loan which are exempt from fees.

The fees upon the iſſue are, a poundage upon money iſſued for certain ſervices, not for all ſervices. In the year 1780, the ſum on which the poundage fees were paid was near eight millions: upwards of twenty-two millions more were iſſued in that year, for which neither the auditor nor his clerks received any fees whatever. The others fees are, certain payments for tranſacting particular kinds of buſineſs. All theſe fees are regulated by a table, ſpecifying, both for the auditor and his clerks, the rate, where it is a poundage, otherwiſe the *quantum*, of each fee: this table is for the moſt part grounded upon uſage, recogniſed as ancient by the barons of the Exchequer in the year 1692, as to thoſe fees the ſubject matter of which exiſted at that time; and acquieſced in, as to thoſe fees the ſubject matter of which is of a date ſubſequent to that year.

By an act, paſſed in the 3d year of William and Mary, the officers of the Exchequer were prohibited from taking any other fees, for the receiving or iſſuing the ſupplies granted by that or any other act of parliament, except ſuch ancient and legal fees as ſhould be allowed to be ſo by the barons of the court of Exchequer; who were required to preſent to both houſes of parliament, at the next ſeſſions, a table of fees, to be by them allowed as ancient and legal. The barons, in purſuance of this power, made a report, containing the table required: this report is enrolled in the office of the king's remembrancer: a copy of it is inſerted in the appendix; it comprehends the fees to be taken upon the receipt and iſſue of money in the offices of the auditor, the clerk of the pells, the tellers, and the tally court; and is the rule, though the act is long ſince expired, by which they are governed at this day, except in ſome few inſtances, where uſage ſince that report has introduced variations; one of which is, by the barons report, the whole of the fees paid to the officers of the Exchequer, upon the iſſue of money for the army ſervices in general, was three halfpence in the pound; but, ever ſince the year 1744, a difference has been made between the iſſue for the ordinary and extraordinary ſer-

vices; the fees for the first continue at three halfpence; those for the latter are reduced to one penny only in the pound.

These payments come out of different funds. The two first allowances to the auditor, the treasury allowance for the tallies of loan, the wardrobe fee, and the allowance to the first clerk, which is included in the first list of the Exchequer certificate, are paid out of the civil list; the other nine allowances are paid out of the funds created by the several acts, and therefore out of the public money. The fees of the tally court, and from issues, and for other business, are paid immediately by individuals; but all the Exchequer fees paid on the issues for the army services, amounting, in the year 1780, to 39,198l. 7s. 10d. are charged by the paymaster-general of the forces upon the deductions of twelve-pence in the pound, and therefore paid by the public. Of the sum of 7,980,340l. on the issue of which fees were paid, 7,311,732l. part thereof, was money belonging to the public; 668,608l. other part, was out of the civil list.

From the account in the appendix, it appears, that the total sum received in this office, was 21,273l. 16s. the net sum was 19,880l. 16s. 4d. the sum of 13,708l. 12s. 1d. was paid by the public; 1,116l. 7s. 5d. out of the civil list; and 6,448l. 16s. 6d. by individuals.

From the return made to us by the right hon. sir Edward Walpole, clerk of the pells, and the examinations of Edward Roberts, esq. his deputy and first clerk, and Mr. Henry Thomas, clerk of the introitus, we learned the state of the profits received by the officers and clerks in this office; which office consists of the clerk of the pells, his deputy and first clerk, and fourteen inferior clerks.

The clerk of the pells is appointed for life, by a constitution under the hands and seals of the commissioners of the treasury, to exercise his office either by himself or deputy. In consequence of this privilege, it has not been usual, for many years, for the clerk of the pells to execute any part of the business himself; the deputy transacts the whole, and receives and accounts with his principal for all the profits that belong to him. The clerk of the pells receives thirteen distinct allowances, set forth in the return, amounting to 1,603l. 0s. 11d. paid to him by order or debenture. One of them, 61l. 13s. 4d, is inserted in his constitution, and is, together with six more, making 306l. 1s. 8d. included in the first list in the Exchequer certificate, and therefore payable out of the civil list: the remaining six, amounting to 1,235l. 5s. 11d. are in the second list, and therefore payable out of the respective annuity funds. His fees upon the receipt consist of about one-fourth part both of the tally-court fees and of the treasury allowance for the tallies of loan; a certain part of both of which is appropriated to his clerk of the introitus. His share of these fees and allowances came to 194l. 5s. 10½d. His fees on the issue are, like those of the auditor, a poundage, at different rates for different services, paid by the persons receiving, according to a table hung up in the office, taken, and varying but little from the barons report; and according to the same table, some ancient fees are taken for the entries, enrollments, and examinations of certain instruments. All the above fees amounted to 7,700l. 2s. 8d. and his gratuities

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from the public offices, to 55l. 1s. which made his groſs receipt 9,432l. 1s. 6d. out of which he paid 1,834l. 9s. 6d. The particulars of theſe payments are ſtated in a return inſerted in the appendix, and reduced his clear receipt to 7,597l. 12s. 0½d.

The deputy and firſt clerk has a ſalary of 420l. a year paid to him by his principal: his fees are, a poundage upon one head of iſſue only, that is, the iſſue on annuities, penſions, &c. at the rate ſtated in the barons report; and alſo ſome other ſmall fees and gratuities enumerated in the account of the officers and clerks fees in the appendix, amounting to 283l. 6s. 1d. Theſe two ſums were reduced, by the payment of 22l. for taxes, to the net ſum of 681l. 6s. 1d.

The clerk of the introitus has a ſhare of the tally-court fees, and of the treaſury allowance, and ſome other ſmall fees, allowances and gratuities; the whole producing 348l. 9s. 9½d. reduced, by 9l. 7s. for taxes, to 339l. 2s. 9½d.

The reſt of the clerks have ſalaries, from 50l. to 120l. paid them by the principal, and a few of them ſome ſmall fees and gratuities.

From a ſtate of the total received and paid in this office, the ſum received was 10,269l. 19s. 2½d. the net ſum 9,543l. 13s. 9½d. the ſum paid by the public, 5,964l. 4s. 9d. out of the civil liſt, 752l. 1s. 3½d. and from individuals, 3,553l. 13s. 2d.

From the return made to our precept, and the examinations of Daniel Wray, William Price, Richard Welles, and Charles Townſhend, eſqrs. the deputies and firſt clerks of the right hon. earl of Hardwicke, the earl of Northington, earl Temple, and the hon. John Jeffrey Pratt, the four tellers of the Exchequer, we obtained an account of the emoluments received in this office.

The tellers is one office in four diviſions; each conſiſting of a teller, a deputy and firſt clerk, two offices executed by the ſame perſon, a ſecond clerk and three inferior clerks; in all twenty-four perſons. The teller is appointed for life, by letters patent, which empower him to execute the office by deputy; and therefore the whole buſineſs of theſe offices is now, and long has been, tranſacted entirely by deputies. The teller himſelf executes no part of it; he does not collect his own profits; they are received and accounted for to him by his deputy.

Each teller receives yearly an ancient ſalary or fee belonging to this office; the ſenior 33l. 6s. 8d. the three juniors, 31l. 13s. 4d. each. They have likewiſe ſix annual allowances from the treaſury for their trouble in paying the annuities, which are equally divided among the four: the ſhare of each is 339l. 14s. 1¼d. Theſe ſalaries and allowances are in the Exchequer certificate; the ſalaries in the firſt liſt, the allowances in the ſecond. The tellers are paid nothing upon the receipt of money; their fees ariſe from the iſſue, and conſiſt of a poundage on iſſues, not for all, but for certain ſervices, and different for different ſervices, according to rates ſpecified in the table of fees ſtated in the return, and taken from the barons report, but varying from it in the rate on the iſſues for the extraordinaries of the army, as before mentioned, and on the iſſues for penſions and ſome other ſervices, which, though ſubject to fees in

that report, are ſince exempted by acts of parliament. Theſe fees are divided equally amongſt the four tellers; and the ſhare of each was 7,038l. 15s. 0½d. The ſum, on the iſſue of which theſe fees were taken, was near 16,000,000l. the ſum, for which no fees were taken, was upwards of 14,000,000l. as being exempt either by acts of parliament, courteſy, or uſage. The ſum ſubject to fees in the office of the tellers exceeds the ſum ſubject to fees in the offices of the auditor, and clerk of the pells; for the barons report makes the ſum iſſued to the navy, (which in the year 1780 exceeded 6,000,000l.) and to the ordnance, liable in the one, and not in the other. The ſalary, and one-fourth part of the allowances and fees which conſtitute the groſs receipt of the firſt teller, amounted to 7,409l. 17s. 1¼d. out of which he paid for clerks, taxes, gratuities, and incidental expences, 713l. 5s. 4¼d; the remainder, being his net receipt, was 6,696l. 11s. 9½d.

The groſs receipt of the ſecond teller, conſiſting of the like articles, and alſo of 40l. for the rent of a houſe belonging to his office, was 7,450l. 2s. 5¾d. his payments for clerks, taxes, and incidents, were 772l. 16s. 6d. which left him a net receipt of 6,677l. 5s. 11½d.

The groſs receipt of the third teller, was the like ſum: his payments were 742l. 17s. which left him a clear balance of 6,707l. 5s. 5¾d. but the third teller, taking to himſelf a portion of his firſt clerk's fees, amounting to 1,108l. 15s. 7d. and all his ſecond clerk's fees (deducting the taxes), being 1,337l. 2s. 1d. his net receipt was 9,153l. 3s. 1¼d.

The profits of the office of the fourth teller, (which were divided between Mr. Townſhend, the late teller, or his executors, and Mr. Pratt, who ſucceeded to this office, May 21, 1780) were 7,511l. 3s. 7¾d. there ductions were 771l. 0s. 1d. which reduced the clear receipt to 6,740l. 3s. 6¾d. The articles compoſing theſe ſeveral receipts and deductions, and thoſe which follow relative to the clerks, are enumerated in the return tranſmitted to us from this office.

The deputy, as ſuch, has no profit whatever: but, as firſt clerk, he has fees both upon the receipt and iſſue: the fees upon the receipt are called bill-money, and are in conſideration of his writing the bills: they are paid according to an ancient table of fees uſed in the office, and ſtated in the return; not included in the barons report, becauſe that report relates to the ſupplies granted by that parliament only. This bill-money is divided equally among the four firſt clerks; the ſhare of each was 182l. 9s.

The fees upon the iſſue, are a poundage, after a certain rate, for certain ſervices, according to the barons report, ſimilar to that of the tellers, with the like variations and exemptions: theſe fees are divided into eight equal parts, and belong to the four firſt and the four ſecond clerks; the eighth part or ſhare of each was 1,379l. 12s. 1d. Each firſt clerk receives alſo annually, in gratuities from public offices, 46l. 4s. Theſe articles, of bill-money, fees, and gratuities, making together 1,608l. 5s. 1d. was the groſs receipt of the firſt clerks to the three junior tellers. The firſt clerk to the ſenior teller received more; he had the allowance of 339l. 14s. and 230l. out of the fees of the ſecond clerk,

clerk, in conſideration of his paying the ſalaries of the three under clerks, and as an additional recompence of his care and trouble in the execution of his office. Theſe ſums increaſed his groſs receipt to 2,177l. 19s. 1d. out of which he paid in taxes, for clerks, and other expences, 457l. 1s. reducing thereby his net receipt to 1,720l. 18s. 1d. The firſt clerk to the ſecond teller reduced his receipt of 1,608l. 5s. 1d. by the payment of 51l. 14s. for taxes and incidental expences, to 1,556l. 11s. 1d. The firſt clerk to the third teller paid in taxes and gratuities 53l. 5s. 6d. the remaining ſum of 1554l. 19s. 7d. he did not retain to his own uſe: he is allowed by his teller, for the execution of this office, a ſalary of 400l. a year, and the gratuities of 46l. 4s. theſe he retains; but the reſidue, being 1,108l. 15s. 7d. he paid to the third teller. The firſt clerk to the fourth teller paid out of his receipt 53l. 5s. 6d. for taxes and gratuities, and, in addition to the ſalary of the ſenior under clerk, 37l. 12s. $0\frac{1}{4}$d. being at the rate of 100l. a year, from the 21ſt of May, the time of Mr. Pratt's appointment, to Michaelmas 1780. Theſe payments reduced his clear receipt to 1,517l. 7s. $6\frac{3}{4}$d.

The only profit appropriated to the office of the ſecond clerk, is the eighth part of the fees on the iſſues, which was 1,379l. 12s. 1d. The ſecond clerks to the firſt, ſecond, and third tellers, never attend the office, or tranſact any official buſineſs whatever; the firſt clerk receives the ſhares of the fees belonging to the ſecond, makes the uſual payments out of it, and pays the reſidue to ſuch perſon as the teller has named as his ſecond clerk, or otherwiſe to the teller himſelf. The payments out of the ſhare of the ſecond clerk to the firſt teller, were 42l. 15s. for taxes and incidents, and 230l. to the firſt clerk; the remainder, being 1,106l. 17s. 1d. was paid to the father of the ſecond clerk, who was under age.

Forty-two pounds fifteen ſhillings was the deduction out of the fees of the ſecond clerk to the ſecond teller: the remaining ſum of 1,336l. 17s. 1d. was paid to the ſecond clerk. The ſhare of the ſecond clerk to the third teller was reduced, by the payment of 42l. 10s. for taxes, to 1337l. 2s. 1d. the whole of which was paid to the third teller himſelf.

The ſecond clerk in the remaining diviſion has been in a ſituation different from the reſt. During the time Mr. Townſhend was teller, his ſecond clerk attended the buſineſs of the office, who received the fees belonging to the ſecond clerk, ſubject only to the payment of the taxes; there were then but two clerks more employed: the ſhare of theſe fees that accrued in Mr. Townſhend's life-time was 801l. 2s. 1d. out of which 26l. 10s. 6d. the proportion of taxes, being paid, the remaining 774l. 11s. 7d. was the net receipt of the ſecond clerk to Mr. Townſhend. The ſecond clerk appointed by the preſent teller has never attended; but, out of his fees, the ſenior of the under clerks, who was ſecond clerk to Mr. Townſhend, is allowed 400l. a-year: his ſhare of the fees for the remainder of the year, was 578l. 10s. out of which was paid 15l. 19s. 6d. for taxes, and 150l. 8s. $2\frac{1}{4}$d. being ſo much of the ſalary of 400l. as accrued between the time the teller was appointed and the Michaelmas following; the

remainder, being 412l. 2s. 3¼d. was paid to the father of the teller.

The under clerks are paid by ſuch ſalaries as each teller thinks proper to allow them: they have no fees; but receive ſome ſmall gratuities, amounting in the year to about 20l. to each diviſion.

An account of the receipts and payments in this office ſhews the groſs receipt to be 41,772l. 14s. 5d. and the net, 38,138l. 13s. 2¾d. 29,272l. 3s. 4d. is paid out of public money; 1,024l. 9s. out of the civil liſt; and 11,476l. 2s. 1d. by individuals.

A return was made to our precept from the chamberlain's office. We examined Abraham Farley and William Hammond, eſqrs. deputies on the receipt ſide, and James Galloway and George Roſe, eſqrs. deputies on the court ſide, to Montague Burgoyne, eſq. and the hon. Frederick North, the two chamberlains of the Exchequer. We received alſo a return from Thomas Lambe, eſq. tally-cutter, and examined Mr. Charles Alexander, his deputy.

This office conſiſts of three diviſions; the receipt ſide, or tally court; the court ſide; and the tally cutter's office: it is compoſed of nine perſons; namely, the two chamberlains, two deputies on each ſide, one under clerk on the court ſide, the tally-cutter and his deputy.

The office of chamberlain is held for life by letters patent, with power to execute it by deputy. By virtue of this privilege, theſe two officers interfere not in any part of the buſineſs of this office; it is all tranſacted on both ſides by the deputies. Each chamberlain is entitled to two annual payments, a ſalary of 52l. 3s. 4d. reduced, by taxes, to 46l. 17s. and 13l. 6s. 6d. wardrobe-money, reduced by fees to 11l. 19s. 10d. together clear 58l. 16s. 10d. The two ſalaries are in the firſt liſt of the Exchequer certificate; the wardrobe-money is a cuſtomary payment. They receive neither fee nor gratuity; but they take to themſelves a part of the profits of both their deputies. The ſenior chamberlain received, out of the fees of his deputy on the receipt ſide, 70l. and out of the fees of his deputy on the court ſide, 256l. 6s. 10d. which increaſed his net profits to 385l. 3s. 8d. The junior chamberlain received, out of the profits of his deputy on the receipt-ſide, 252l. 5s. 2d. and on the court-ſide, 274l. 6s. 10d. which made his clear receipt 585l. 8s. 10d.

The two deputies on the receipt ſide have each of them ancient ſalaries; the ſenior four, amounting to 97l. a-year; the junior three, together, 57l. a-year: the firſt liſt of the Exchequer certificate contains them all: they are alſo entitled, in equal moieties, to one-fourth part (with ſome trifling exceptions) of the fees taken in the tally-court; of which the ſhare of each deputy was 193l. 17s. 5d. each of them received a treaſury allowance for the tallies of loan, 70l. 13s 3d. and from the paymaſter-general of the forces, a gratuity of 3l. 13s. 6d. Theſe ſeveral items produced to the ſenior, 365l. 4s. 2d. reduced by the payment of 18l. 18s. 6d. for taxes, and 70l. to his principal, to the clear ſum of 276l. 5s. 8d. and produced to the junior, 325l. 4s. 2d. reduced, by the payment of 18l. 15s. 6d. for taxes, to 306l. 8s. 8d. of which ſum he retained to his own uſe a ſalary of 50l. allowed him by his principal for the execution of the office, the gratuity of 3l. 13s. 6d. and a ſum of about ten ſhillings more, making, together,

together, 54l. 3s. 6d. the remainder, being 252l. 5s. 2d. he paid to his principal.

An ancient table regulates the fees taken in the tally-court, and eſtimates them, either by the tally, or by the ſum paid in: they are received from the perſons who take away the tallies, and are divided for the moſt part into four equal portions, one of which belongs to the auditor and his clerk, another to the clerk of the pells and his clerk, a third to the two deputy chamberlains on the receipt-ſide, and a fourth to the tally-cutter.

The two deputies on the court ſide have each an ancient ſalary of five pounds a-year, inſerted in the firſt liſt of the Exchequer certificate; and are entitled, in equal moieties, to fees paid by accounts for joining tallies, according to an ancient table, and eſtimated either by the tally, or the ſum to be accounted for; the moiety of theſe fees was 26l. 7d. and of the treaſury allowance for the tallies of loan, 86l. 18s. 9d. together, to each deputy, 352l. 19s. 4d. out of this ſum, the deputy to the ſenior chamberlain paid 16l. 2s. 6d. for taxes, and three pounds for incidental expences: which reduced the clear receipt to 333l. 16s. 10d. of this ſum he retained 65l. as his ſalary for the execution of the office, and 12l. 10s. for the under clerk; the reſidue, being 265l. 6s. 10d. he paid to his principal. The like ſhare of the deputy to the junior, was reduced, by the like payments for taxes, and 12l. 10s. to the clerk, to 324l. 6s. 10d. out of which, retaining his ſalary of 50l. he paid the remaining 274l. 6s. 10d. to his principal. The under clerk has only a ſalary of 25l. a-year, paid to him out of the fees of the deputies.

The tally-cutter is appointed by conſtitution from the commiſſioners of the treaſury, during pleaſure: he executes no part of the buſineſs of this office himſelf; his deputy tranſacts the whole of it: he has a ſalary of 5l. 10s. a-year, inſerted in the firſt liſt of the Exchequer certificate, and received an allowance from the treaſury for the loan tallies of 141l. 6s. 6d. which two ſums are paid out of the civil liſt: his fourth of the tally court fees amounted to 366l. 7s. 10d. Theſe ſums, making together 513l. 4s. 4d. were reduced, by 14l. 12s. 9d. paid for taxes, and 57l. 1s. 3d. allowed to his deputy, to 441l. 10s. 4d. clear receipt. The deputy, in addition to his ſalary, received from the uſher 1l. 10s. for grinding tools, and 1l. 3s. 6d. in gratuities; which made his net receipt 59l. 14s. 9d.

The groſs charge of this office, comprehending all its diviſions, is 2,043l. 4s. 6d. to which the public contributed 7l. 7s. the civil liſt 758l. 10s. 2d. and individuals, 1,277l. 7s. 4d. the net receipt was 1,917l. 6s. 9d.

But to the expence created by this office, muſt be added thoſe portions of the tally court fees, and the treaſury allowances for the tallies of loans, paid to the auditor and the clerk of the pells, amounting together to 1,021l. 5s. included in the accounts of the profits of thoſe offices; which, added to the groſs ſum of 2,043l. 4s. 6d. increaſes the total expence of the chamberlain's office to 3,064l. 9s. 6d.

The return of the hon. Horace Walpole, uſher of the Exchequer, and the examination of Charles Bedford, eſq. his deputy, ſupplied us with a ſtate of the emoluments of this office; in which three perſons are concerned, the uſher, the deputy, and the clerk, who is alſo yeoman uſher.

The uſher is appointed for life, by letters patent, with power to exerciſe this office by deputy; which power it has been uſual for the uſher to make uſe of; and conſequently the buſineſs of this office is tranſacted entirely by the deputy. The uſher receives ſeveral ſmall half-yearly fees or payments, on different accounts, enumerated in the return, and amounting in the year to 40l. 17s. 8d. but his principal advantage is the profit he makes, by ſupplying the Treaſury and Exchequer with ſtationary and turnery ware, and ſeveral other articles, and the Exchequer with coals, and by employing the workmen who do the repairs of the Exchequer and the inſide of the Treaſury. There is an ancient table kept in the offices of the auditor and the uſher, which contains a long catalogue of the articles furniſhed by the uſher, and a certain price affixed to each article: the uſher is allowed, and charges government, for each article he furniſhes, at the rate ſtated in this table: but this table does not contain all the items he provides; for ſuch as are not included in it, he is allowed a profit of forty per cent. and on the workmen's bills for repairs he has a profit of 3s. 6d. in the pound. The total of theſe gains was 5,252l. 8s. 4¼d. and, with his fees, made his groſs receipt 5,293l. 6s. 0¼d. His deductions were, for taxes, 476l. 5¼d. to his deputy a ſalary of 144l. and one-third of the poundage on the bills for repairs, 234l. 4s. 6d. to the clerk a ſalary of 50l. and to him as yeoman uſher 36l. 8s. d. in fees 46l. 18s. and for incidental expences, 105l. 14s. 10d. The amount of theſe deductions is 1093l. 6s. 0¼d. and reduced his net receipt to 4,200l.

The deputy received, in fees from the ſtationers, and others, 145l. 5s. 11d. which, added to his ſalary, and poundage on the workmen's bills, made 523l. 10s. 5d. from which, 4l. being deducted for taxes, his net receipt was 519l. 10s. 5d. The clerk received, in gratuities, 76l. 1s. which, with his ſalary from the uſher, made 126l. 1s. As yeoman uſher, he received, in gratuities, 23l. 2s. 6d. which, with the payment from the uſher, produced 51l. 10s. 9d. together, 185l. 11s. 9d. from which there was no deduction. Hence the groſs expence of this office was 5,537l. 15s. 5¼d. the net, 4,905l. 2s. 2d. The public contributed 1007l. 6s. 8¼d. the civil liſt, 4,285l. 19s. 4d. and individuals, 244l. 9s. 5d.

By the return tranſmitted to us from the office of the paymaſters of Exchequer bills, and from the examination of Nathaniel Barwell, eſq. one of the paymaſters, we obtained the information following:

This office is executed by three paymaſters, a comptroller, an accountant, a caſhier, and two clerks; to which are added, a houſe-keeper and meſſenger, and occaſional aſſiſtant clerks. The paymaſters and comptroller, and the houſe-keeper, are appointed by the commiſſioners of the treaſury, by conſtitution, during pleaſure; the reſt of the officers are appointed by the paymaſters themſelves. This office is diſtinguiſhed from the reſt, in that the officers, as well as the clerks, are all paid by ſalaries only. No fee or gratuity whatever is taken by any of them, except a ſmall annual fee of 2l. 7s. allowed the accountant for making up his year's account. Each paymaſter has an annual ſalary of 283l. 6s. 8d. which has not varied ſince the year 1736: he pays, for himſelf and clerks, 34l. 3s. 4d. for taxes; which reduces it to 249l. 3s. 4d. The comptroller's ſalary

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is 250l. a-year; reduced, by the payment of 41l. 10s. for taxes, to 308l. 10s. The ſalaries of the reſt are paid clear of deductions, as ſtated in the return: all of them together amount to 1,620l. which is paid out of the public funds.

From the account of the contingent expences of this office, they were 169l. 17s. 7d. paid alſo by the public; ſo that the groſs expence of this office to the public, was 1,792l. 4s. 7d. the net produce to the officers, was 1,478l. 7s.

That the total amount of the expences attending the receiving and iſſuing of the public money at the receipt of his majeſty's Exchequer, may appear at one view, we ſubjoin, in the appendix, an account of the totals of the groſs and net receipt by the officers and clerks in each of theſe branches of the Exchequer, with the deductions paid thereout during the year 1780. From whence it appears, the groſs ſum received by all of them, in ſalaries, fees, and gratuities, was 82,519l. 16s. 6¾d. and the net ſum 75,863l. 19s. 3¼d. The ſum of 51,751l. 18s. 5½d. was paid by the public; 8,008l. 5d½. out of the civil liſt; 22,929l. 15s. 3d. by individuals; and 3,867l. 12s. 5¼d. for taxes.

Such is the ſtate of the ſalaries, fees, and gratuities; and ſuch the authority under which they are paid and received in theſe offices. But the act enjoins us a ſtill farther duty; it commands us "to report ſuch regulations, as, in our judgment, ſhall appear expedient to be eſtabliſhed, in order that the duties, taxes, and monies, granted, received, and appropriated for the public ſervice of this kingdom, may hereafter be received and iſſued in the manner the moſt beneficial and advantageous to the public."

Regulations to this end have, in the progreſs of this enquiry, offered themſelves to our judgment; regulations tending to introduce that ſyſtem of ſtrict œconomy in the adminiſtration of the public revenue, which the legiſlature has, by the act, determined to be neceſſary. By "ſtrict œconomy," we apprehend, is not meant ſuch as either derogates from the honour and dignity of the crown, or abridges the ſervant of the public of the due reward of his induſtry and abilities; we mean an œconomy that ſteers between extreme parſimony on the one hand, and profuſion on the other; that is conſiſtent with juſtice as well as prudence; that gives to all their full due, and to none more; that ſupports every uſeful and neceſſary eſtabliſhment, but cuts off and reduces every ſuperfluous and redundant expence. Some regulations, built upon the principle of œconomy thus defined, have for their objects the offices, the officers, and their emoluments.

An office of the higheſt antiquity, that has ſubſiſted for ages under its preſent form; that has the receipt and cuſtody of the public treaſure, upon the due adminiſtration of which depends the national credit and ſafety of the realm; an office of ſuch a deſcription is entitled to the utmoſt reſpect, and alterations in its eſtabliſhment ſhould be well weighed, and propoſed with caution and diffidence: but, as a change in the manners, cuſtoms, and, above all, in the finances of this nation, ſince the origin of this office, together with peculiar circumſtances of the times, may render regulations neceſſary, we have judged it a part of our duty to examine into the receipt of the Exchequer, with a view to an œconomical reform.

The office of the chamberlains of the Exchequer, however important

ant in ancient times, is, at this day, occupied principally in the buſineſs of the tally; which is the official acquittance to perſons paying money into the Exchequer. This acquittance has various formalities, all calculated to prevent the poſſibility of a forgery, by which the accountant might, on paſſing his accounts, be diſcharged of a ſum he never paid.

The teller is obliged, as ſoon as he receives money, to tranſmit the bill by which he charges himſelf with that receipt, through the pipe into the tally court; where the following officers attend: 1ſt, the tally-writer; who is the officer of the auditor, and takes an account of the ſum, and writes it on both ſides of the tally delivered to him, with the ſum cut upon it in notches by the tally-cutter. 2dly. The clerk of the introitus; who is the officer of the pells, and records the receipt: and 3dly, the two deputy-chamberlains on the receipt-ſide; who ſplit the tally, examine and compare the two parts with each other, and with the entry made by the clerk of the introitus. The tally is delivered to the accountant; the foil is delivered to, and kept by, the deputy chamberlains on the court-ſide, until the accountant, being about to paſs his accounts, brings to them the account of his payments into the Exchequer, with the tallies; theſe chamberlains examine the account, join the tallies with the foils, mark both, certify upon the account that the tallies are received and joined, deliver back his account to the accountant, keep the foil in the office, and ſend the tally to the clerk of the pipe. In this operation nine perſons are concerned.

It is undoubtedly true, that the public revenue cannot be too ſafely guarded againſt fraud of every kind; but if a mode of receipt can be ſubſtituted, ſimilar to what is practiſed in other offices, equally ſecure, and at but little expence, ſuch a mode demands attention.

If, inſtead of the tally court, the clerks of the auditor, and of the pells, were to attend the office of the tellers, as the bank clerk does now, and take an account of the ſums, as they are received; if an indented check receipt of each ſum was made out, compared with the entries, and marked with an intratur by the one officer, and a recordatur by the other; if this receipt was produced with the account, before it is paſſed and examined with the counterfoil, and the account compared with the entries in the office, either of the auditor, or the pells, and the truth of it certified by that officer; a check thus fenced ſeems to be as effectually ſecured againſt forgery as the tally, is a mode more ſimple, and can be tranſacted by a ſingle clerk. Nor is this check unknown in the Exchequer; the bills that are iſſued every year, to a great amount, both in number and value, are guarded by the check indenture and counterfoil.

The other buſineſs of this office may, without injury to the public, be eaſily transferred elſewhere: the cuſtody of one of the keys to the tellers cheſts, the number of which ought to be diminiſhed, may be committed to the auditor; and the cuſtody of the ſtandard weights and meaſures, and of the ſtandard pieces of gold and ſilver, cauſing little trouble, and that but ſeldom, to any other office in the Exchequer.

Seeing, therefore, no utility accruing to the public from the office of the chamberlains, beyond the la-

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bour of a ſingle clerk, but on the contrary, a conſiderable charge incurred annually, in ſupporting two chamberlains, and a tally-cutter, three ſinecures, at the expence, in the year 1780, of 1,412l. 2s. 10d. and the whole office at the expence of 3,064l. 9s. 6d. are of opinion, that public prudence requires the ſuppreſſion of this office, and the ſubſtitution of another kind of receipt in the place of the tally.

The chief, if not the only preſent duty of the uſher, is to ſupply the treaſury and Exchequer with ſtationary and turnery ware, and a variety of other articles, and the Exchequer with coals, and to provide workmen for certain repairs; he is, as it were, a factor to theſe offices for particular neceſſaries; on all which he has a profit. The amount of the four liberates, which contained all the articles provided by him, with the bills for repairs in 1780, was 14,440l. 3s. 6d. out of which the profits to the uſher were 5,252l. 8s. 4d. ſo that, ſuppoſing all theſe articles could have been purchaſed, and the repairs done, as cheap without the intervention of the uſher (and no reaſon appears why they might not) the public paid 14,440l. 3s. 6d. for what was really worth but 9,187l. 15s. 2d. that is, near forty per cent. more than they would have paid, had no ſuch office exiſted as that of the uſher.

As whatever is wanted for public uſe, ſhould be purchaſed at the firſt hand, and at as cheap a rate as may be, we think it neceſſary for the public intereſt, that the office of the uſher of the Exchequer ſhould be diſcontinued, as expenſive and unneceſſary; and that every principal officer ſhould procure all articles requiſite for his own department, and for that purpoſe be paid by the public an annual allowance proportioned to the wants of his office; a method now practiſed in the paymaſter-general's and in various other offices.

The teller's is one office, at the head of which are placed four officers, independent of each other, each preſiding over his own diſtinct diviſion, but none of them contributing to the execution of any part of the buſineſs. It is expedient, that in an office of this importance, ſome perſon of rank and reſponſibility ſhould preſide, to ſuperintend, direct, and controul, the execution, with an appointment adequate to his conſequence and ſtation in the official ſcale, leaving to ſubordinate officers and miniſters the laborious detail of the execution; but no advantage is derived to the public from placing four inoperative officers at the head of this one office.

Judging then, as we muſt do, ſolely by the rule of public frugality, and ſuppoſing the nation to ſtand in need of every practicable retrenchment, and conſequently to require the reduction of every uſeleſs and expenſive office, we are led neceſſarily to conclude, that, as the public ſervice receives no aſſiſtanee or advantage from the labours of the tellers, and the public treaſure will find a conſiderable increaſe from their emoluments, the public intereſt requires their numbers ſhould be reduced.

Whatever reaſons there may be for continuing theſe, and other offices mentioned above; whether drawn from policy or expedience; as a reſource for a reward of ſervices, in preference to penſions; or from juſtice, for continuing them during the lives of the preſent poſſeſſors only, in favour of the rights of private property, or whether it would be proper to change them again from offices for life to offices during pleaſure; all theſe are topics not within the limits of our commiſſion, but for the diſcuſſion of the

the legiſlature; whoſe deliberations comprehend arguments drawn from every ſource. But, in whatever ſhape they may be permitted to continue, every reaſon of prudence demands the reduction of their emoluments, from an exceſs to a reaſonable limited ſtandard.

There are likewiſe in this office of the tellers, four officers, under the denomination of ſecond clerks, who are merely nominal, without attendance, without buſineſs, care, or trouble; but they have fees, and to no inconſiderable amount. In the year 1780, the total of them was 5,518l. 8s. 4d. and they were either paid to, or to the uſe of, the perſons named to theſe offices, or increaſed the profits of the tellers themſelves. Whatever pretenſions a ſuperior officer may have to an exemption from duty and ſervice, a ſinecure is repugnant to the idea of the condition of a clerk in office; and therefore we are of opinion, that common ſenſe requires the ſuppreſſion of the offices of ſecond clerks to the tellers.

We have ranged the emoluments of theſe offices under the heads of ſalaries, fees, and gratuities. From our examination into the ſtate of the ſalaries, many of them appear to be made up of a variety, and ſometimes of very ſmall payments, ariſing out of different funds. Of the inferior clerks, ſeveral pay over, either the whole or portions of their ſalaries, or fees, to increaſe the profits of other clerks; all which is contrary to that ſimplicity and regularity that ought to be obſerved in every office, and may be eaſily corrected by a regulation we ſhall hereafter propoſe.

The fees are either ſums paid for tranſacting particular kinds of official buſineſs, or a poundage; the firſt ſort of fees fall, in many caſes, very heavy upon individuals: in ſome caſes they fall upon the public: it would be much for the benefit of both, as well as for the honour of government, that all perſons employed in the public ſervice, and who muſt of neceſſity have recourſe to offices for inſtructions, inſtruments, and other official buſineſs, eſſential to the execution of their employments, ſhould be furniſhed with all neceſſary materials, and have their buſineſs done in every office, without fee or reward: the regulation herein after ſuggeſted will, if adopted, be attended with this good effect.

The poundage is the moſt fruitful ſource of fees to moſt of the ſuperior, and to ſome of the inferior officers; it is a payment, after ſome certain rate in the pound, upon the ſum received, or iſſued, or contained in ſome official inſtrument made out in the office, and delivered to the perſon applying.

In ancient times, when the tranſaction was an actual delivery of money, and that money conſiſted of coin of various denominations and values, and poſſibly clipt, or of doubtful weight, the trouble and attention of the perſon employed in the receipt or payment increaſed with the ſum; and therefore the poundage was a mode of reward that bore a proportion to the labour: but in theſe times, when all money tranſactions are carried on, not by the medium of caſh, not by the tale or weight of current coin, but by the ſubſtitution of paper, by caſh, notes, draughts, or bills, to any amount; ſince the clear and conciſe method of the debtor and creditor account has been ſo univerſally introduced to practice, an increaſe in the magnitude of the ſums, though to a vaſt amount, is the addition of a few figures, or of a few entries, only; and the increaſe of trouble ariſing from it is too inconſiderable to be eſtimated.

eſtimated. The examination of Mr. Cowper, who attends daily at the Exchequer on the part of the Bank, ſhews us with what eaſe, perſpicuity, and exactneſs, the various and moſt extenſive receipts and payments of the public revenue are tranſacted there, by the intervention of the Bank, with whom the principal offices of receipt, and ſeveral of the greater accountants, keep their caſh: the tranſactions there, of each day, are carried on, not in coin told or weighed by the tellers, but by the interchange of caſh, notes, or by the bare entries of the ſums received and paid; and that account being made up when the tranſactions of the day are finiſhed, the balance only is either taken out of, or depoſited in the teller's cheſts, in exchequer bills, or labelled bags of caſh, according as that balance turns out in favour of, or againſt the Bank.

Beſides this facility in conducting money tranſactions, a courſe of years has introduced, and very rapidly, within theſe few years, another alteration, moſt ſenſibly felt, in this payment by poundage. In its firſt eſtabliſhment, the revenue of this kingdom was not conſiderable, and the profits of the poundage exceeded not the earnings of the officer; but in theſe latter times, the neceſſities of the ſtate have required a revenue far beyond the imagination of our anceſtors. In the year under our contemplation, the receipt of the Exchequer was 31,821,195l. the iſſue, 30,384,838l. on near 16,000,000l. was a poundage paid to different branches of that office, amounting, as much of it as we could extract from the returns, and which is not the whole, to 62,225l. of which much the greateſt part was paid to officers for tranſacting either very little, or no buſineſs at all. The total of the emoluments accruing in that year to the ineffective officers of the Exchequer, amounted to 45,332l.

But the exceſs of this poundage reaches beyond the ſuperior claſs; it ſwelled the profits of a ſingle officer, not the principal in the department, to a ſum nearly equal to what ſupported an entire office of equal expenditure for a whole year. The net actual receipt of the caſhier alone, in the pay-office of the army, was 7,175l. 9s 6d. the net receipt of the whole pay-office of the navy was 7,938l. and it would have been inferior to that of the caſhier, had he at the time of his examination received the whole of his income for that year.

Since then, on the one hand, the improvements of the age have taken away the foundation upon which this ſpecies of reward was built, it is but reaſonable the ſuperſtructure ſhould fall with it; and, on the other hand, the exigencies of the age having converted what was deſigned to be the reward of induſtry, into the means of rendering ſome offices lucrative to exceſs, and of ſupporting others that are uſeleſs to the public, the ſubject has a right to be relieved of that burthen: and therefore we are of opinion, that all poundage fees, of every kind whatſoever, ſhould be ſuppreſſed, and totally aboliſhed: and of this opinion was the privy council; who, by their order in the year 1695, above alluded to, ſhewed their ſenſe of a poundage, by directing it, in inſtances therein mentioned, to be ſuppreſſed in the office of the treaſurer of the navy.

The remaining head is that of gratuities; a ſpecies of emolument very liable to abuſe: it may be a reward for civility, favour, or extra ſervice; it may alſo be the purchaſe of undue preference, expedition, and, in ſome caſes, of procraſtination.

tion. Flowing at firſt, from the liberality of opulence, the oſtentation of vanity, or the deſign of cunning, it very ſoon aſſumes the name of cuſtom, and becomes a claim, ſubmitted to, to avoid the imputation of meanneſs, and frequently to the great inconvenience of contracted circumſtances: nor is it confined to individuals only; the public pay their ſhare: in the payments out of the deductions of twelve pence in the pound, there are two articles, making 653l. 12s. 8d. diſtributed by the paymaſter general of the forces in gratuities. The public voice unites with that of individuals, in demanding a ſuppreſſion of a ſpecies of emolument ſo eaſily perverted to purpoſes injurious to the intereſt of both.

But there is one other ſort of gratuity, that requires particular obſervation; that is, what is paid to the officers and clerks in the pay-offices of the navy and army, for carrying on and making up the accounts of the treaſurer and paymaſter general after their reſignation. It ſhould ſeem, that in every office of accounts, the balancing the books every year, and as ſoon as poſſible after the expiration of that year, is a duty incumbent upon the perſons employed in that office; or difficulty, confuſion, and ignorance of the real ſtate of their accounts, muſt enſue; it is an eſſential part of their conſtant yearly buſineſs, for which their annual ſtipends are or ſhould be an adequate reward; and the preſiding officer is bound to ſee that this buſineſs is done. But in theſe two offices a different ſyſtem has prevailed: during the time the treaſurer or paymaſter general has continued in office, not one of his year's accounts has been ever made up; it has been the intereſt of the officers not to make them up: if they had, it muſt have been conſidered as part of their official buſineſs, and paid for by their yearly emoluments; but, by delaying it for ten or fifteen years, they crave, on the ground of cuſtom, and obtain of the treaſury, a ſpecial allowance for this buſineſs, as for extra-ſervice they were not bound to perform. The final accounts of Lord Holland, ending in June 1765, are at length near being cloſed; and the treaſury allowance for making them up has been craved and allowed. This recent tranſaction, completed ſince the iſſuing our precept for an account of theſe allowances, conſiſts of the memorial to the treaſury by the acting executor of Lord Holland; the diſtribution of 11,320l. amongſt the officers, and the ſum of 3665l. 1cs. 6d. for incidental charges, craved by the memorial; and his majeſty's warrant authoriſing theſe allowances. If the profits of this office laſt year equalled the profits of the preceding year, as they probably did, the addition of this allowance would have increaſed the actual net receipt of the whole office to 34,881l. 1s. 8d. and that of the caſhier only to 9,825l. 19s. 6d. and if he had received all his fees, to 11039l. 15s.

The memorial ſtates "theſe accounts to be intricate and voluminous, and to amount to above 45,900,000l. notwithſtanding which, they have been made up by the officers and clerks mentioned in the diſtribution, without any expence to the public for additional aſſiſtance or allowance." If they have been made up in the courſe of theſe laſt years, the load of annual current buſineſs in this office, during the time of Lord Holland, could have been no impediment to their being made up at that time, or ſoon after his reſignation, and with much

greater

greater eaſe, whilſt the tranſactions were recent and freſh in their memories.

There ſtill remain to be made up the accounts of four treaſurers of the navy, to the amount of 58,944,588l. and of three paymaſters-general of the forces, amounting to 4,666,875l. excluſive of the treaſurer and paymaſter-general in office; to the firſt of whom has been iſſued, to the 30th of September, 1780, 16,781,217l. and to the latter, to the end of the ſame year, 43,253,911l. and not one year's account of either is completed. So that of the money iſſued to the navy, 75,725,805l. and of the money iſſued to the army, 47,920,786l. together 123,646,591l. (not including 10,647,188l. iſſued to the navy, and 8,121,000l. to the army, to the end of the laſt year) is as yet unaccounted for; and for the making up of theſe accounts, if this cuſtom is ſuffered to continue, nine more gratuities are to be craved of the public. How much then does it behove them that this evil ſhould be corrected!—An evil that furniſhes another weighty reaſon, in addition to thoſe urged in our former reports, for proceeding immediately to bring forward the long arrears in the accounts of theſe offices, in order for their ſpeedy completion.

Having thus ſtated the miſchiefs attending the preſent eſtabliſhment, both to the public and individuals, and the reaſons for aboliſhing the multifarious emoluments by which theſe offices are now ſupported, it remains for us to propoſe ſuch a regulation, as appears beſt calculated to avoid the like miſchiefs, and moſt beneficial to the public ſervice.

We are of opinion, that in the place of all theſe ſalaries, fees, and gratuities, there ſhould be ſubſtituted and annexed to each of theſe offices, of whatever rank or denomination, one certain ſalary, paid to the officer by the public quarterly, and free of all deductions: this ſalary ſhould be an ample compenſation for the ſervice required; and the *quantum* eſtimated by the various qualifications and circumſtances neceſſary for the execution, and which, together, form the title to reward.

By this regulation the officer will know his income, the public will know their expence, and uniformity and equality will be introduced in the proviſions for officers of equal rank and ſtation in ſimilar offices. The induſtry of ſome perſons requires the ſpur of profits continually flowing in, or the hopes of increaſe: others prefer the certainty of a known, ſure income, paid at ſtated times. No arrangement can ſuit the diſpoſitions or occaſions of all men; but time and uſage will ſoon reconcile one reaſonable rule, extended through theſe departments of government.

Notwithſtanding this regulation throws upon the public the whole expence of theſe offices, which are at preſent ſupported in part by individuals, yet, by adopting it, that whole expence will become leſs than the ſum it now coſts the public; for that ſum is ſo great as to afford every liberal ſalary, and yet leave no inconſiderable ſaving. Not that this is the only ſaving propoſed by the regulation: the public at preſent bear a much greater ſhare of the burthen than is obvious at the firſt view. Beſides fees and gratuities paid by public offices, and refunded to them out of public money, many payments, though made by individuals, are charged by them ultimately to the account of the public. For inſtance, the contractor,

tor, when he calculates the terms upon which he may ſafely engage with government, muſt eſtimate every article of profit and loſs conſequential to his bargain: to the account of the latter, he places all his charges, and amongſt them the long catalogue of fees, certain and uncertain. The firſt he knows; the laſt he will calculate not to his own diſadvantage; and if by them he can procure credit, or preference, or expedition, he will charge them to government at their full price. If this head of various expences was blotted out of his column of charges, by ſo much would the terms of his contract be more favourable to the public.

But beſides this, ſo very various and extenſive are the operations of government, that the number of perſons employed in their ſervice conſtitute a very conſiderable body of the people; and their relief is a public concern. If, by diſcharging an office, at preſent paid by a ſalary, from thoſe fees and deductions to which it is now ſubject, that ſalary ſhould become greater than the office ought in reaſon to have annexed to it, it may eaſily be regulated, and reduced to its proper ſtandard.

We have ſaid the ſalary ſhould be paid free of all deductions; that is, as far as it is conſiſtent with the laws in being. The ſalaries and fees of office are at preſent ſubject, by three acts of parliament, to the land-tax, the ſixpenny and one ſhilling duties. Whoever takes a view of the above ſtate of the official profits, will not wonder they ſhould be deemed by the legiſlature a fit ſubject of taxation; and, under the ſyſtem then in uſe, no other mode of taxation could well be contrived, but that adopted in thoſe acts, though attended with inequality, and, in many caſes, with hardſhip. Had one known ſalary been at that time the pay of office, and the neceſſities of the ſtate required the aid of every ſubject, in proportion to his faculties, it is poſſible a diminution of the ſalary before it iſſued, might have appeared a more eligible, more equal, and leſs expenſive mode of taxation, than paying it entire out of the Exchequer, and then bringing back again a part of it, delayed and defalcated by a variety of deductions in its circuit; but, as it is, the ſums at preſent aſſeſſed upon theſe offices muſt continue to be paid; becauſe, otherwiſe, in the land-tax, it will occaſion a deficiency in the ſum to be raiſed by that diviſion in which the office is aſſeſſed; and, in the other duties, it will diminiſh the funds created by thoſe acts, and conſequently the ſecurity of the creditors upon thoſe funds. The land-tax, and duties, are now paid by the officers, at ſtated times, to the collectors and receivers. If the mode of payment by a clear ſalary is adopted, the total ſum, now aſſeſſed upon all the officers in one office, may ſtill continue to be paid as one ſum, in like manner, out of the ſame fund with the ſalaries themſelves.

We have ſaid the ſalaries ſhould be annexed to the office: it ought to be a full and competent recompence for the execution, and no more. The whole of it ought to be paid to the perſon who executes, independent of the officer who preſides, but who ſhould ſtill retain the ſame power of appointment, and the ſame controul that he now exerciſes over the inferior officer. Where the profits exceed what the officer is in reaſon entitled to, the overplus ſhould be aboliſhed, and the public reap the benefit, not a perſon who earns no part of it.

In

In the pay-office of the army, ſome of the offices of the deputy paymaſters abroad are ſinecures: though deputies themſelves, they execute theſe offices by their deputies, being themſelves engaged in very different employments under government.

Inſtances are not wanting, in all theſe offices, to warrant this regulation of payment by a ſalary. The treaſurer of the navy and his paymaſter, the paymaſter-general of the forces, the paymaſters of exchequer bills, and their officers, are all paid by ſalaries only; and why the ſame rule may not be extended to the reſt, no ſufficient reaſon has hitherto occurred to us. It might ſeem too ſanguine, to ſuggeſt how far this rule may be applied to other offices, without a previous examination into their peculiar circumſtances; and yet the advantage it holds out to the public, its ſimplicity, and aptitude to be accommodated to all offices, however diſtinguiſhed, afford great reaſon to believe it may be applied to every department of government.

The principle of œconomy by which we have been guided, has led us to the concluſions we have formed, and the regulations we have ſubmitted to the wiſdom of parliament: concluſions ſtrictly deduced from that principle, and regulations made neceſſary by the preſſing exigencies of the times.

GUY CARLETON, *(L. S.)*
T. ANGUISH, *(L. S.)*
A. PIGGOTT, *(L. S.)*
RICH. NEAVE, *(L. S.)*
SAM. BEACHCROFT, *(L. S.)*
GEO. DRUMMOND, *(L. S.)*

Office of accounts, *Surry-ſtreet*, 9th of *February*, 1782.

The ſeventh Report of the Commiſſioners appointed to examine, take, and ſtate the public Accounts of the Kingdom.

Preſented to the Houſe of Commons on the 19th of June, 1782.

THE act of the laſt ſeſſion of parliament, for continuing and amending the act of the preceding ſeſſion, by which we were firſt appointed, having, by a particular clauſe, "authoriſed and impowered us to examine the ſeveral accounts of extraordinary ſervices incurred and not provided for by parliament, which have been laid before the houſe of commons ſince the 1ſt of January, 1776;" we conſidered that clauſe not as imperative upon us, to ſtop ſhort in the purſuit we were at that time engaged in, under the authority of the former act, and to proceed immediately to the examination of theſe accounts; but rather as the deſignation of a ſubject, ſelected from among the numerous objects committed to us in general terms by the firſt act, as the next for our conſideration, after we ſhould have completed the enquiries we were then purſuing. Thoſe enquiries being finiſhed, we have, in obedience to the intention of the legiſlature, thus ſignified to us, directed our attention to the accounts of the extraordinary ſervices incurred and not provided for by parliament, which have been laid before the houſe of commons ſince the 1ſt of January, 1776.

In this wide field, where the objects are ſo numerous, ſo various, and ſo complicated, we have, in our choice of the ſubject, been attentive to the public voice, as far as

we have been able to collect it, and have ſelected for our enquiry, as much ſuſpected of abuſe, that part of the public money granted for the extraordinary ſervices of the army, which has been expended in North America; endeavouring to trace it from its iſſue out of the Exchequer, to the final diſpoſition of it in that country, with a view to diſcover whether any part of it has been, and by what means, intercepted in its paſſage, or diverted in its application.

We entered upon this enquiry, ſenſible of many obvious and diſcouraging difficulties in our way. This money is expended in a diſtant country: the evidence of the material circumſtances of every tranſaction of expenditure is in that country; except where, in a few inſtances, we have had it in our power to apply to an accountant himſelf, who has either paſſed his accounts in the office of the auditors of the impreſt, or brought in his hand his vouchers, fair and regular upon the face of them. By what means then are we to detect (if ſuch there has been) peculation, fraud, or miſapplication?

We admit no charge againſt perſons abroad, who have no opportunity of being heard in their own defence; and we are cautious that our examination does not lead to ſelf-accuſation. Thus deſtitute of the proper evidence, and with ſo unpromiſing a proſpect before us, we ſet out in ſearch of ſuch materials as we could find, and as the nature and circumſtances of the ſubject would afford.

We extracted from the journals, and from the accounts preſented to the Houſe of Commons, the ſums granted for the extraordinary ſervices of the army every year, from the 1ſt of January, 1776, to the 31ſt of December laſt. The total of theſe ſums is 19,502,969l. 2s. 8d.

We obtained, by requiſition from the office of the paymaſter-general of the forces, an account of the money iſſued to meſſrs. Harley and Drummond, purſuant to his majeſty's warrants, for the extraordinary ſervices of his majeſty's forces ſerving in North America, during the ſame period. This ſum amounts to 10,083,863l. 2s. 6d.

We proceeded, in the next place, to inquire by what means this money paſſed to North America: of this we received information from Thomas Neale, eſq. the agent in London to meſſrs. Harley and Drummond, who are engaged in a contract with government to make theſe remittances for a commiſſion of one and a half per cent. clear of all fees of office, and expence of tranſportation. All this money paſſes from the Exchequer, through the hands of the paymaſter-general of the forces, to the remitters, and from them to their agents in North America; who pay it to the deputy paymaſter-general of the forces reſiding in that country. It paſſes from the Exchequer to the remitters, in the following manner:

When the commander in chief in North America ſends to the agents a requiſition, ſpecifying a certain ſum to be wanted for the extraordinary ſervices of the army for the enſuing quarter, the agents, in conſequence of this requiſition, draw bills upon the remitters, and tranſmit to them the requiſition, with a liſt of the bills annexed; upon the receipt of which, the remitters apply, by memorial, to the lords commiſſioners of the treaſury, for money to extinguiſh thoſe bills, and receive from them a warrant upon the paymaſter-general of the forces for the payment of a ſum upon account,

count, for the uſe of his majeſty's forces in North America: this warrant being ſatisfied by the iſſue from the Exchequer to the paymaſter-general, in conſequence of a treaſury letter, and order of the auditor, the paymaſter-general gives to the remitters his draught for it upon the Bank. If the commander in chief makes no requiſition, the agents themſelves ſend to the remitters an account of what money will be wanted; and they apply for it to the treaſury, and receive it in like manner from the paymaſter-general of the forces.

There are two ways by which this money goes from the remitters into the hands of their agents: the one is by bills thus drawn by them upon the remitters; which bills they receive the value for there, and the remitters diſcharge, when preſented to them in London: the other is by ſending out to them actual caſh; this is done according to ſpecial directions given for that purpoſe by the lords of the treaſury to the remitters, whenever it becomes neceſſary to ſupport the exchange by increaſing the quantity of current caſh in the hands of the agents.

Having thus traced the money into the hands of the deputy paymaſter-general abroad, our next ſtep was to ſee by what means, and for what purpoſes, it was taken out of his hands: lieutenant-general ſir William Howe, late commander in chief of his majeſty's forces in North America, and lieutenant-general earl Cornwallis, ſupplied us with this information.

This money cannot be iſſued by the deputy paymaſter-general, without the authority of the commander in chief, exerciſed either by himſelf, or by ſome general officer, to whom he has, from neceſſity, delegated that authority. There are certain departments in the army, to the preſiding officers of which is entruſted the expenditure of ſo much of the public money as the ſervice of thoſe ſeveral departments requires, and who are accountable to the public for all they receive. Theſe officers are, the ſecretary to the commander in chief, the paymaſter of the provincial forces, the quarter-maſter general, the barrack-maſter-general, the commiſſary-general, the chief engineer, the ſuperintendant of Indian affairs, the bridge-maſter, the purveyor of the hoſpital, and the commiſſary of priſoners.

The commander in chief directs money into the hands of theſe accountants, by his warrant to the deputy paymaſter-general, requiring him to pay to the officer named, a certain ſum for the purpoſe therein ſpecified. Theſe warrants are of two kinds; temporary, and final: the temporary warrant is for money upon account, and granted upon the application of the officer, to enable him to carry on the ſervice: the final warrant is for money to reimburſe the officer's expences actually incurred, and mentions that the vouchers are lodged with that officer.

Every quarter, or as ſoon after as the ſervice will admit, theſe officers make an abſtract of all the ſums they have expended in their ſeveral departments, during that quarter, digeſted under different heads of expence. Every officer carries his abſtract to the commander in chief, for his inſpection, and for the purpoſe of being reimburſed the amount of that abſtract. If, upon examination, no objection ariſes to any of the articles, he grants to the officer a final warrant upon the deputy paymaſter-general, for the total ſum contained in the abſtract: upon

production of this warrant, with the abſtract annexed, at the pay-office of the army, the officer takes up and cancels, as being of no uſe, the temporary warrants he has received in that quarter; and, deducting from the ſum in the abſtract the ſums contained in the temporary warrants, he receives the balance, leaving both the final warrant and abſtract with the deputy paymaſter-general; who ſends them every quarter to the pay-office of the army in England, as vouchers for the paymaſter-general of the forces, upon paſſing his account before the auditors of the impreſt.

Through theſe channels is the money, granted for the extraordinary ſervices of the army, conveyed into the hands of certain officers intruſted with, and reſponſible for, the expenditure of that money. How this expenditure has been conducted, was the next, and the material ſubject of our enquiry.

The quarter-maſter-general, the barrack-maſter-general, the commiſſary-general, and the chief engineer, are the officers to whoſe management the greateſt ſhare of this money is committed; and, therefore, to them we principally directed our attention. We examined ſuch of them as we could find, who either were then, or had been employed in theſe departments; and collected what information we could from the vouchers in their poſſeſſion, or from thoſe they had delivered into the office of the auditors of the impreſt; all of which were, in conſequence of our requiſition, ſubmitted to our inſpection.

Having had reaſon to believe, before the paſſing of the laſt act, that it was the intention of parliament to refer to us the conſideration of the extraordinaries of the army; and having been informed that brigadier-general William Dalrymple, quarter-maſter-general, Peter Paumier, eſq. a deputy commiſſary-general, and Mr. Abijah Willard, commiſſary of live cattle to his majeſty's forces in North America, were then in London, and about to return to America—though engaged at that time upon other ſubjects, under the directions of the former act, we availed ourſelves of that opportunity to receive from them the information they were able to give us, relative to their reſpective departments.

We obtained from the treaſury the liſts of warrants granted by the commanders in chief in North America, upon the deputy paymaſters-general there, and tranſmitted to the lords commiſſioners of his majeſty's treaſury, from the 1ſt of January, 1776, to the 31ſt of December laſt. The total ſum contained in theſe liſts is 7,725,828l. 12s. 1½d.—of which there appear to have been iſſued, during that period, by the commander in chief at New-York, to the officers or deputies in theſe four departments, the ſums following: to the quarter-maſters-general, 1,688,379l. 15s. 3¼d.—to the barrack-maſters-general, 662,419l. 5½d.—to the commiſſaries-general, 1,521,076l. 9s. 8d.—to the chief engineers, 322,308l. 10s. 2¼d. amounting, together, to the ſum of 4,194,183l. 15s. 7d. And to have been iſſued by the commanders in chief of his majeſty's forces in Canada, for the extraordinary ſervices of the army in general in that province, from the 1ſt of June, 1776, to the 23d of October, 1781, the ſum of 2,236,029l. 11s. 7d.

As the deputy paymaſters-general of the forces abroad tranſmit, from time

time to time, to the pay-office of the army in England, the warrants of the commanders in chief which have been paid by them—that we might omit no means of information of the ſums iſſued, we procured from the pay-office of the army a liſt of theſe warrants; in which we find other ſums, iſſued during the ſame period, to officers in the department of the commiſſary-general, not included in the quarterly liſts received from the treaſury, amounting, together, to the ſum of 193,000l. which, being added to the ſum of 1,521,076l. 9s. 8d. make the total ſum, iſſued to the commiſſaries at New-York, 1,714,076l. 9s. 8d. and the total ſum iſſued to theſe four departments there, 4,387,183l. 15s. 7d.

We required from the office of the auditors of the impreſt, a liſt of all thoſe perſons who have been employed in the expenditure of the public money for the army ſervices in North America, and who had either paſſed or delivered in their accounts to that office ſince the 1ſt of January, 1776. We examined the officers whoſe names we found inſerted in theſe liſts, and who were within the reach of our application; (that is to ſay) Robert Mackenzie, eſq. ſecretary and paymaſter to lieutenant-general ſir William Howe; major-general ſir William Erſkine, and William, lord Cathcart, quarter-maſters-general; lieutenant-colonel William Shirreff, and major Richard England, deputy quarter maſters-general. We examined lieutenant-colonel George Clerk, barrack-maſter-general; and John Montreſor, eſq. chief engineer, whoſe names are not in this liſt, their accounts not being as yet delivered in. Daniel Chamier, and Daniel Wier, eſqrs. the two commiſſaries-general during that period, are both dead: none of the accounts of either, and a few only of the vouchers of the latter, are in the auditor's office; and therefore the article of proviſions, though a very important and expenſive branch of this expenditure, and many other articles of expence in that department, were not within our reach in this enquiry. We examined alſo captain David Laird, the agent for victuallers, ſtore-ſhips, and ſmall craft; and Mr. William Butler, an aſſiſtant commiſſary.

From the information given by theſe ſeveral officers, and from the vouchers and papers they have ſupplied us with, we have been able to acquire ſome knowledge of the rules by which theſe departments have been governed; and to trace, in ſome meaſure, the manner in which theſe branches of the public expenditure have been conducted in North America.

The ſubjects of expence, which theſe officers are employed about, may be diſtinguiſhed under two general heads; the purchaſe of articles wanted for the uſe of the army, and the payment for ſervices performed.

The preſiding officers in theſe departments, though they are the perſons who muſt render the account, yet, from the extent and multiplicity of their buſineſs, can very ſeldom themſelves attend either to the purchaſe or the payment: they have their deputies, aſſiſtants, ſuperintendants, agents, inſpectors, conductors, clerks, and other officers under them, who are the acting perſons entruſted with the conduct of different parts of the tranſaction, and upon whoſe knowledge and fidelity they rely for the due execution of that truſt. Some of theſe inferior officers make the bargains; ſome attend to, and certify

the execution; others are employed in the payments, and take the receipts: each department has its office where the payments are made. The perſon who receives, muſt be either the perſon himſelf who is entitled, or his aſſignee or agent; and he muſt produce an order, ticket, or certificate, of the proper officer, either directing the payment, or authenticating the material circumſtances of the purchaſe, or ſervice. The receipts are generally taken in the name of the principal, whoever the officer may be that pays them; becauſe, the warrants of the commander in chief being made payable to the principal, he, by receiving the ſums, becomes the only perſon accountable; and he cannot diſcharge himſelf but by vouchers, which upon the face of them appear to be for payments made by him: but there are inſtances, where the auditors of the impreſt have, in particular caſes, allowed receipts, taken in the name of the deputy, to be vouchers for the principal.

The payments are, for the moſt part, made in dollars, at 4s. 8d. each ſterling, but computed in New York currency, which is to ſterling in the proportion of twelve to ſeven. The ſums we ſhall have occaſion to mention hereafter are all in ſterling.

The price paid for the purchaſe of the articles wanted, varied according to the demands of the army, and the means of ſupply: but the price of many of the ſervices was regulated and fixed.

It was not practicable for us to examine into the circumſtances attending the purchaſe of the ſtores, materials, and variety of articles uſed in the ſeveral departments: we could form no judgment of the neceſſity there was for procuring them, or of the value, or of the price; the means of information were not within our reach; and therefore we directed our attention to the other branch of expence, the ſervices, as a ſubject that bore the appearance at leaſt of a more ſucceſsful inveſtigation.

The movements and various occaſions of the army render it neceſſary to employ a great number of veſſels of different kinds, with pilots and ſeamen, and many waggons, horſes, drivers, artificers, and labourers. Of the veſſels, waggons, and horſes, very few were purchaſed by government for the uſe of the army; by far the greateſt part of them were hired by the month, or the day, and very many of them kept in continual pay. The hire of all theſe, which conſtitutes a very conſiderable part of the expenditure, was, in ſome caſes, uncertain, and depended upon circumſtances; but in many it was regulated, and ſettled at a certain price. The hire of a veſſel under thirty tons was 3d$\frac{1}{2}$. a day per ton; the wages of each ſeaman was 2s. 4d. a day, with a ſoldier's ration, and $\frac{1}{6}$ of a quart of rum. The hire of a veſſel of thirty tons and upwards was 10s. a month per ton, until May 1777, when, the rate of wages, and the price of proviſions, and of naval ſtores, being increaſed, it was raiſed to 13s.; the owner was engaged to find the proportion of ſix men to every hundred tons, to victual them, and to keep the veſſel in repair. The hire by the day, of a ſmall waggon, with one driver, and two horſes, was 7s.; of a large waggon, with one driver and four horſes, 12s.; of a ſingle horſe, 1s. 9d.; of a driver alone, from 7d. to 1s. 9d.; of a common labourer, from 7d. to 2s. 4d.

All

All the veſſels and ſmall craft (except thoſe in the engineer's department) were at firſt procured by and under the inſpection and management of the quarter maſter-general; but the buſineſs of that office increaſing, the commander in chief, by warrant dated 1ſt of January 1777, created an officer to be agent for victuallers, ſtore ſhips, and ſmall craft: he was called the ſuperintendant of veſſels; and to his charge were committed all the veſſels and ſmall craft, with their appendages, employed in the ſervice of the army (except thoſe attached to the chief engineer, which were left ſtill to remain under his care:) he was enjoined to ſee that they were properly manned and equipped, and juſtly rated as to their tonnage; he was authoriſed to charter, or hire veſſels for inland navigation, when neceſſary, and to appropriate to the ſeveral departments the number they wanted, and ſuch as were beſt conſtructed for the reſpective ſervices. Though the quarter-maſter-general was thus relieved from the trouble of providing and ſuperintending the veſſels, pilots, and ſeamen, yet the payment of the hire of them was ſtill left to his office, and continued there until the beginning of the year 1778; when the commander in chief iſſued orders, that the hire ſhould be paid in the office of that department where they were employed. The mode of payment was this: the ſuperintendant granted, ſometimes upon his own knowledge, ſometimes upon the information of perſons under him, to the perſon entitled, a ticket of pay, ſigned by himſelf or his deputy, and directed to the proper officer, ſpecifying the ſervice, the time, and the ſum. This ticket was, upon payment, left at the office; and at the end of every quarter the ſuperintendant took up all theſe tickets from the ſeveral offices, and, after examination with his check book, gave to each principal officer one general voucher, ſigned by himſelf, for the total ſum contained in all thoſe tickets, and paid by him during that quarter.

Much the greateſt number of the waggons, horſes, and drivers, employed in the ſervice of the army, were procured by the quarter-maſter-general. The commander in chief ordered the eſtabliſhment, that is, the number which he judged to be neceſſary for the occaſions of the army, and in what proportion they ſhould be diſtributed amongſt the ſeveral corps, and for the different ſervices. This eſtabliſhment was permanent, and kept conſtantly, as far as it could be, complete. The quarter-maſter general made a return of them every quarter to the commander in chief; which return was called the diſtribution, and contained an account of all the waggons, horſes, and drivers, at that time under his direction, and in what ſervice employed: for all theſe he was reſponſible, and paid the hire and contingent expences. The other departments had likewiſe waggons, horſes, and drivers, in their ſervice; which were procured by themſelves, and paid by their reſpective principal officers. All theſe departments had artificers and labourers, procured by the overſeers in the ſeveral branches, hired by the day, and paid in each reſpective office.

The receipts given for theſe ſervices were of two kinds; either ſeparate receipts, given by individuals, in the common form; or one receipt, prefixed to a liſt comprehending the ſignatures of many perſons. Of the latter kind, one

uniform mode was adopted in all these offices; two specimens of which, the one taken from the instance of waggons, horses, and drivers, and the other from that of labourers, in the office of the quarter-master-general, are inserted in the appendix. The first column contains the names of the persons entitled, or supposed to be entitled; the sum he is entitled to receive is wrote in the last column but one; and in the last are the signatures of the same persons, wrote or made either by themselves, or by persons deputed by them.

In pursuing this enquiry into the methods and forms by which this expenditure has been carried on, we have had in view two principal objects: one is, to discover whether any fraud has in fact been committed upon the public in the course of these money transactions; the other is, to observe, whether the public has been sufficiently guarded against fraud and imposition, in the modes adopted for carrying on this expenditure.

Could a single instance of fraud be discovered in any of the accounts of these officers, such a discovery would so corrupt and vitiate that account, as to subject the whole of it to a revision and unravelment, though adjusted and passed with all the solemnities of the Exchequer.

These accountants are charged with all the sums they have received of the paymaster-general of the forces, by the warrants of the commander in chief. They cannot discharge themselves, but by the receipts of the persons to whom they, or their officers, have paid these sums. The receipts are fair upon the face of them; each contains all the essentials of a true voucher; a date, the subject matter, the sum paid, the person of whom received, and the person receiving. If the transaction has not been a fair one, and government has been defrauded of any part of the money, the voucher, which is the evidence of that transaction, must, in some part of it, be false or fraudulent. To discover whether it be so or not, the person, who appears to have signed it, is always a material, and, in some cases, the only witness, who can tell whether the sum specified in the receipt to have been received, was in fact the sum *bona fide* paid; but persons under this description are not amenable to us, sitting in this kingdom; they are in *North America*. Numberless, and in a variety of ways, may have been the frauds and impositions committed upon government, without the knowledge even of the officer who passes the accounts, being himself not privy to the payments, but relying, for the truth of the vouchers he produces in his discharge, upon the integrity and fidelity of his inferior officers.

Rumours of imposition, and of much wealth acquired during a short service upon slender appointments, may create a suspicion of some concealed management, and be a ground for enquiry by proper authority; but they are not proofs upon which can be supported, against any person whatever, the heavy charge of defrauding the public.

Having therefore no hopes of pursuing this subject with effect, we turned our attention to the second object we proposed; that is, to those openings for fraud, and that possibility of abuse, which the modes of conducting these money transactions have left without fence or guard. And we are of opinion, that the public have not been sufficiently

ly protected in two material points: firſt, the officers intruſted with the expenditure of the public money have been permitted to have an intereſt themſelves in the ſubject matter of expence: ſecondly, the vouchers, by which the accountants diſcharge themſelves of the ſums intruſted to them, are allowed without having undergone ſufficient examination.

It is a branch of the buſineſs of the quarter-maſter general to provide waggons and horſes, with their neceſſary attendants and appendages, for the uſe of the army, either when in quarters, or in motion; and, when there is occaſion to tranſport them, or to ſupply their wants by water, the ſuperintendant furniſhes them with veſſels, and whatever is neceſſary for carriage by water. It is the duty of theſe officers to make the contracts for the articles, and to ſee thoſe contracts honeſtly and ſubſtantially performed; to take care that each article is properly equipped, and adequate to the ſervice it is intended for; and that the ſervice, for which payment is claimed, has been, in fact, performed. Theſe officers are placed, on the part of government, as a check and controul upon the contractors, to protect the public from loſs or impoſition. The barrack-maſter general and chief engineer ſtand upon the ſame ground, in reſpect to the waggons and horſes made uſe of in their departments, and not provided by the quarter-maſter general. But it has been the uſage, as far back as our enquiry has gone, for the officers in theſe departments to be themſelves the proprietors of, or to have ſhares or intereſts in, a great number of the veſſels and ſmall craft, and in almoſt all the waggons and horſes, employed in theſe ſervices: theſe officers have purchaſed or procured them upon their own account, and let them out to government at the fixed prices of hire. The ſame perſon, employed by and acting for the public, contracts, on the part of the public, with himſelf, for the hire of his own property, controls his own actions, and pays himſelf with the public money intruſted to his charge. His truſt and intereſt draw oppoſite ways: his truſt obliges him to be frugal for the public; to hire at the loweſt price (lower, if he can, than the price allowed by government); to take care that what he hires is complete and fit for ſervice; to employ as few veſſels and carriages, and for as ſhort a time, as poſſible: but his intereſt leads him not to ſpare the public purſe; to let to government, at the ſame fixed price, all the veſſels, carriages, and horſes, he can collect, by whatever means procured, or at however low a price he may have purchaſed them, and whatever may be their condition or difference in point of goodneſs; to keep them continually in pay, whether wanted, or employed, or not, and for as long a time as he can contrive; and his laſt advantage may be, the ſuffering them to be taken or deſtroyed by the enemy, to entitle him to the value from the public. In ſuch a conteſt between duty and intereſt, it is not uncharitable to ſuppoſe the public intereſt will frequently be ſacrificed to private emolument. But this is not the only miſchief: this practice has a manifeſt tendency to corrupt and endanger the ſervice of the army; it weakens the military diſcipline; it infuſes into the ſoldier the thirſt for gain, and diverts his attention from honour, and his country's ſervice, to the purſuit of wealth,

wealth, and that too by intrenching upon the treaſure of his country.

We do not mean to ſuggeſt theſe as impoſitions, that have all been actually committed upon the public, but as conſequences that will follow, whenever the temptation is powerful enough to overcome the ſenſe of duty, and where the opportunities of yielding to the temptation are ſo frequent, and ſo obvious.

As theſe officers would hardly have engaged in buſineſs of this kind without the expectation at leaſt of ſome advantage (for they had no additional pay for being employed in the expenditure), we were led to enquire into the expence incurred by the public for this article of hire, and from thence to endeavour to form ſome judgment upon the probable advantage to the officer.

We obtained from captain David Laird, a liſt of all the veſſels, under whatever denomination, employed in the ſervice of the army in North America, from the 1ſt of January 1777, when he was appointed ſuperintendant of the veſſels, until the end of December 1780, when he quitted the ſervice; with the name of each veſſel, and of the maſter or owner, the number of tons, the price per ton, the time when hired, the time when diſcharged, and in what department employed. From this liſt it appears, that the number of veſſels employed at different times, during the above period, in the department of the quarter-maſter-general, was 317; and the number of tons 19,558. In the department of the barrack-maſter-general, the number of veſſels was 85, and of the tons 7,836. In the department of the commiſſary-general, the number of veſſels was 209, and of the tons 16,622. The total number of the veſſels was 611, and of the tons 44,016. Many of them were employed for a ſhort time only: the number of thoſe continued in the ſervice for one year and upwards, we have extracted from captain Laird's liſt, and inſerted in the appendix, with the number of tons, and their earnings during the ſervice; and of theſe, 62 were left in the ſervice at the end of the year 1780. This liſt ſhews, that the number of veſſels employed each for a year or longer, during that period, in the department of the quarter-maſter-general, was 62, and the hire 91,444l. 19s. 4d.; in the department of the barrack-maſter-general, the number 25, and the hire 34,737l. 19s.; in the department of the commiſſary-general, the number 44, and the hire 55,925l. 14s.; the total number 131; the total hire 182,108l. 12s. 4d.

We find, from the vouchers for the payments of hire made by the quarter-maſters-general, and delivered by them into the office of the auditors of the impreſt, that the total expence of this hire in that department only, excluſive of pilotage, and various contingencies, from the 25th of December 1776, to the 31ſt of March 1780, amounted to 127,483l. 18s. 10½d. What the expence of this hire was in the other departments, we have not had the means of informing ourſelves.

In this liſt appear the names of ſeveral officers in the departments of the quarter-maſter, barrack-maſter, and commiſſary-general, as owners of theſe veſſels; but the names of all ſuch officers as were owners do not appear; the names of the maſters are inſerted in their ſtead. Where the principal officers were proprietors, or had ſhares, their names

names are not found, either in the contracts for the hire, or in the receipts for the payments.

A veſſel of 100 tons, hired at 13s. a month per ton, would produce to the owner 780l. a-year. Suppoſe him to have, during the whole year, his full complement of ſix men, at each 3l. 15s. a month wages, and to pay 2s. a day for victualling each man, his men would coſt him 489l. and leave him a profit of 291l. a-year; which profit would be increaſed, in proportion as he could hire his men, or procure boys, at a leſs price, or diminiſh his number whilſt his veſſel lay at reſt during any part of the year, or employ them to his advantage in any other ſervice. The prime coſt, and expence of repairs, are diminutions of his profit, depending upon circumſtances, and not open to calculation.

As the quarterly returns, made to the commander in chief by the quarter-maſter-general, contain the number of the waggons, horſes, and drivers, furniſhed by him in each quarter, with their diſtribution, and expence to government for the hire, we have ſelected, and inſerted in the appendix, two of theſe returns. Sir William Erſkine ſupplied us with the firſt regular diſtribution that was returned to the commander in chief, which is for the quarter ending 30th June 1777; the other is a return made by lord Cathcart, for the quarter ending 31ſt December 1779.

The diſtributions did not always contain the ſame numbers; and therefore we could not come at the expence of the hire of them to the public, but by collecting it from the vouchers allowed by the auditors of the impreſt to thoſe quarter-maſters-general who had paſſed their accounts in that office. By an abſtract, compoſed from thoſe vouchers, we find that the ſum paid by the public, for the hire only of waggons, horſes, and drivers, employed under the management of the quarter maſter-general, from the 25th of December 1776, to the 31ſt of March 1780, was 338,435l. 8s. 6¾d. excluſive of proviſions, forage, repairs, and other contingent expences.

The rate of the hire of a waggon, driver, and four horſes, being 12s. a day, produces to the proprietor 219l a year; from whence the hire of the driver, at the mean price of 1s. 2d. a day, that is, 21l. 5s. 10d. a year, being deducted, leaves him a clear yearly profit of 197l. 14s. 2d.; the repairs of the waggon and harneſs, and the food of the driver and horſes, being found by the public. Computing the prime coſt of the waggons complete, at the higheſt price, 20l. and of each horſe at 15l. he receives back 80l. his purchaſe-money, in leſs than five months; after which if poſſeſſed of 50 large waggons, and 200 horſes (and the waggons and horſes were in general the property of a few officers only), he will have, as long as he can continue them in the ſervice of government, a clear income of 9,835l. 8s. 4d. a year, ſecure from all riſk.

The commander in chief, conſulting with the principal officers in the ſeveral departments, ſettled the eſtabliſhment, and ordered that it ſhould be permanent, and kept complete. As the army was not always in motion, the neceſſity for ſo numerous a permanent eſtabliſhment was not obvious. The reaſon given for retaining the ſame number for the whole year is, the difficulty of procuring them again when wanted, in caſe they had been diſcharged at the end of the campaign: but

but this reaſon does not appear altogether concluſive; for, if they are in being, the arm of the commander in chief can reach them, wherever they are; he has power to ſeize, the inſtant he wants it, whatever is neceſſary for the ſervice, in his contemplation: from the enemy he ſeizes of right; from a friend he preſſes of neceſſity, paying him the value, or for the uſe.

The eſtabliſhment was hardly ever complete, from the conſtant difficulty of procuring the number of waggons it required. As they were, therefore, ſo ſcarce in that country, and the cattle could have been employed to more advantage than upon the pay of government, it might have been advantageous to the inhabitants to have had the uſe of them for the time the army were in quarters; and the hire of them, for ſome months every year, would have been no inconſiderable ſaving to the public.

All orders and regulations of every kind proceed from the commander in chief: his power extends, without controul, over the whole army and all its connexions. It is limited only by his diſcretion; conſequently, every form of proceeding, every uſage and mode of practice, muſt reſt either upon his orders or his acquieſcence. That we might learn upon what authority this cuſtom, for the officers to be contractors of this deſcription, was grounded, we required from Sir William Howe, and Lord Cornwallis, the orders and inſtructions iſſued by them in North America, relative to the ſeveral departments employed in the expenditure of the public money. The returns to theſe requiſitions, contained the appointment of the ſuperintendant of veſſels, and the regulation of the payment of their hire, in the offices of the departments in which they were employed, both above mentioned, together with other orders, made from time to time, for different purpoſes of regulation; but we found, at one period only, orders relative to the point immediately under our conſideration. Theſe orders were iſſued by Lord Cornwallis, are dated the 23d December, 1780, and contain matter very important to the ſubject before us. Lord Cornwallis had upon ſeveral occaſions found, that the waggons and horſes provided for the public ſervice by the quarter-maſter-general, were in bad condition, and neither fit nor able to perform the ſervices required. To remedy theſe abuſes, he thought it neceſſary to direct, that the quarter-maſter-general ſhould have no property in either the waggons or horſes; and to that end he iſſued orders, enjoining him not to charge more for waggons and horſes than he had actually paid; not to charge the hire of waggons and horſes purchaſed; not to purchaſe them but upon government account; and, if he hired them, to pay the proprietors the full price for hire allowed by government. He ordered all the neceſſary craft to be purchaſed on government account; and ſome of the veſſels to be diſcharged, as ſoon as they came under the direction of his deputy quarter-maſter-general at Portſmouth, in the Cheſapeak, upon his repreſentation that they were unneceſſary. He ordered, likewiſe, the commiſſary-general not to charge government for the complete ration, unleſs he ſupplied that ration from the ſtores from England; and to charge no more for freſh proviſions, flour, or Indian meal, than what they coſt him. The manner of conducting this laſt office it is not in

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our power to enquire into; the commiſſaries-general are dead; and their accounts not in England.

Theſe orders are levelled at abuſes at that time exiſting; and theſe abuſes all tend to the defrauding of the public, for private emolument.

By purſuing the rules of computation inſerted above, we are enabled to diſcover how much would have been ſaved to the public had the waggons and horſes been purchaſed at firſt on account of government. From the liſt inſerted in the appendix it appears, that the average number of waggons conſtantly employed in the ſervice, from the 25th of December, 1776, to the 31ſt of March, 1780, that is, three years and a quarter, was 739; and the average number of horſes, 1,958; and the average number of drivers, 760: the average hire of all theſe amounts to 104,132l. a year; from whence deducting 16,181l. the hire of 760 drivers, at 1s. 2d. each per day, there remains the ſum of 87,951l. The prime coſt of the waggons and horſes, at the higheſt price, is 44,150l. this ſum being deducted from 87,951l. leaves the clear profit of 43,801l. for the firſt year. This being added to the ſum of 197,889l. two years and one quarter's clear profits, after deducting the hire of the drivers, gives the ſum of 241,690l. paid by the public, beyond what it would have coſt them, had the property of theſe waggons and horſes belonged to government: and if the ſame ſyſtem of management has been continued to the preſent time, the public have incurred a ſtill farther expence of 175,902l. for two years more, to the 31ſt of March laſt; that is, the public have paid 417,592l. for the ſingle article of the hire of waggons and horſes; the whole of which might have been ſaved, had the mode contained in the orders of the 23d of December, 1780, been at firſt adopted.

From the circumſtances thus diſcloſed, it can hardly be doubted that this practice of letting out for hire to government, has been highly lucrative to the officers engaged in it. The officer is a truſtee for the public: as ſuch, he is bound to huſband the public money committed to his charge with as much frugality as if it were his own: what he ſaves, or what he gains, he ſaves and gains not for himſelf, but for the public. He ought not to be permitted, by any management or contrivance, to carve out for himſelf an intereſt in the execution of a public truſt: if that intereſt has been productive, how far ſuch profit belongs to the public, and whether, by bills of diſcovery filed by the proper officer of the crown, or by what other means, it may be diſcovered, and reclaimed for the public, are for the wiſdom of parliament to decide.

It is of public concern this evil ſhould be ſpeedily corrected: it flows from permitting a truſt to reſide, with an intereſt, in the ſame perſon. The remedy is, to take away the intereſt, and by that means to reſtore the truſt and controul to its full force, that it may freely operate for the benefit of the public, uninfluenced by private conſiderations.

But the remedy may be extended ſtill farther: it ſhould ſeem as if it would be more beneficial to the ſervice, if the officers were relieved entirely from the trouble of making the payments. When their military duty calls them to the field, they muſt neglect their duty as paymaſters, and leave that branch to be conducted entirely by their inferior officers

officers and clerks. It ſeems to be a hardſhip upon a quarter-maſter-general, to be ſubject to account for very large ſums, no part of which he paid himſelf, but merely becauſe they were paid in his name, and at his office, whilſt he himſelf was abſent upon other duty.

There is no neceſſary connexion between the military duty of theſe officers, and the expenditure of money for military ſervices: this latter belongs properly to a civil department, and may be executed by a civil officer. Major-general William Roy, who, during the laſt war in Germany, was in the departments both of the quarter-maſter-general, and chief engineer, informed us, that no public money was iſſued to him in either of theſe capacities: he was no accountant; but all the expences incurred in theſe departments were defrayed by the deputy paymaſter-general of the forces, purſuant to the warrants of the commander in chief, iſſued for that purpoſe. The quarter-maſter-general, and chief engineer, were conſidered in that army as checks upon the expenditure on behalf of the public: they were to ſee that the articles ſupplied were good of the kind, adequate to the ſervices they were intended for, and that there was no waſte.

We are therefore of opinion, that the orders of 23d December, 1780, ſhould be put in force forthwith throughout the whole army; that no officer ſhould be permitted to have a property or intereſt in any article whatever, which the duty of his office obliges him to provide for the ſervice of the army: if purchaſed, it ſhould be purchaſed by, and for the uſe of government; if hired, it ſhould be hired of perſons unconnected with military ſervice. We are likewiſe of opinion, that the payments ſhould be taken from the military officer, and thrown upon the deputy paymaſter-general of the forces, who is the proper caſhier of the army, to be carried on by him, in purſuance of the warrants of the commander in chief.

The other point, in which we think the public have not been ſufficiently guarded, is the allowance of the vouchers, without ſufficient examination: this defect pervades every branch of the expenditure under our conſideration. The principal officers in theſe departments, are the perſons accountable: they make up, paſs, and ſwear to the accounts; but, having a variety of other material buſineſs to tranſact in their ſeveral ſtations, they have no leiſure to attend to the actual payments. A quarter-maſter-general, whoſe account amounted to above 600,000l. was, for five months together, upon duty in the field, without having been able once to attend his office: he is likewiſe obliged to paſs the account of a ſum never received by him, but iſſued to, and expended by, an aſſiſtant deputy quarter-maſter-general, whom he neither appointed nor knew; and the warrant iſſued to this aſſiſtant ſtates, that the ſum therein directed is to be accounted for by the quarter-maſter-general. The chief engineer conſiders himſelf as liable to account for ſums, no part of which he either receives or pays: nor are the payments made in his name: for, though the ſum is made payable to him by the warrant, yet he never actually receives it; but he indorſes the warrant to the paymaſter of the works, who receives the whole, and with it diſcharges bills, either directed to him for payment by the chief

chief engineer, or the commander in chief, or at his own diſcretion, without the intervention of either, and takes the receipts in his own name.

This important buſineſs of expenditure, that requires attention, circumſpection, accuracy, and fidelity, muſt be intruſted to inferior officers, clerks, and even to ſtrangers.

The making up and examination of the accounts, is conducted in the following manner.——Every quarter, the accountant collects together from his deputies, aſſiſtants, and clerks, all the vouchers for the payments made by them during that quarter: they are abſtracted, digeſted under heads, and bundled up together. The abſtract is produced to the commander in chief, for his inſpection and approbation, and in order to obtain a final warrant for the amount of the abſtract. The vouchers are ready for his inſpection, if he requires it. This is the firſt check to which the account is ſubmitted. It is not to be imagined, that the many important objects, that muſt continually engroſs the attention of the general of an army, will afford him either leiſure or patience to examine voluminous bundles of vouchers: he may ſometimes, upon a tranſient view of the abſtract, find ſome article that excites his curioſity to call for an explanation; but he cannot poſſibly enter into the detail, or minutely examine into the circumſtances of a complicated receipt; and therefore, unleſs ſuch an inſtance occurs for inſpection, the vouchers are left unexamined in the hands of the accountant, and the commander in chief depends upon his honour that he has them in his poſſeſſion.

After the final warrant is obtained, this abſtract, and the vouchers, are ſent home to be examined, that the account may be paſſed in the office of the auditors of the impreſt. It is utterly impoſſible the vouchers can be ſufficiently ſcrutinized in this office for want of evidence: the accountant is the proper perſon to give them information; and he, very poſſibly, is not privy to the payment, or to any one circumſtance ſtated in the voucher.

Charles Harris, eſquire, one of the deputy auditors of the impreſt, tells us the grounds upon which a voucher, for a payment for the extraordinary ſervice abroad, is, and of neceſſity muſt be, allowed in that office;—if it contains a certain ſum received, the ſignature of a perſon receiving, and a juſt computation, and agrees with the abſtract, it is deemed and admitted as a fair voucher; for the truth of it they rely upon the oath taken by the accountant before the barons of the Exchequer, when he paſſes his account. In fact, in thoſe accounts which have been already paſſed in this office, no enquiry ſeems to have been made into the truth of the vouchers, whatever queſtions might ariſe upon the face of them. By the form of this oath, which we obtained from the office of the auditors of the impreſt, the accountant ſwears that the account is juſt and true, according to the beſt of his knowledge and belief: theſe latter words muſt, as we conceive, be interpreted by him ſo to qualify the oath, as to enable him to ſwear with ſafety to thoſe items of his account, of the tranſacting of which he has no other knowledge than what the vouchers themſelves give him, and where he knows nothing of the perſons who tranſact them, except probably their general characters: no great reliance, then, can be had, for the truth of the voucher, upon the oath of the accountant; becauſe

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that oath, ſo worded, is no additional evidence of its truth.

From thus tracing the voucher, from the pay-office of the department in North America to the office of its final examination in England, it appears that the public may be defrauded in a tranſaction, and yet the voucher of that tranſaction may paſs through all its ſtages of examination unſuſpected and unimpeached, and be ſworn to by the accountant without the violation of his oath. Various are the ways and means by which the fraud may be committed: the agreement or purchaſe may be made by colluſion: the ſubject matter of the receipt may be falſe in quantity or quality: the ſervice over-rated, or not performed: the ſum inſerted may be more than the ſum bona fide paid: the receipt may be obtained by compulſion, or colluſion, upon falſe or forged certificates: it may have been ſigned in blank, and filled up afterwards with falſe ſums, or ſigned with a feigned name; and yet the voucher may be fair upon the face of it: and theſe groſs frauds will eſcape detection.

Theſe ſuggeſtions are not mere ſurmiſes; they reſt not on bare poſſibility or imagination: they are warranted by what we have obſerved in the accounts of the quarter-maſter-general which have been paſſed in the office of the auditors of the impreſt. Certain vouchers have been there admitted as evidence of payments, to perſons who never did in fact receive, nor could be ſuppoſed likely to be entruſted with the receipt of the ſums inſerted in theſe vouchers: the receipts for the hire of the drivers, waggons, and horſes (no inconſiderable ſum) are not in truth what they purport to be upon the face of them; they carry the appearance of, and are produced as the receipt of, a certain ſum by the perſon whoſe name or ſignature is ſet oppoſite to that ſum; the ſum is compounded of the hire of the driver, waggon, and horſes, for a certain time; but the man receiving, or ſigning, or ſetting his mark to the receipt, is uſually the driver only, frequently a negro, or ſome perſon in the loweſt capacity, to whom nothing would be entruſted; he is the oſtenſible receiver of the whole, whereas he in truth receives a very trifling part of it, his own wages only; the remainder, being the hire of the waggon and horſes, is paid or accounted for to the officer to whom they belong, but whoſe receipt does not appear as a voucher for the accountant. The artificers and labourers are paid by liſts, in like manner with the drivers; not individually in the office of the department, but by the overſeers, who receive the groſs amount of the liſt, and, after having paid it, bring it back to the office, with the names of the perſons receiving ſet oppoſite to the ſums they were to receive.

Since the drivers (and very numerous they are) are prevailed upon or induced by cuſtom to ſign receipts for ſums they never receive, there may be reaſons or inducements for the like practice in various other branches of the expenditure; and in every inſtance of this kind the voucher is not true.

Having been informed that ſome meaſures had been taken by the Lords Commiſſioners of the treaſury for the purpoſe of controling the expenditure of this money in North America, we iſſued to them our precept for copies of the commiſſions and inſtructions given to the commiſſaries of accounts in North America, and extracts of their

their correſpondence relative thereto: in conſequence of this requiſition, we received the copy of a commiſſion, dated 15th of February, 1779, appointing major Duncan Drummond, commiſſary of accounts, to examine, audit, and certify all accounts whatſoever of money due for forage, bread, and proviſions, furniſhed by contract or otherwiſe, and delivered for the uſe of the army and hoſpitals, and for all other extraordinary ſervices. The ſame power had been before delegated to Daniel Chamier, Eſq. by commiſſion, dated 1ſt of February, 1777, but does not appear to have been ever executed. We find, by papers tranſmitted to us with this commiſſion (ſome of which we have inſerted in the appendix) that in purſuance of that commiſſion, and of directions and inſtructions relative thereto, tranſmitted from time to time from the lords commiſſioners of the treaſury to the commanders in chief, and the commiſſary of accounts, ſome progreſs has been made in carrying the powers of that commiſſion into execution; but how far it has been effectual to the prevention or diminution of the evil, it has not been in our power to diſcover.

Of the ten millions and upwards that have been iſſued for theſe ſervices to North America, within the laſt ſix years, accounts of a few officers only, amounting to about 1,100,000l. have been as yet rendered in the proper office. The accounts of about 140,000l. more are ready; ſo that the expenditure of 8,760,000l. ſtill remains to be accounted for.

By an account of the yearly average number of his majeſty's forces ſerving at New-York, and its dependencies, from the 1ſt of January, 1776, to the 31ſt of December, 1780, extracted from returns of thoſe forces made to us from the war-office, purſuant to our requiſition, it appears that the number of the forces decreaſed every year from 1778; but, from the account of the contractors for remitting, the iſſue for the extraordinary ſervices of that army greatly increaſed during the ſame period.

In the account of the iſſues to the officers in the four departments, we find that the warrants iſſued to the quarter-maſters-general, ſince the 16th of July 1780, and to the barrack maſter-general ſince the 29th of June, 1780, and to the commiſſaries-general, ſince the 25th of May, 1778, have been all temporary, for ſums on account; that no final warrant has been granted ſince thoſe ſeveral periods. So that theſe ſums have been iſſued, without even the ceremony of a quarterly abſtract, and the confidential reliance on the officer that his vouchers are forth-coming.

Of theſe ten millions, there have been iſſued to Canada, between the 1ſt of June, 1776, and the 23d of October laſt, 2,436,021l. 11s. 7d. a province, whoſe military operations, ſince the year 1777, the public are not made acquainted with. This iſſue has been increaſing every year, and no apparent reaſon for it; and upon the expenditure in this province there exiſts no check or controul, that we know of, whatever.

Theſe are circumſtances of ſuſpicion and alarm. The ordinary forms of examination and accounting, are neither comprehenſive nor ſtrong enough to embrace the various circumſtances of this expenditure: they call for a minute, accurate, and rigid inveſtigation; but none ſuch can, as we apprehend, be obtained in this kingdom; the evidence eſſentially neceſſary for that purpoſe cannot be procured here. Should it

it be thought proper to ſubject theſe accounts to ſuch a ſcrutiny, we can deviſe or ſuggeſt no method of obtaining this end, unleſs the legiſlature ſhould think proper to refer all of them to an examination in North America, by perſons intelligent in the ſubject matter, and unconnected with the expenditure; who may enquire into every circumſtance of the tranſaction, and have recourſe to every perſon concerned in it; and who may be authoriſed and directed to examine into the whole expenditure, as well of the antecedent as ſubſequent iſſues. The commanders in chief may be enjoined to give them their countenance, protection, and ſupport, and not to grant warrants for the payment of any article of theſe expences, without the teſtimony of their allowance. The diſallowance of the voucher comes too late, after payment. By a check and controul thus eſtabliſhed upon the ſpot, and by an able and conſcientious execution of ſuch a truſt, the public might be enabled to obtain reſtitution where they have been defrauded, and ſecurity againſt impoſition and peculation for the future.

T. ANGUISH, *(L. S.)*
A. PIGGOT, *(L. S.)*
RICH. NEAVE, *(L. S.)*
SAM. BEACHCROFT, *(L. S.)*
GEO. DRUMMOND, *(L. S.)*

Office of Accounts,
Surrey-Street,
18th June, 1782.

Addreſs of Mr. Wilkes to the Gentlemen, Clergy, and Freeholders, of the County of Middleſex.

Gentlemen,

I MOST heartily congratulate you on the ſucceſs of your ſteady, ſpirited, and generous efforts, in a cauſe of the firſt conſequence to every elector in this kingdom, the cauſe of the right of election, ſo long depending between you and a former houſe of commons. After many years unavailing ſtruggles againſt a deſpotic adminiſtration, and a corrupt majority in parliament, your public virtue has, by perſeverance and unremitting energy, at laſt brought a queſtion of infinite moment to a final deciſion in favour of liberty. We have now obtained a direct and unequivocal vindication of our moſt eſſential rights, rights coeval with the Engliſh conſtitution, that perfection of human wiſdom, that nobleſt work of man. You have the high ſatisfaction of obſerving an upright ſenate aſſert the privileges of an injured people againſt the encroachments of power, and decide in favour of their fair and juſt claim to a ſhare in the legiſlature. The proceedings of this houſe of commons I ſhall with rapture tranſcribe from their votes. You will I am ſure accept them as the only atonement, which could be made under a good government for a violation of your franchiſes, and the injuries of former flagitious adminiſtrations. This branch of our conſtitution is now reſtored to its original form, and eſtabliſhed on a foundation not to be ſhaken. No precedent can now be drawn from the injuſtice and violence of arbitrary miniſters. An incapacity, for the expreſs purpoſe of defeating your declared intentions, will not be again created by a vindictive and venal majority in one part only of the legiſlature. A miniſter will not again nominate the repreſentative for this reſpectable county to the great council of the nation. The man of your free choice will have the diſtinguiſhed honour of repreſenting you, and the glory is your's of having ſecured the ſame invaluable franchiſe to every elector in the iſland. Not the leaſt trace will now

now remain of the various deep-laid plans of fraud and violence, of ſubtle inſinuation, alarming menace, and direct inſult, to which your calm and undaunted ſpirit always roſe ſuperior. The hiſtorian's page will however record the wickedneſs and infamy of your enemies, the public robbers of the rights of freemen, and will hold up the ſteady virtue of the freeholders of Middleſex as an object of imitation to all future ages.

My excellent colleague, Mr. Byng, ſeconded and ſupported my motion with the zeal, which always animates him in your ſervice, and the cauſe of his country.

Votes of the Houſe of Commons, Pages 574, 575, *Friday, May* 3, 1782.

The houſe was moved, that the entry in the journal of the houſe, of the 17th day of February 1769, of the reſolution, "that John Wilkes, eſq. having been in this ſeſſion of parliament expelled this houſe, was and is incapable of being elected a member to ſerve in this preſent parliament," might be read.

And the ſame being read accordingly;

Reſolved, That the ſaid reſolution be expunged from the journals of this houſe, as being ſubverſive of the rights of the whole body of electors of this kingdom.

And the ſame was expunged by the clerk, at the table, accordingly.

Ordered, That all the declarations, orders, and reſolutions, of this houſe, reſpecting the election of John Wilkes, eſq. for the county of Middleſex, as a void election, the due and legal election of Henry Lawes Luttrell, eſq. into parliament for the ſaid county, and the incapacity of John Wilkes, eſq. to be elected a member to ſerve in the ſaid parliament, be expunged from the journals of this houſe, as being ſubverſive of the rights of the whole body of electors of this kingdom.

And the ſame were expunged by the clerk, at the table, accordingly.

Give me leave, gentlemen, to ſtate a circumſtance with reſpect to a buſineſs of this weight and moment, which I am ſure will add to the pleaſure you receive in this triumph of liberty. The victory was gained by the moſt honourable means, means worthy the goodneſs of the cauſe. No unfair method was taken to ſecure a majority, nor miniſterial manœuvre practiſed. No letter from the treaſury, no mandate from any ſecretary, iſſued to inforce attendance. The ſlighteſt ſolicitation was not urged by any man in power, nor a ſingle emiſſary ſent on the wing to collect ſcattered mercenaries, troops long kept up for the worſt of purpoſes, but now happily diſbanded. Every man was left to follow the dictates of his conſcience, which inſured our ſucceſs. The miniſters gave you only the ſame ſupport as individuals this year, which they have regularly ſince 1768, with an alacrity manifeſting a ſettled determination to uphold and ſupport the rights of election, which they have reſtored.

I am happy, gentlemen, to acquaint you, that the appointment of a committee to examine into the preſent ſtate of the repreſentation of the commons of Great Britain, is on the eve of being moved in the houſe of commons by a gentleman of as great abilities, matured even in youth, as this country has at any time produced. You long ago ſuggeſted the idea of the propriety of ſuch a meaſure, and in purſu-

ance of your inſtructions I had the honour in March 1776, of moving the houſe of commons for leave to bring in a bill for a juſt and equal repreſentation of the people of England in parliament, but without ſucceſs. The ſolemn engagement between us in 1774, at a numerous county meeting, in relation to this and other eſſential objects, I have never loſt ſight of, and ſhall ever hold ſacred. Some of the more important particulars of that engagement, reſpecting the fair and equal repreſentation of the people in the houſe of commons, and the ſhortening the duration of parliaments, are among the grand objects, the ſtriking features, of the intended enquiry. You will always find me, gentlemen, uniformly purſuing the noble plan of liberty, which you early marked out for my conduct, and above all endeavouring to inforce the clear right of the people to the free and frequent choice of their repreſentatives. I am,

gentlemen, with much
reſpect and gratitude,
your faithful, and obe-
dient humble ſervant.
JOHN WILKES.

Prince's-court, Weſtminſter,
Monday, May 6, 1782.

Letter from Mr. Eden to the Earl of Shelburne.

Downing-ſtreet, April 5, 1782.

My Lord,

HAVING reconſidered the conferences with which your Lordſhip yeſterday indulged me, I think that I ought ſpecifically to ſtate my reaſons for having often declined your intimations to me to enter into opinions and facts reſpecting the preſent circumſtances of Ireland, and the meaſures beſt to be purſued there. When I arrived in London, I had come prepared and diſpoſed, and inſtructed to ſerve, moſt cordially, in the critical meaſure of cloſing the lord lieutenant's government, ſo as to place it with all practicable advantages in the hands of whatever perſon his majeſty's miniſters might have deſtined to ſucceed to it.

I pre-ſuppoſed, however, that either his excellency would be recalled very ſoon, but not without the attentions which are due to him, his ſtation, and his ſervices; or that his majeſty's miniſters would aſſiſt and inſtruct him in firſt concluding the buſineſs of the ſeſſion, and the various public meaſures and arrangements of ſome difficulty and conſequence, which are immediately connected with it, and which cannot be completed in leſs than four or five months.

Finding, however, to my extreme ſurprize, that the manner of giving the lieutenancy of the eaſt-riding to lord Carmarthen, had been ſuch as to amount to a marked and perſonal inſult, when it is conſidered that the thing taken is merely honorary, and that the perſon from whom it is taken is an abſent viceroy; and hearing alſo from your lordſhip, that the duke of Portland is not unlikely to be made the immediate and actual meſſenger of his own appointment, I from that moment declined any communication reſpecting facts and meaſures; becauſe this line adopted towards the preſent lord lieutenant, muſt in my opinion be fatal to the eaſe of his ſucceſſors for a long period of time, and ruinous to all good government, and the conſequent peace of Ireland.

Your

Your lordſhip has informed me, that this is not meant as a perſonal exertion of power againſt lord Carliſle, but that his majeſty's miniſters have adopted this mode of removing the lord lieutenant as a wiſe meaſure of government. I differ ſo totally in my judgment, that it would be idle in me to trouble them further reſpecting Ireland.

I ſhall, as the duty of my ſituation requires, wait on ſuch of his majeſty's miniſters as are diſpoſed to ſee me, and with that reſpect which is due to them, ſhall ſubmit what I have here ſtated.

My next anxiety is to act as I believe lord Carliſle would wiſh me to act, for his honour and the public ſervice, two objects which cannot at this moment be ſeparated. I am ready this evening or to-morrow morning, at any hour, to attend the commands of his majeſty's miniſters, either ſeparately or collectively. To-morrow, at two, I ſhall go into the country on a viſit of perſonal reſpect and private friendſhip; and on Monday, in the houſe of commons, I ſhall ſtate, as fully as a weak voice will permit, what I conceive to be the preſent circumſtances of Ireland: I ſhall do this without any mixture of complaint, and with the moſt anxious regard to facilitate any ſubſequent ſyſtem for the public tranquillity. I ſhall only wiſh to let it be implied by the world, from Iriſh facts, in contradiction to Engliſh treatment, that the preſent lord lieutenant of Ireland (I borrow his own words from his laſt letter to your lordſhip) "has had the good fortune to conduct the buſineſs of Ireland, at a moſt critical period, without diſcredit to his majeſty's government, and with many increaſing advantages to the intereſts of his kingdoms."

I have the honour to be, &c.

WILLIAM EDEN.

Memorial from Prince GALITZIN, *and Monſ. de* MARCOFF *to the States-General.*

THE underwritten, joint miniſters of the empreſs of all the Ruſſias, in conſequence of the orders given the mto accelerate, as much as in them lies, the ſalutary work of the mediation entruſted to her imperial Majeſty, think it their duty to loſe no time to communicate to your high mightineſſes a copy of a letter written to Monſ. Simolin, their ſovereign's miniſter at London, by Mr. Fox, ſecretary of ſtate to his Britannic majeſty. It will convince your H. M. of the intentions of his B. M. to be ſincerely reconciled to the republic, on the conditions, by yourſelves eſtabliſhed, in your reſolution of the 14th ult. by which you again accept of the empreſs's mediation; the preliminary conceſſion, made on the part of Great Britain, concerning the principal article of the treaty of 1664, ſeems to level all the obſtacles which had hitherto prevented your entering upon a negociation for a final peace. If, in the interim, the propoſal made in the ſaid letter, of a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, ſhould be thought conformable to the intereſt of the nation, nothing could be more ſo to the principles of humanity in general, which actuate the empreſs, and to her private ſentiments of benevolence and affection for this ſtate; eſpecially as ſuch a meaſure has the double advantage of preventing the uſeleſs effuſion of blood; and from this inſtant reſtoring to the republic, the enjoyments of the rights of freedom

in trade and navigation, which fall to the ſhare of neutral nations, and eſpecially thoſe that have acceded to the principles of the armed neutrality.

Full of confidence in the diſpoſition equally peaceful, and conformable to the real welfare of the ſtate, which your H. M. have always manifeſted in the moſt ſolemn and poſitive manner; the underwritten flatter themſelves, that you will not heſitate to make a proper uſe of the letter they have the honour to communicate, in order to take a quick and deciſive reſolution, that may tend to reſtore peace and harmony with your old friend and ally, upon terms as honourable as they are advantageous.

(Signed) P. GALLITZIN.
MARCOFF.

Letter from Mr. FOX *to Monſ.* SIMOLIN.

Sir, *March* 29, 1782.

HAving laid before his majeſty an extract of the letter which you did me the honour, Sir, of communicating from Prince Gallizin and Monſ. de Marcoff, I have his Majeſty's commands to inform you, that the King, deſirous of teſtifying his intentions towards their H. M. and of renewing that friendſhip which has been ſo unfortunately interrupted between old allies, who ought to be united in the bonds of mutual intereſt, is ready to enter into a negociation, for the purpoſe of ſetting on foot a treaty of peace, on the terms and conditions of that which was agreed to in 1674, between his majeſty and the republic; and that the better to facilitate the execution of a plan which his majeſty has ſo much at heart, the King is willing to give immediate orders for a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, if, on their part, the lords the ſtates-general ſhould think ſuch a meaſure ſuitable to the object in view.

"I am commanded by his majeſty to explain to you, Sir, his ſentiments on ſo important a ſubject, and deſire you will impart the ſame to the miniſters of her imperial majeſty to their H. M. that they may be conveyed, without the leaſt delay, to the miniſters of the republic; being of opinion that it is the moſt convenient ſtep, with the mediation and good offices of her imperial majeſty, to put an end to the ſcourge of that war, which unfortunately ſubſiſts between the two nations.

"I have the honour to be &c.
(Signed) "C. J. Fox."

A ſecond Letter from Mr. FOX *to M.* SIMOLIN.

St. James's, 4th May, 1782.

Sir,

I Have not at all delayed to lay before his majeſty the communication which you did me the honour of making to me the firſt of this month. His majeſty has received it as a new mark of the friendſhip of her imperial majeſty, and as a proof of the lively and ſincere intereſt which ſhe takes in the reſtoration of the peace of Great Britain and her ancient ally. I believe it will be needleſs to remark to you, Sir, that his majeſty has underſtood, with the greateſt ſatisfaction, that he has adjuſted his councils in all points conformable to the meaſures which his majeſty had already taken to ſecond the good offices of the court of Peterſburgh. The king moreover promiſes himſelf that her imperial majeſty underſtands with pleaſure

that

that he has anticipated her counſels, in having offered to the Hollanders the entire liberty of navigation, according to the treaty of 1674, between Great Britain and the republic; a treaty by which the principles of the armed neutrality are eſtabliſhed, in their wideſt extent, to all the contracting parties. His majeſty then does not make any difficulty to ſay, that he will accept, as the baſis of a ſeparate peace between him and the ſtates-general, a free navigation, according to the principles demanded by her imperial majeſty, in her declaration of the 28th of February, 1780.

You will permit me to remark, that in communicating to you the ſentiments of his majeſty, I believe I need not repeat what I had the honour to write to you by his majeſty's orders, on the 29th of March laſt. If that letter has not produced the effects, which her imperial majeſty ſeems to have promiſed would be the effect of ſuch a ſtep towards a reconciliation, and on which alone, according to the report of the miniſters of her imperial majeſty at the Hague, the republic made the negociation for a peace with Great Britain to depend; and if, notwithſtanding the moderation which his majeſty has taken pains to prove on this occaſion, in terms the leaſt equivocal, the republic ſhall perſiſt to oppoſe every idea of a ſeparate peace, the king will always have the ſatisfaction of having acted in ſuch a manner as to manifeſt the price he ſets on the friendſhip of her imperial majeſty, and the reſpect he has for her councils.

I have the honour to be, &c.

C. J. Fox.

Memorial delivered by Count de Oſtermann, vice-chancellor of Ruſſia, to the Dutch ambaſſador at Peterſburgh.

Sir,

AS ſoon as the empreſs was informed of the reſolutions taken by their high mightineſſes, the ſtates-general of the United Provinces, on the overture tending to a ſeparate peace between Great Britain and the Republic, and the condition upon which it was to depend, her majeſty did not loſe a moment to give all the effect poſſible to her mediation. The ſpirit of diſintereſtedneſs and humanity which dictated the firſt overture ſhe is conſtantly actuated by; ſhe has therefore made a new effort to bring matters to a favourable termination. With this view ſhe has diſpatched a courier expreſs to London, charged with inſtructions to her envoy at that court, analogous to the nature and importance of the object. The motives by which this miniſter will endeavour to influence his Britannic majeſty, to admit the propoſal, which is to be the baſis of pacification, will be founded on the perfect knowledge which his majeſty poſſeſſes of the impartiality profeſſed by her imperial majeſty, and the fidelity and conſtancy with which ſhe has adhered, in the face of all Europe, to the principles adopted by her, and which are founded in juſtice.

Her imperial majeſty's principles bear too viſibly the impreſſion of the purity of her intentions, for them to be miſconſtrued by their high mightineſſes. The frankneſs which ſhe has ſhewn in all her actions, and the cordiality with which ſhe has informed them of her determinations, inſpired her with a full confidence, that they will not take any ſtep

which may become prejudicial to the preſent ſtate of the negociation which has been entered upon, or change the pacific ſentiments which they have held out.

In this perſuaſion, ſhe has haſtened to ſound the diſpoſition of the court of London, relative to the principles of neutrality. It is natural conſequently to underſtand their intention before an anſwer is returned, and to ſuſpend, in the interim, every meaſure which might alter the ſituation of the republic. The empreſs has too much reſpect to the wiſdom and penetration of their high mightineſſes, to entertain a thought of their ſwerving from thoſe principles of moderation which it is ſo eſſentially neceſſary to obſerve, if they have a ſerious intention of promoting thoſe ſalutary purpoſes which his majeſty has propoſed, and which their high mightineſſes always appeared to countenance. It will not be without great regret, that ſhe will ſee the hopes fruſtrated which ſhe has entertained upon this ſubject. The imperial miniſter has the honour of ſubmitting the above to his excellency the ambaſſador to their high mightineſſes, in reply to the communication received from him, dated March 17, of the reſolution of their high mightineſſes.

Comte DE OSTERMANN.

Letter from General Waſhington to Sir Henry Clinton.

Head Quarters, April 21, 1782.

Sir,

THE incloſed repreſentation, from the inhabitants of the county of Monmouth, with teſtimonials to the fact (which can be corroborated by other unqueſtionable evidence) will bring before your excellency the moſt wanton, cruel, and unprecedented murder that ever diſgraced the arms of a civilized people. I ſhall not, becauſe I conceive it altogether unneceſſary, trouble your excellency with any animadverſions on this tranſaction. Candour obliges me to be explicit—to ſave the innocent I demand the guilty.

Captain Lippencot therefore, or the officer who commanded at the execution of captain Huddy, muſt be given up; or, if that officer was of inferior rank to him, ſo many of the perpetrators as will, according to the tariff of exchange, be an equivalent. To do this will mark the juſtice of your excellency's character. In failure of it, I ſhall hold myſelf juſtified, in the eyes of God and man, for the meaſure to which I ſhall reſort.

I beg your excellency to be perſuaded, that it cannot be more diſagreeable to you to be addreſſed in this language, than it is to me to offer it; but the ſubject requires frankneſs and deciſion.

I have to requeſt your ſpeedy determination, as my reſolution is ſuſpended but for your anſwer.

I have the honour to be, Sir,
your excellency's
moſt obedient and moſt
humble ſervant,
(Signed) GEORGE WASHINGTON.

Sir Henry Clinton.

Letter from Sir Henry Clinton to Gen. Waſhington.

New-York, April 2-, 1782.

Sir,

YOUR letter of the 21ſt inſtant, with the incloſed teſtimonials reſpecting captain Huddy's execution,

tion, was delivered to me yesterday. Though I am extremely concerned for the cause, I cannot conceal my surprize and displeasure at the very improper language you have made use of, which you could not but be sensible was totally unnecessary.

The mildness of the British government does not admit of acts of cruelty or persecuting violence, and as they are notoriously contrary to the tenor of my own conduct and disposition (having never yet stained my hands with innocent blood), I must claim the justice of having it believed, that, if such have been committed by any person under my command, they could not have been warranted by my authority, nor can they ever have the sanction of my approbation. My personal feelings, therefore, required no such incitements to urge me to take every proper notice of the barbarous outrage against humanity (which you have represented to me) the moment it came to my knowledge; and accordingly, when I heard of captain Huddy's death (which was only four days before I received your letter) I instantly ordered a strict enquiry to be made into all its circumstances, and shall bring the perpetrators of it to an immediate trial.

To sacrifice innocence under the notion of preventing guilt, in place of suppressing, would be adopting barbarity, and raising it to the greatest height. Whereas, if the violators of the laws of war are punished by the generals under whose power they act, the horrors, which those laws were formed to prevent, will be avoided, and every degree of humanity, war is capable of, maintained.

Could violations of humanity be justified by example, many from the parts where your power prevails, that exceed, and probably gave rise to this in question, could be produced. In hopes that the mode I mean to pursue will be adopted by you, and prevent all future enormities,

I remain, Sir, &c.

(Signed) H. CLINTON.

His excellency Gen. Washington.

Letter from Gen. Robertson to General Washington.

New York, May 1, 1782.

Sir,

A Commission from the king, appointing me commander in chief of his forces in this country, having arrived by a late conveyance, I make it one of my first cares to convince you of my wish to carry on the war agreeably to the rules which humanity formed, and the examples of the politest nations recommended. I make this declaration of my resolution, in hope that I may find a similar inclination in you.

To effect this, let us agree to prevent or punish every breach of the rules of war within the spheres of our command.

The papers accompanying this will shew that many acts of barbarity have been committed. Some of them you may not have heard of; of some, I hear with satisfaction, you have declared your abhorrence. These have been put into my hands as vindications of a late enormity complained of by you.

I can by no means admit the inference: nothing but the utmost necessity can justify retaliation; and if this cruel, dangerous measure was to be entrusted in the hands of incensed men, universal horror and barbarity would ensue.

A court-

A court-martial is appointed to try the perſon you complain of, and all his abettors in the death of Huddy, by ſir Henry Clinton, who had taken meaſures for this before he received any letter from you on the ſubject.

Theſe papers will afford you opportunities in like manner of vindicating the right of humanity, and of puniſhing the inſult offered to your command by perpetrators of theſe cruelties.

I find that Mr. Hetfield and Mr. Badgely, though under the protection of a flag of truce, have been taken priſoners at Elizabeth-Town, where they were, by the direction of your commiſſary of priſoners, on unjuſtifiable pretences.

As the firſt proof that you accept the propoſal I make to join you in preventing every infraction of the rules of war, I deſire you will be pleaſed to order theſe men to be ſent back to Staten Iſland. Every requeſt of yours to me, founded on this principle, will moſt readily be complified with.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) JAMES ROBERTSON.

His Excellency Gen. Waſhington.

General Waſhington's anſwer.

Head Quarters, May 5, 1782.

Sir,

I Had the honour to receive your letter of the 1ſt inſtant.

Your excellency is acquainted with the determination expreſſed in my letter of the 21ſt of April to ſir Henry Clinton. I have now to inform you, that ſo far from receding from that reſolution, orders are given to deſignate a Britiſh officer for retaliation. The time and place are fixed. But I ſtill hope the reſult of your court-martial will prevent this dreadful alternative.

Sincerely lamenting the cruel neceſſity, which alone can induce ſo diſtreſſing a meaſure, in the preſent inſtance, I do aſſure your excellency, I am as deſirous as you can be, that the war may be carried on agreeable to the rules which humanity formed, and the example of the politeſt nations recommends, and ſhall be extremely happy in agreeing with you to prevent or puniſh every breach of the rules of war, within the ſpheres of our reſpective commands.

I am unacquainted with the circumſtances of the detention of Badgely and Hetfield; the matter ſhall be examined into, and juſtice done: but I muſt inform you, that, in my opinion, deſerters, or characters who, for the crimes they have committed are amenable to the civil powers, cannot, on either ſide, be protected under the ſanction of a flag. I do not pretend to ſay the above mentioned perſons are in that predicament.

Recrimination would be uſeleſs: I forbear therefore to mention numerous inſtances which have ſtained the reputation of your arms, marked the progreſs of this war with unuſual ſeverity, and diſgraced the honour of human nature itſelf.

While I wave this ungrateful diſcuſſion, I repeat the aſſertion, that it is my moſt ardent deſire, not only to ſoften the inevitable calamities of war, but even to introduce, on every occaſion, as great a ſhare of tenderneſs and humanity, as can poſibly be exerciſed in a ſtate of hoſtility.

I have the honour to be, &c. &c.

(Signed) GEORGE WASHINGTON.

His Excellency Gen. Robertſon.

A letter

A letter from the Board of Loyalists to Sir Henry Clinton.

New York, April 27, 1782.

Sir,

IN answer to the letter I had the honour to receive from your excellency yesterday afternoon, I am desired by the board to inform you, that three prisoners delivered to captain Lippencot on the 8th inst. were not exchanged according to the intention of the board; but that they were nevertheless disposed of in a manner, which the board was clearly of opinion was highly justifiable, from the general principles of necessity, and the peculiar nature and circumstances of the case: a particular detail of which, from the shortness of the time allowed by your excellency, we cannot enter into at present. Randolph and Fleming were both exchanged for captain Tilton. Captain Lippencot, on his first return from Sandy-Hook, made report, in writing, of the capture of an eighteen-oar barge; a copy of which report is inclosed, and mentioned verbally to one or two members who happened to be at the board-room before a full board had met, that Huddy was exchanged (laying an emphasis on the word) for Philip White; and that when he came away from the Hook, Randolph was allowed to go to Freehold on his parole, in order to propose his exchange for captain Tilton, and Fleming for Aaron White; or if that could not be obtained, to offer both Randolph and Fleming for captain Tilton alone.

As captain Lippencot immediately after went back again to Sandy Hook to complete this business of exchange, the board had not an opportunity of enquiring into the particulars of his transactions till after his second return, which was near about the time of their receiving your excellency's letter of the 20th, respecting the complaint made by the American commissioners at Elizabeth Town. They then directed their report to be made, in writing, which was done, and taken, but not completed, for the reason set forth in our letter of the 25th.

With regard to the circumstances concerning the reported death of Joshua Huddy, the board know nothing, except what is contained in a letter which we understand was intended to have been made part of a report on this subject. The board cannot pretend to say what additions or alterations the persons concerned might have thought proper to have made therein, had they not been prevented from finishing it, by the sudden seizure and confinement of captain Lippencot: but as we think the reasons and state of facts it contains are so artless, candid, and just, as cannot fail of removing all prejudices against the conduct of that party of loyalists, we shall take the liberty, though we have not their consent for it, to lay a copy of that paper, imperfect as it is, before your excellency, for your satisfaction on this head of enquiry.

As the board have not been honoured with any official communications, that can enable them to account for the extraordinary treatment which one of their officers has received; and as they are unwilling to believe public rumour, which charges its origin to the mere suggestions and threats of an American general, they are utterly at a loss how to conduct themselves on this important occasion. They scarcely can persuade themselves that it is possible that men, who have sacrificed their all, and repeatedly risked

their

their lives to manifeſt their attachment to the king's government, ſhall be treated as if they themſelves were rebels. They have been often ſolemnly promiſed protection and ſupport, to encourage them in their exertions; yet when they have fallen into the hands of the enemy, nothing has been attempted by that government (as they know of) to ſave them from ignominious puniſhment, or to prevent others experiencing the like unhappy fate; the conſequence of which is that many hundreds of loyal Britiſh ſubjects have been murdered in cool blood, ſometimes with, but often without even the mockery of law.

When ſuch horrid deeds are ſuffered to paſs with impunity, and even without one ſpirited effort to check their progreſs, can it be wondered at if individuals ſhall think themſelves juſtifiable in having recourſe to whatever meaſures they may judge moſt likely to ſave them from the threatened deſtruction. We may reaſon, or we may cenſure, as we pleaſe; but men, ſo peculiarly circumſtanced, will act from their feelings; nay, would be wanting in duty to themſelves, were they to act otherwiſe.

No perſons can, however, be more averſe than the board to the encouraging or permitting retaliation in the individuals of a community; but when the power of that community cannot, or is not exerted in their behalf, the laws of nature and ſelf-preſervation will, from the neceſſity of the caſe, juſtify the meaſure. As matters have been circumſtanced for ſome time paſt, no other expedient can poſſibly anſwer the purpoſe, and that this will prove ſufficiently efficacious, we have the experience of three ſeveral inſtances. Colonel De Lancy, of Weſt Cheſter, cauſed one of his priſoners to be hung up, to retaliate for the hanging of one of his refugees by the Americans; which immediately occaſioned a ſtop to be put to their treating his people in any other light than as priſoners of war, though they frequently before affected to conſider them as thieves, robbers, or priſoners of ſtate, as beſt ſuited their malignant deſigns. Captain Cornelius Watford, of the refugee militia volunteers, and his aſſociates, likewiſe had a priſoner hung in the ſame manner, and it was attended with the deſired effect. Nor have we heard that either of thoſe gentlemen were ever called to an account, or ſo much as cenſured for their conduct in this reſpect. The aſſociated loyaliſts at Lloyd's Neck, by confining ſome of their principal priſoners in the Prevoſt, and threatening to make them, by way of retaliation, dig a mine ſimilar to that of Simſbury, in which unfortunate loyaliſts are buried alive, and confine them in the ſame cruel manner, have ſecured a proper treatment in Connecticut of aſſociates on the footing of priſoners of war. The late inſtance of Huddy is the firſt in which any of the loyaliſts under the board have gone the full length of retaliation, and when it is conſidered how long they have borne with the manifold cruelties of the Americans, and how many of their fellow-aſſociators have been barbarouſly murdered, after they had ſurrendered as priſoners of war, the wonder is how they have been prevailed upon to with-hold their reſentment ſo long. They have tried in vain to ſoften their enemies by returning good for evil, and have uniformly treated their priſoners well, often indulging them with paroles to viſit their homes, although many of them had refuſed to return when ſummoned, and the loyaliſts

were

were at the ſame time generally confined in dungeons and in irons. We ardently wiſh, however, that a ſtop might be put to the practice of retaliation; but we know not how it can be done, while the American leaders preſume that they may ſafely diſcriminate, in their treatment of priſoners, between the king's regular forces and his loyal American ſubjects; but if, added to this, countenance ſhall be given to ſuch diſcrimination as (to mention no other inſtances) has been done in a late capitulation, the conſequences muſt inevitably be, that they will either quit the country, or join the Americans. Their patience under their ſufferings has been ſuch as can hardly be paralleled in hiſtory. Many of them are now ſuffering in different American gaols, who cannot procure an exchange, though they have aſſiſted in taking priſoners, which have been appropriated to the exchange of ſome hundreds of officers and privates of the Britiſh army.

Your excellency will pleaſe to excuſe the freedom of theſe obſervations. They are not intended to give you any offence. But it would ill become us to be ſilent, when we find that one of our officers is not only ſeized, without the leaſt intimation to us of any ſuch intention, but when, from the myſterious conduct which has been obſerved on the occaſion, an univerſal alarm has been ſpread among the loyaliſts within the lines, and is likely to be productive of more pernicious conſequences among thoſe without.

Aaron White, who was taken with Philip White, has made his eſcape from Freehold gaol, and is juſt arrived. By the incloſed depoſition, your excellency will be enabled to judge, whether the execution of Huddy was not as juſt as it was neceſſary.

We ſhall obſerve your excellency's directions concerning the future exchange of priſoners, and have ſent you our commiſſary's return of thoſe now in his cuſtody.

I have the honour to be, on behalf of the board, ſir, your excellency's moſt obedient humble ſervant,

(Signed)

WILLIAM FRANKLIN, Preſident.

P. S. We beg leave to communicate to your excellency, in addition to White's affidavit, copies of two depoſitions reſpecting the murder of a loyaliſt, by the orders of lord Stirling, an American general. Alſo a copy of a repreſentation made to major-general Pattiſon, when commandant of this city in behalf of a number of loyaliſts, taken from Long Iſland, and confined in the gaols of Connecticut, ſeveral of whom were then under ſentence of death. Many hundred inſtances of a ſimilar nature might be collected, were there ſufficient time for it, and the loyaliſts called upon for the purpoſe.

His excellency Sir Henry Clinton, knight of the Bath, &c. &c.

Extract of a letter from Gen. Waſhington to the Congreſs, and letters of Sir Guy Carleton and General Waſhington.

Head-Quarters, May 10, 1782.

"JUST as I am cloſing theſe diſpatches, a letter from ſir Guy Carleton is handed to me, covering ſundry printed papers, a copy of which, with the papers, I have now the honour to incloſe to your excellency, together with a copy of my anſwer to him; and I flatter myſelf my conduct herein will be agreeable to the wiſhes of congreſs."

Head

Head Quarters, New-York,
Sir, *7th May*, 1782.

Having been appointed by his majesty to the command of the forces of the Atlantic ocean, and joined with admiral Digby in the commission of peace, I find it proper in this manner to apprize your excellency of my arrival at New York.

The occasion, Sir, seems to render this communication proper, but the circumstances of the present time render it also indispensable, as I find it just to transmit herewith to your excellency certain papers, from the perusal of which your excellency will perceive what dispositions prevail in the government and people of England toward those of America, and what farther effects are likely to follow: if the like pacific dispositions should prevail in this country, both my inclination and duty will lead me to meet them with the most zealous concurrence. In all events, Sir, it is with me to declare, that, if war must prevail, I shall endeavour to render its miseries as light to the people of this continent as the circumstances of such a condition will possibly permit.

I am much concerned to find, that private and unauthorized persons have on both sides given way to those passions, which ought to have received the strongest and most effectual controul, and which have begot acts of retaliation, which, without proper preventions, may have an extent equally calamitous and dishonourable to both parties, though, as it should seem, more extensively pernicious to the natives and settlers of this country.

How much soever, Sir, we may differ in other respects, upon this one point we must perfectly concur, being alike interested to preserve the name of Englishmen from reproach, and individuals from experiencing such unnecessary evils, as can have no effect upon a general decision: every proper measure that may tend to prevent these criminal excesses in individuals, I shall ever be ready to embrace; and as an advance on my part, I have, as the first act of my command, enlarged Mr. Livingston, and have written to his father on the subject of such excesses as have passed in New Jersey, desiring his concurrence in such measures as, even under the conditions of war, the common interests of humanity require.

I am farther to acquaint you, Sir, that it was my intention to have sent this day a similar letter of compliment to Congress, but am informed it is previously necessary to obtain a passport from your excellency, which I therefore hope to receive, if you have no objection, for the passage of Mr. Morgan to Philadelphia, for the above purpose.

I have the honour to be, with great respect, your excellency's most obedient humble servant,

(Signed) GUY CARLETON.

His excellency gen. Washington.

Head Quarters, 19th of May, 1782.

Sir,

I had the honour last evening to receive your excellency's letter of the 7th, with the several papers inclosed.

Ever since the commencement of this unnatural war, my conduct has borne invariable testimony against those inhuman excesses, which in too many instances have marked its various progress.

With respect to a late transaction, to which I presume your excellency alludes, I have already expressed my fixed resolution—a resolution formed on the most mature deliberation, and

and from which I ſhall not recede.

I have to inform your excellency, that your requeſt of a paſſport for Mr. Morgan to go to Philadelphia, will be conveyed to Congreſs by the earlieſt opportunity; and you may reſt aſſured that I will embrace the firſt moment to communicate to you their determination thereon.

Many inconveniences and diſorders having ariſen from an improper admiſſion of flags at various poſts of the two armies, which have given riſe to complaints on both ſides—to prevent abuſes in future, and for the convenience of communication, I have concluded to receive all flags from within your lines at the poſts of Dobb's Ferry, and no where elſe, ſo long as the head-quarters of the two armies remain as at the preſent.

I have the honour to be your excellency's, &c.

G. WASHINGTON.

His excellency ſir Guy Carleton.

By the United States in Congreſs aſſembled, May 14, 1782.

The letter of the 10th, from the commander in chief being read, incloſing a copy of a letter to him from ſir Guy Carleton, dated Head Quarters, New-York, May 7, 1782.

Reſolved, That the commander in chief be, and hereby is directed to refuſe the requeſt of ſir Guy Carleton, of a paſſport for Mr. Morgan, to bring diſpaches to Philadelphia.

——Publiſhed by order of congreſs.

CHARLES THOMPSON, Secretary.

Letter from Sir Guy Carleton, and Rear-admiral Digby, to Gen. Waſhington.

New-York, Auguſt 2, 1782.

Sir,

THE pacific diſpoſition of the parliament and people of England towards the Thirteen Provinces, has already been communicated to you, and the reſolutions of the houſe of commons of the 27th of February laſt, have been placed in your excellency's hands, and intimations given at the ſame time, that farther pacific meaſures were likely to follow. Since which, until the preſent time, we have had no direct communications from England: but a mail is now arrived, which brings us very important information.

We are acquainted, Sir, by authority, that negociations for a general peace have already commenced at Paris; and that Mr. Grenville is inveſted with full powers to treat with all the parties at war; and is now at Paris in the execution of his commiſſion.

And we are farther, Sir, made acquainted, that his majeſty, in order to remove all obſtacles to that peace which he ſo ardently wiſhes to reſtore, has commanded his miniſters to direct Mr. Grenville, that the Independency of the Thirteen Provinces ſhould be propoſed by him, in the firſt inſtance, inſtead of making it a condition of a general treaty; however, not without the higheſt confidence, that the loyaliſts ſhall be reſtored to their poſſeſſions, or a full compenſation made them for whatever confiſcations may have taken place.

With reſpect to Mr. Laurens, we are to acquaint you, that he has been enlarged, and diſcharged from all engagements without any condition whatever; after which, he declared of his own accord, that he conſidered lord Cornwallis as freed from his parole. Upon this point we are to deſire your excellency's ſentiments, or thoſe of Congreſs.

We are farther acquainted, that tranſports have been prepared in England for conveying all the American priſoners to this country, to be exchanged here; and we are directed

rected to urge, by every conſideration of humanity, the moſt ſpeedy exchange; a meaſure in which, not only the comforts, but the rights of individuals are concerned. A propoſition has already been made, that (all exchanges of men of the ſame deſcription being exhauſted) ſailor and ſoldier, ſhall be immediately exchanged, man for man, againſt each other, with this condition annexed, that your ſailors ſhall be at liberty to ſerve the moment they are exchanged, and the ſoldiers ſo received by us ſhall not ſerve, in or againſt the Thirteen Provinces for one year, and from this propoſition we do not now wiſh to recede.

We have the honour to be,
your excellency's
moſt obedient, and
moſt humble ſervants,
(Signed) GUY CARLETON,
R. DIGBY.

His excellency gen. Waſhington.

Extract of a letter from Gen. Waſhington to Sir Guy Carleton.

Head-Quarters, Sept. 8, 1782.

I Cannot help remarking, that your excellency has ſeveral times lately taken occaſion to mention, that all hoſtilities ſtand ſuſpended on your part: I muſt confeſs, that to me this expreſſion wants explanation: I can have no conception of a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities, but that which ariſes from a mutual agreement of the powers at war, and which extends to naval as well as land operations. —That your excellency has thought proper, on your part, to make a partial ſuſpenſion, may be admitted; but whether this has been owing to political or other motives, is not for me to decide: it is, however, a well known fact, that at the ſame time the Britiſh cruizers on our coaſt have been more than uſually alert; and while Americans are admitted to underſtand their real intereſt, it will be difficult for them, when a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities is ſpoken of, to ſeparate the idea of its extending to ſea as well as land.

I cannot aſcribe the inroads of ſavages, upon our north-weſtern frontiers, to the cauſes from whence your excellency ſuppoſes them to originate; neither can I allow that they are committed without directions from the cammander in chief in Canada: for by priſoners and deſerters it is apparent, that thoſe ravaging parties are compoſed of white troops under the command of officers regularly commiſſioned, as well as ſavages; and it will be a ſoleciſm to ſuppoſe, that ſuch parties could be out without the knowledge of their commander in chief.

Extract of a letter from Sir Guy Carleton to his excellency general Waſhington.

New-York, Sept. 12, 1782.

PARTIAL though our ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities may be called, I thought it ſufficient to have prevented thoſe cruelties in the Jerſies (avowed) which I have had occaſion to mention more than once. But if war was the choice, I never expected this ſuſpenſion ſhould operate farther, than to induce them to carry it on, as it is practiſed by men of liberal minds. I am clearly of opinion with your excellency, that mutual agreement is neceſſary for a ſuſpenſion of hoſtilities; and that without their mutual agreement, either party is free to act as each may judge expedient; yet I muſt at the ſame time frankly declare to you, that being

no-

no longer able to diſcern the object we contend for, I diſapprove of all hoſtilities, both by land and ſea, as they only tend to multiply the miſeries of individuals, when the public can reap no advantage by ſucceſs.

"As to the ſavages, I have the beſt aſſurances, that from a certain period not very long after my arrival here, no parties of Indians were ſent out, and that meſſengers were diſpatched to recall thoſe who had gone forth before that time. I have particular aſſurance of diſapprobation of all that happened to the party on the ſide of Sanduſky, except ſo far as was neceſſary for ſelf-defence."

Letters relative to the Execution of Colonel Iſaac Haynes in South Carolina.

NUMBER I.

To Mr. HAYNES.

SIR, *26th July*, 1781.

I AM charged by the commandant to inform you, that a council of the general officers will aſſemble to-morrow, at ten o'clock, in the hall of the province, to try you.

I am, &c.

C. FRAZER, major of the town.

NUMBER II.

To Mr. HAYNES.

Thurſday Evening, 26*th July*, 1781.

SIR,

I am ordered by the commandant to acquaint you, that inſtead of a council of general officers, as is mentioned in my letter of this morning, a court of enquiry, compoſed of four general officers and five captains, will be aſſembled to-morrow, at ten o'clock, in the province hall, for the purpoſe of determining under what point of view you ought to be conſidered.

You will immediately be allowed pen, ink, and paper; and any perſon that you chuſe to appoint, will be permitted to accompany you, as your counſel, at the ſame hour and place.

I am, &c.

C. FRAZER, major of the town.

NUMBER III.

To Mr. HAYNES, in the Provoſt's Priſon.

Memorandum.

Sunday, 29*th July*, 1781.

The adjutant of the town will be ſo good as to go to colonel Haynes in the provoſt's priſon, and inform him, that, in conſequence of the court of enquiry held yeſterday, and the preceding evening, on his account, lord Rawdon, and the commandant, lieutenant colonel Neſbit Balfour, have reſolved upon his execution on Tueſday the 31ſt inſtant, at ſix o'clock, for having been found under arms, and employed in raiſing a regiment to oppoſe the Britiſh government, though he had become a ſubject, and had accepted the protection of that government, after the reduction of Charles Town.

(Signed)

C. FRAZER, major of the town.

NUMBER IV.

A Letter from Colonel HAYNES to Lord RAWDON, and Colonel BALFOUR.

In the Provoſt's Priſon, 29*th July*, 1781.

MY LORD, and SIR,

On Thurſday morning I had the honour of receiving a letter from major Fraſer, by which he informed me, "That a council of general "officers would be aſſembled the

" next day for my trial;" and, on the evening of the ſame day, I received another letter from the ſame officer, acquainting me, " that inſtead of that, a court of enquiry would ſit, for the purpoſe of deciding under what point of view I ought to be conſidered." I was alſo told, " that any perſon whom I ſhould appoint, would be permitted to accompany me as my counſel." Having never entertained any other idea of a court of enquiry, nor heard of any other being formed of it, than of its ſerving merely to preeede a council of war, or ſome other tribunal for examining the circumſtances more fully, excepting in the caſe of a ſpy; and Mr. Jarvis, lieutenant-marſhal to the provoſt, not having ſucceeded in finding the perſon whom I named for my counſel, I did not take the pains to ſummon any witneſſes, though it would have been in my power to have produced many; and I preſented myſelf before the council without any aſſiſtance whatever. When I was before that aſſembly, I was farther convinced that I had not been deceived in my conjectures; and I found that the members of it were not ſworn, nor the witneſſes examined upon oath; and all the members, as well as every other preſent, might eaſily have perceived, by the queſtions which I aſked, and by the whole tenor of my conduct, that I had not the leaſt notion that I was tried and examined upon an affair, on which my life and death depended. Neither do I believe that the members themſelves had an idea of that ſort.

In the caſe of ſpies, a court of enquiry is all that can be neceſſary, becauſe the ſimple fact, whether the perſon is, or is not a ſpy, is all that can be the object of their reſearches; and his having entered the lines of the enemy's camp, or the garriſon, ſubjects him to military execution. As that accuſation neither is, nor ever has been brought againſt me, I humbly conceive that the information which I received, namely, that the court would make enquiry concerning what point of view I ought to be conſidered under, could not be taken as a ſufficient notice of their having an intention to try me then, but could only be thought to ſignify that they were to take it into conſideration whether I ought to be looked upon as a Britiſh ſubject or as an American; that in the firſt caſe I ſhould undergo a legal and impartial trial; in the ſecond, I ſhould be ſet at liberty on my parole.

Judge then, my lord, and ſir, of the aſtoniſhment I muſt have been in, when I found that they had drawn me by ſurprize into a procedure tending to judgment without knowing it to be ſuch, and deprived me of the ability of making a legal defence, which it would have been very eaſy for me to have done, founded both in law and fact; when I ſaw myſelf deſtitute of the aſſiſtance of counſel or of witneſſes; and when they abruptly informed me that after the procedure of that court I had been condemned to die; and that in a very few days. Immediately upon receiving this notice, I ſent for the lawyer whom I had originally choſen for my counſel. I here incloſe his opinion concerning the legality of the proceſs held againſt me; and I beg that I may be permitted to refer myſelf to him. I can aſſure you with the utmoſt truth, that I both had, and have many reaſons to urge in my defence, if you will grant me the favour of a regular trial; if not (which I cannot however ſuppoſe from your juſtice and equity), I earneſtly intreat that my execution may be deferred, that I may at leaſt take

a laſt

a laſt farewell of my children, and prepare myſelf for the dreadful change.

I hope you will return me a ſpeedy anſwer; and am, with reſpect, &c.

ISAAC HAYNES.

Sketch of a Plan for raiſing a Conſtitutional Force in the Towns, Cities, and Counties of Great Britain; being an Anſwer, Article by Article, to the Plan propoſed by Lord Shelburne *.

1ſt. AGREED, with this addition.—And other battalions, or companies, to be alſo voluntarily formed out of the hundreds, tythings, and hamlets, of each county, in proportion to its extent and populouſneſs.

2d. The officers, and, in ſome companies, men, to enroll themſelves from among the gentry, yeomanry, and ſubſtantial houſeholders, and the officers to be commiſſioned reſpectively by the high ſheriff, and chief magiſtrate, of each county and town.

3d. The ranks of the officers to be proportioned to their contributions to a fund raiſed for the purpoſes mentioned in ſubſequent articles.

4th. An adjutant or town-major in each county or town, to be elected by the officers.

5th. Agreed, for the purpoſe of drilling the men, until a certain number of the volunteers can be qualified to act as ſerjeants and corporals.

6th. The ſaid drill ſerjeants and corporals from the army to continue in the pay of government; but the adjutants and town-majors to be paid, if they deſire pay, out of a fund voluntarily raiſed for that purpoſe in the ſeveral counties and towns.

7th. Agreed.

8th. Arms, accoutrements, and ammunition, to be furniſhed at the expence of the counties and towns, if required; or of the officers, if they are generouſly diſpoſed.

9th. The ſaid arms, &c. to be kept by each man, in his own houſe, for his legal protection.

10th. Rejected.

11th. The officers to take care, after exerciſe, that the men march regularly, and return home with their arms.

12th. Agreed, with this addition.—A ſet of laws, or articles, to be drawn up by the officers, and ſubſcribed or openly conſented to by the men, after a diſtinct reading and explanation of each article. "Conſenſus facit legem."

13th. Agreed, the words *counties or* being inſerted after the word *reſpective*.

14th. The high ſheriff of each county, and chief magiſtrate of each town, ſhall then (on due notice from government) have power to order the ſaid corps to march to any part of Great Britain, as the public ſervice may require.

15th. Agreed, in caſe of actual invaſion; but in riots, the magiſtrates to call out their reſpective corps: and, as to rebellion, or civil war, (which God avert!) no ſpecific proviſions can be made for ſo dreadful and improbable an event.

16th. The counties and towns to pay the men who require it; but ſuch as enroll themſelves without pay, to wear ſome mark of diſtinction, and the officers to ſerve at their own expence.

17th. Agreed, in caſe of actual invaſion only; but the words, *and*

* See Principal Occurrences, p. 27, 28, 29.

receiving government pay, to be omitted.

18th. Officers disabled in actual service to be rewarded by a new order (as a star and ribband, orange-coloured and mixed) or by an eulogium proclaimed and recorded by the sheriffs of their several counties, or the chief magistrates of their corporate towns; and the men to receive a comfortable subsistence at their own homes, with a fixed annuity for life out of the voluntary fund.

19th. The widows and children of officers and men, killed in the service against invaders, to have also pensions for life.

20th. The companies called out as above to be discharged, *ipso facto*, as soon as the invaders are repelled, or the particular service terminated.

Letter from the Earl of BUCHAN *to the Peers of Scotland.*

MY LORDS,

AS I have publicly declared at Holyrood-house, on the occasion of the late election, that I consider myself no longer politically connected with the peerage of Scotland—that I never will again enter the walls of that house as a peer of Scotland, or accept of a seat in the house of lords on what I do not reckon an honourable footing, I think it necessary to communicate this intelligence to the peers of Scotland who were not present at the election, together with the reason which has induced me to enter into a resolution, from which I certainly never will depart.

The public also, my lords, has a right to know why a peer, who has the honour to enjoy the esteem of his countrymen, separates himself from an order of men with which birth connected him, and which was originally intended to throw lustre on the country.

As the peers who were in opposition to me and my principles, at the election, were double the number of my friends who attended the meeting, it was in vain for me to bring forward, with any effect, the reasons which ought to have induced the peers to have with-held their voices from my opponent, or that particular reason which I am now about to give your lordships, for my coming no more among you as electors, or as considering myself any longer connected with you, except as a relation, a friend, and a fellow-citizen of a country which possesses my warmest affections.

It is well known, whatever the friends of ministry, or the enemies of the constitution may pretend, that the elections of the peers of Scotland have been continually influenced by the successive ministers of state ever since the Union, and in the late case as much as ever, though not so glaringly, and with more caution.

It is well known, though it might be difficult to prove it legally, that a king's messenger was sent down express from the marquis of Rockingham, to inform lord Lauderdale, that he should have the good wishes and the interest of that minister; and it is not known, but ought to be known, that I wrote a letter to the secretary of state for the northern department at that time, to beg of him, that, as my friend, he would abstain from supporting my pretensions, as I would not consent to sit as a peer upon such an influence.

The marquis of Rockingham's express arrived at lord Lauderdale's, on or about the 10th of May, when his lordship's agents did immediately propagate

propagate every where the contents of the letter from the miniſter; and it was preſently known what riſques were to be run by the peers who ſhould vote for me on the baſis of a free election.

Lord Lauderdale, however, was but poorly ſupported at the election; and the reaſon is obvious, his patron died, and the miniſter was no more.

The miniſtry did not long ſurvive their head, and lord Lauderdale had but five ſigned liſts at the election.

Some peers there were, and thoſe I ſhall ever reſpect, who kindly informed me that their friendſhip, or relation to my opponent, prevented them from voting in behalf of me and my cauſe.

I feel the higheſt reſpect for ſuch peers, and ſhall ever mention them with honour.

I hope this compliment will be acceptable; for I have ſome honour to beſtow.

My fortune is ſmall, but I am independent.

My independence is inexterminable.

I can live on the food, the ſimple fare of my anceſtors. I can prepare it, if it is neceſſary, in a helmet; and I can ſtir it about with my ſword, the name, the origin, the emblem, and the charter of my family.

I can eat it, if fate commands me, in the field of battle, covered with duſt, with wounds, but with honour; and it would ſuſtain me in a cottage with the water of the brook —defeated, perhaps, but not ſubdued, by my enemies, and the enemies of the liberties of my country; and if even that laſt reſource of an independent ſpirit ſhould fail, I could certainly die by neceſſity, as ſome have done in the ſame way by choice. *Adeone uſque mori?* No, my lords, there is enough of the old Roman in me, and, what is much better, of a Chriſtian hero, to teach me how to die, when I cannot preſerve my life with honour.

I now take a final farewell of your lordſhips, as electors of ſupreme legiſlators of Great Britain, returning my moſt ſincere thanks to thoſe truly noble lords of the apoſtolical number, who voted for me, and the independency of their order, on the 24th of this month. Their names ſhall be enrolled for ever with mine in the annals of this country; and if his majeſty ſhall ever be pleaſed to call me to a ſeat in parliament by patent, which is now my only entrance to the houſe of lords, I ſhall uſe my utmoſt endeavours to promote the intereſt and reſtoration of that order, which, in its preſent ſituation, I have forſaken.

I am, my lords, with all due reſpect, your lordſhips' moſt obedient, humble ſervant,

BUCHAN.

Edinburgh, July 25, 1782.

Copy of the Letter above mentioned.

Edinburgh, April 30, 1782.

MY LORD,

I THINK it proper to inform your lordſhip, that I intend to offer myſelf a candidate to ſucceed lord Loudon, as one of the Scots repreſentatives for the peerage; but I know your lordſhip has too ſtrong a ſenſe of my ſentiments on that ſubject, to ſuppoſe that I would deſire any more from you than, as a miniſter, that you would ſuffer me to depend upon the uninfluenced opinion of my brethren.

I am, &c.

BUCHAN.

Earl of Shelburne.

Letters from the Right Honourable THOMAS TOWNSHEND, *one of his Majesty's Principal Secretaries of State, to several of the Lord Lieutenants of Counties, relative to a new Scheme of giving County Names to the different Regiments.*

(CIRCULAR.)

Whitehall, Sept. 10, 1782.

MY LORD,

THE very great deficiency of men in the regiments of infantry being so very detrimental to the public service, the king has thought proper to give the names of the different counties to the old corps, in hopes that, by the zeal and activity of the principal nobility and gentry in the several counties, some considerable assistance may be given towards recruiting these regiments. As this is a point of the utmost public importance, his majesty has no doubt of your lordship's using your utmost influence among your friends for the accomplishment of it.

The king has been pleased to appoint the sixth regiment to the county of Warwick, as first regiment, and to bear its name.

Though I had the honour of writing to your lordship before upon this subject, it is judged proper to repeat the application, on account of the very great urgency of the demand for men.

I have the honour to be,
My lord, your lordship's
Most obedient, humble servant,
T. TOWNSHEND.

Lord Lieutenant of the County of Warwick.

Whitehall, Sept. 10, 1782.

MY LORD,

THE very great deficiency of men in the regiments of infantry being so very detrimental to the public service, the king has thought proper to give the names of the different counties to the old corps, in hopes that, by the zeal and activity of the principal nobility and gentry in the several counties, some considerable assistance may be given towards recruiting these regiments. As this is a point of the utmost public importance, his majesty has no doubt of your lordship's using your utmost influence among your friends for the accomplishment of it.

The king has been pleased to appoint the twenty-fourth regiment to the county of Warwick, and to bear its name as second regiment.

I have the honour to be,
My lord, your lordship's
Most obedient, humble servant,
T. TOWNSHEND.

Lord Lieutenant of the County of Warwick.

Whitehall, Sept. 10, 1782.

MY LORD,

THE very great deficiency of men in the regiments of infantry being so very detrimental to the public service, the king has thought proper to give the names of the different counties to the old corps, in hopes that, by the zeal and activity of the principal nobility and gentry in the several counties, some considerable assistance may be given towards recruiting these regiments. As this is a point of the utmost public importance, his majesty has no doubt of your grace's using your utmost influence among your friends for the accomplishment of it.

The king has been pleased to appoint the fifty-second regiment to the county of Oxford, and to bear its name.

I have the honour to be,
My lord, your lordship's
Most obedient, humble servant,
T. TOWNSHEND.

Lord Lieut. of the County of Oxford.

To

To the Right Hon. the Earl of ORFORD, *Lord Lieutenant of the County of Norfolk, &c. &c.*

Whitehall, Sept. 10, 1782.

MY LORD,

THE very great deficiency of men in the regiments of infantry being so very detrimental to the public service, the king has thought proper to give the names of the different counties to the old corps, in hopes that, by the zeal and activity of the principal nobility and gentry in the several counties, some considerable assistance may be given towards recruiting these regiments. As this is a point of the utmost public importance, his majesty has no doubt of your lordship's using your utmost influence among your friends for the accomplishment of it.

The king has been pleased to appoint the fifty-fourth regiment to the county of Norfolk (West), and to bear its name.

I have the honour to be,
My lord, your lordship's
Most obedient, humble servant,
T. TOWNSHEND.

Copy of a Letter from the Right Hon. General CONWAY, *Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Land Forces, to Major-General Sir* ROBERT PIGOT, *Bart.*

SIR, *London, Sept.* 5, 1782.

I HAVE the favour of your letter, inclosing Mr. Bayley's to you, and the plan of the military association at Manchester, which I have mentioned to his majesty, who orders me to signify his entire approbation of it, and, on applying to the War-office, commissions for all the officers will be delivered without any expence to them, except the stamps, which are inconsiderable. The changes of the captains and subalterns may take place once a year without inconvenience. As many applications have been made from the other Volunteer corps for standards, it is thought proper to suspend any determination upon them for the present.

I have the honour to be,
SIR,
Your most obedient,
And most humble servant,
H. S CONWAY.

Major-General Sir Robert Pigot, Bart.

Copy of a Letter from the Commander in Chief of his Majesty's Forces, to the Commanding Officer of the forty-seventh Regiment.

COPY. (CIRCULAR.)

London, 31st August, 1782.

SIR,

HIS majesty having been pleased to order that the forty-seventh regiment of foot, which you command, should take the county name of the Lancashire Regiment, and be looked upon as attached to that county, I am to acquaint you, it is his majesty's farther pleasure, that you should in all things conform to that idea, and endeavour, by all means in your power, to cultivate and improve that connection, so as to create a mutual attachment between the county and regiment, which may at all times be useful towards recruiting the regiment. But, as the completing of the several regiments, now generally so deficient, is, in the present crisis, of the most important national concern, you will, on this occasion, use the utmost exertion for that purpose, by prescribing the greatest diligence to your officers, and recruiting parties, and by every suitable application to the gentlemen and principal inhabitants; and as nothing can so much tend to cultivate their affections, as

an orderly and polite behaviour towards them, and an obſervance of the ſtricteſt diſcipline in all your quarters, you will give the moſt poſitive orders on that head; and that you immediately make ſuch a diſpoſition of your recruiting parties, as beſt to anſwer theſe ends.

I have the honour to be,
SIR,
Your moſt obedient,
And moſt humble ſervant,
H. S. CONWAY.

Gen. Sir Guy Carleton, or the Officer commanding the 47th Regt. of Foot.

SIR,

I HAVE the honour to incloſe to you a copy of a letter which I have received from General Conway, informing me, that it is his majeſty's pleaſure, that the forty-ſeventh regiment, which I have the honour to command, ſhould bear the name of the Lancaſhire Regiment, and be conſidered as attached to the county, and deſiring me to uſe every endeavour in my power to extend the connection between the county and the regiment.

As this has been granted to the regiment at my requeſt. I need not ſay how agreeable it will be to me to promote his majeſty's intentions, and I beg to aſſure you, that every attention in my power ſhall be uſed to preſerve the greateſt harmony between the inhabitants and ſoldiers.

The forty-ſeventh regiment is at preſent very weak in numbers—it is my wiſh to complete it from the county; no meaſure appears to me better calculated to effect this plan, than by addreſſing myſelf to you, ſir, and the principal gentlemen of the county, to ſolicit your influence with the inhabitants, where my recruiting parties may be ſtationed, in favour of the regiment; and ſhould any other more effectual plan be adopted by the gentlemen of the county, for completing the corps, it will ever be conſidered as a high honour.

I have the honour to be, with great reſpect, ſir, your moſt obedient ſervant,

P. AEMILIUS IRVING,
Lieut. Col. 47th, or Lancaſh. Regt.

Warrington, 16th Sept. 1782.

Letter from the Right Hon. THOMAS TOWNSHEND, *one of his Majeſty's Principal Secretaries of State, to the Chairman of the Seſſions of the Peace for the County of Middleſex.*

SIR, *Whitehall, Oct. 22, 1782.*

HIS majeſty being very much concerned at the frequent robberies and diſorders of late committed in the ſtreets of London and Weſtminſter, and parts adjacent, and being informed that they are greatly imputed to the encouragement given to rogues and their accomplices, by perſons who keep night-houſes and cellars, which are reſorted to by great numbers of looſe and diſorderly perſons; and the gaming-houſes, as alſo the places where ſtrong liquors are drank to exceſs, contribute much to the corruption of the morals of thoſe of an inferior rank, and to the leading them into theſe wicked courſes, has commanded me to recommend it, in his name, in the ſtrongeſt manner, to the juſtices of the peace for the county of Middleſex, to employ their utmoſt care and vigilance in preventing and ſuppreſſing thoſe diſorders, by holding frequent petty ſeſſions for this purpoſe in the ſeveral pariſhes, or other diviſions, by calling before them the high conſtables and other proper officers under their direction, and giving them the ſtricteſt orders and

warrants,

warrants, from time to time, as there ſhall be occaſion, to ſearch for and apprehend rogues, vagabonds, idle and diſorderly perſons, in order to their being dealt with according to law; and likewiſe to proceed with rigour as well againſt all perſons harbouring ſuch offenders, as againſt thoſe who keep the ſaid night-houſes or cellars, tipling or common gaming-houſes, or who practiſe and encourage unlawful gaming.

And his majeſty having very much at heart the performance of this ſervice, wherein the honour of his government, the preſervation of the peace, and the ſafety of his ſubjects, are ſo much concerned, doth hereby require the ſaid juſtices, in their reſpective diviſions, to draw up in writing, from time to time, an account of their proceedings herein, inſerting the names of the juſtices attending ſuch meetings, and of the peace officers whom they ſhall employ, taking particular notice of the zeal and diligence of each of them, in the performance of his duty; which accounts are to be tranſmitted from the ſaid ſeveral ſeſſions to one of his majeſty's principal ſecretaries of ſtate, to be laid before his majeſty, who, being informed of their behaviour, may reward ſuch of them as ſhall diſtinguiſh themſelves in the faithful and diligent execution of their office; his majeſty not doubting but the juſtices, on their part, will take care to puniſh with rigour, as by law they may, thoſe who ſhall appear to have been guilty of corruption or negligence therein.

You will be pleaſed to acquaint the juſtices of the peace for the ſaid county, and all others whom it may concern, with his majeſty's pleaſure, that the ſame may be duly and punctually complied with.

I am, &c.

T. TOWNSHEND.

Letters to the like effect were alſo written to the lord mayor of London, to his grace the high ſteward of Weſtminſter, the chairman of the ſeſſions of the peace for the city and liberty of Weſtminſter, and likewiſe for the county of Surrey, at St. Margaret's Hill.

Letter addreſſed to Sir GUY CARLETON, *written by Mr.* PAINE, *(Author of the celebrated Treatiſe, entitled* COMMON SENSE*) and publiſhed in the* PENNSYLVANIA PACKET, *June* 1, 1782.

SIR,

IT is the nature of compaſſion to aſſociate with misfortune; and I addreſs this to you in behalf even of an enemy, a captain in the Britiſh ſervice, and now on his way to the head-quarters of the American army, and unfortunately doomed to death for a crime not his own.—A ſentence ſo extraordinary, an execution ſo repugnant to every humane ſenſation, ought never to be told without the circumſtances which produced it: and as the deſtined victim is yet in exiſtence, and in your hands reſts his life or death, I ſhall briefly ſtate the caſe, and the melancholy conſequence.

Captain Huddy, of the Jerſey militia, was attacked in a ſmall fort on Tom's river, by a party of refugees in the Britiſh pay and ſervice, was made priſoner, together with his company, carried to New York, and lodged in the provoſt of that city; about three weeks after which, he was taken out of the provoſt down to the waterſide, put into a boat, and brought again upon the Jerſey ſhore, and there, contrary to the practice of all nations but ſavages, was hung up on a tree, and left hanging until found by our people, who took him down and buried him.

The

The inhabitants of that part of the country where the murder was committed, ſent a deputation to general Waſhington, with a full and certified ſtate of the fact. Struck, as every humane breaſt muſt be, with ſuch brutiſh outrage, and determined both to puniſh and prevent it for the future, the general repreſented the caſe to general Clinton, who then commanded, and demanded that the refugee officer who ordered and attended the execution, and whoſe name is Lippencot, ſhould be delivered up as a murderer; and in caſe of refuſal, that the perſon of ſome Britiſh officer ſhould ſuffer in his ſtead. The demand, though not refuſed, has not been complied with; and the melancholy lot (not by ſelection, but by caſting lots) has fallen upon captain Aſgill, of the guards, who, as I have already mentioned, is on his way from Lancaſter to camp, a martyr to the general wickedneſs of the cauſe he engaged in, and the ingratitude of thoſe he has ſerved.

The firſt reflection which ariſes on this black buſineſs is, what ſort of men muſt Engliſhmen be, and what ſort of order and diſcipline do they preſerve in their army, when, in the immediate place of their headquarters, and under the eye and noſe of their commander in chief, a priſoner can be taken at pleaſure from his confinement, and his death made a matter of ſport.

The hiſtory of the moſt ſavage Indians does not produce inſtances exactly of this kind: they at leaſt have a formality in their puniſhments. With them it is the horridneſs of revenge, but with your army it is the ſtill greater crime, the horridneſs of diverſion.

The Britiſh generals who have ſucceeded each other, from the time of general Gage to yourſelf, have all affected to ſpeak in language they have no right to. In their proclamations, their addreſſes, their letters to general Waſhington, and their ſupplications to Congreſs (for they deſerve no other name) they talk of Britiſh honour, Britiſh generoſity, and Britiſh clemency, as if thoſe things were matters of fact; whereas we, whoſe eyes are open, who ſpeak the ſame language with yourſelves, many of whom were born on the ſame ſpot with you, and who can no more be miſtaken in your words than in your actions, can declare to all the world, that ſo far as our knowledge goes, there is not a more deteſtable character, nor a meaner or more barbarous enemy, than the preſent Britiſh one. With us you have forfeited all pretenſions to reputation, and it is only by holding you like a wild beaſt, afraid of your keepers, that you can be made manageable.—But to return to the point in queſtion.

Though I can think no man innocent who has lent his hand to deſtroy the country which he did not plant, and to ruin thoſe he could not enſlave, yet, abſtracted from all ideas of right or wrong on the original queſtion, captain Aſgill, in the preſent caſe, is not the guilty man. The villain and the victim are here ſeparated characters. You hold the one, and we the other. You diſown or affect to diſown and reprobate the conduct of Lippencot, yet you give him ſanctuary; and by ſo doing, you as effectually become the executioner of Aſgill, as if you put the rope on his neck, and diſmiſſed him from the world.

Whatever your feelings on this extraordinary occaſion may be, are beſt known to yourſelf. Within the grave of your own mind lies buried the fate of Aſgill. He becomes the corpſe of your will, or the ſurvivor of your juſtice. Deliver up the one, and you

ſave

ſave the other; withhold the one, and the other dies by your choice.

On our part the caſe is exceedingly plain: an officer has been taken from his confinement and murdered, and the murderer is within your lines. Your army have been guilty of a thouſand inſtances of equal cruelty, but they have been rendered equivocal, and ſheltered from perſonal detection. Here the crime is fixt; and is one of thoſe extraordinary caſes which can neither be denied or palliated, and to which the cuſtom of war does not apply; for it never could be ſuppoſed that ſuch a brutal outrage would ever be committed. It is an original in the hiſtory of uncivilized barbarians, and is truly Britiſh.

On your part, you are accountable to us for the perſonal ſafety of the priſoners within your walls. Here can be no miſtake; they can neither be ſpies, nor ſuſpected as ſuch: your ſecurity is not endangered, nor your operations ſubjected to miſcarriage, by men immured within a dungeon. They differ in every circumſtance from men in the field, and leave no pretence for ſeverity or puniſhment. But if, to the diſmal condition of captivity with you, muſt be added the conſtant apprehenſions of death; if to be impriſoned is ſo nearly to be entombed; and if, after all, the murderers are to be protected, and thereby the crime encouraged, wherein do you differ from Indians either in character or conduct?

We can have no idea of your honour or your juſtice in any future tranſaction, of whatever nature it may be, while you ſhelter within your lines an outrageous murderer, and ſacrifice in his ſtead an officer of your own. If you have no regard to us, at leaſt ſpare the blood which it is your duty to ſave. Whether the puniſhment will be greater on he, who, in this caſe, innocently dies, or on he whom ſad neceſſity forces to retaliate, is, in the nicety of ſenſation, an undecided queſtion. It reſts with you to prevent the ſufferings of both. You have nothing to do but to give up the murderer, and the matter ends.

But to protect him, be he who he may, is to patronize his crime; and to trifle it off by frivolous and unmeaning enquiries, is to promote it. There is no declaration you can make, no promiſe you can give, that will obtain credit. It is the man, and not the apology, that is demanded.

You ſee yourſelf preſſed on all ſides to ſpare the life of your own officer, for die he will, if you withhold juſtice. The murder of captain Huddy is an offence not to be borne with, and there is no ſecurity we can have that ſuch actions, or ſimilar ones, ſhall not be repeated, but by making the puniſhment fall upon yourſelves. To deſtroy the laſt ſecurity of captivity, and to take the unarmed, the unreſiſting priſoner to private and ſportive execution, is carrying barbarity too high for ſilence. The evil muſt be put an end to; and the choice of perſons reſts with you. But if your attachment to the guilty is ſtronger than to the innocent, you invent a crime that muſt deſtroy your character, and if the cauſe of your king needs to be ſo ſupported, for ever ceaſe, ſir, to torture our remembrance with the wretched phraſes of Britiſh honour, Britiſh generoſity, and Britiſh clemency.

From this melancholy circumſtance learn, ſir, a leſſon of morality. The refugees are men whom your predeceſſors have inſtructed in wickedneſs, the better to fit them to their maſter's purpoſe. To make them uſeful, they have made them vile,

and

and the conſequence of their tutored villany is now deſcending on the heads of their encouragers. They have been trained like hounds to the ſcent of blood, and cheriſhed in every ſpecies of diſſolute barbarity. Their ideas of right and wrong are worn away in the conſtant habitude of repeated infamy, till, like men practiſed in executions, they feel not the value of another's life.

The taſk before you, though painful, is not difficult; give up the murderer, and ſave your officer, as the firſt outſet of a neceſſary reformation.

COMMON SENSE.

Philadelphia, May 31, 1782.

The Subſtance of a Treaty lately concluded between their High Mightineſſes the States General, and the United States of America.

Art. 1. THERE ſhall be a firm, indiſſoluble, and general peace between their High Mightineſſes the ſeven United Provinces of the Netherlands, and the United States of America, between the ſubjects, citizens, and inhabitants of both ſtates, their reſpective countries, towns, &c. without any diſtinction or exception.

Art. 2. The citizens and ſubjects of the ſaid States of the Netherlands ſhall pay at any port, road, towns, &c. of America, no other duty or import, of whatever nature or denomination they may be, than ſuch as the moſt favoured nations are uſually ſubject to; and they ſhall be entitled to all rights, liberties, privileges, &c. in point of trade, navigation, and commerce, whether going to any American ports, or ſailing from thence to any part of the univerſe, as are already, or may hereafter be granted to the aforeſaid nations.

Art. 3. Makes the above reciprocal for the traders of America.

Art. 4. The ſubjects of each party ſhall enjoy a free and plenary liberty of conſcience, as well as their family, in religious matters; being indulged to follow their reſpective modes of worſhip without hindrance or moleſtation. Moreover the ſubjects, &c. of the reſpective parties dying within the territories of the other, ſhall be buried in proper and decent grounds allotted for that purpoſe; nor ſhall the leaſt inſult be offered to the remains of the deceaſed.

Art. 5. Their High Mightineſſes the States of the United Provinces will endeavour, as much as in them lies, to defend and protect all ſhips and properties belonging to any of the American States, or their reſpective ſubjects, whilſt the ſaid ſhips, &c. remain in the Dutch roads and harbours, or the ſeas adjoining thereto, and to recover and return to the owners, or their agents, all ſuch ſhips, &c. captured within the juriſdiction of the ſaid United Provinces: all men of war belonging to the latter, ſhall, upon all occaſions, take under their protection, all trading veſſels, the property of the people of the ſaid States of America, ſteering the ſame courſe; and protect them in the way againſt all ſudden and violent attacks, in the ſame manner as they are bound to defend and protect ſhips and veſſels belonging to the ſubjects of their High Mightineſſes.

Art. 6. Stipulates the ſame condition to be obſerved by the United States of America.

Art. 7. It ſhall be free and lawful to the merchants or other ſubjects of both parties, by will made, during, or previous to the illneſs of the teſtator, to bequeath wholly, or in part, to ſuch perſon or perſons they may think proper, the effects, goods, &c.

which

which the ſaid teſtator has, or ought to be poſſeſſed of, within the territories belonging to either of the contracting parties: moreover, if any of the ſaid ſubjects ſhall die after having made their wills, or what is termed *ab inteſtat*, their heirs at law, executors, or adminiſtrators, ſettled within the dominions of either party, or coming from any other country, though not naturaliſed, ſhall receive ſuch goods and effects without being moleſted, under pretence of any private privileges peculiar to any province, town, &c. but be freely admitted to their claims, according to the laws of the reſpective countries: in ſuch manner however, that the right to the ſaid goods and effects of perſons dying *ab inteſtat*, ſhall be proved according to the forms in ſuch caſes provided by the laws of the country where the perſon may happen to die, notwithſtanding all ſtatutes, edicts, cuſtoms, &c. to the contrary.

Art. 8. Stipulates, that the ſubjects of either of the contracting parties reſiding within the dominions of the other, ſhall appoint ſuch attornies, agents, and counſel, as they may think fit, and that the latter ſhall be called to the bar by the ordinary judges, if deſired to do ſo.

Art. 9. It is hereby enacted, that the goods, and effects, or other property belonging to either party, ſhall not be detained, much leſs ſeized upon by main force, unleſs it is for debt, or in conſequence of a formal and lawful proſecution.

Art. 10. Concerns the traders and maſters of ſhips, who, in neither of the aforeſaid States, ſhall be compelled to employ in the loading or unloading of their ſhips, or for agents and interpreters, ſuch perſons as are eſtabliſhed for that purpoſe by public authority, remaining at full liberty to tranſact buſineſs for themſelves, and to make uſe of any perſon or perſons they may think fit to appoint, without being obliged to pay fees, under any denomination whatſoever, to thoſe who uſually act in the above capacities.

Art. 11 and 12. Settle the manner in which the ſhips of either party, ſailing with prohibited ſtores for the ports of any power then at war with one of the contracting parties, are to be treated. It is therein ſtipulated, that the maſters of ſuch ſhips ſuſpected on good grounds of carrying on ſuch illicit trade, ſhall be compelled to produce, either at ſea, or in the harbours of their allies, their certificates and paſſports, ſhewing that they have no unlawful goods on board.——Any ſhip which, upon being ſearched at ſea, ſhall prove to be ſo laden, ſhall ſtraightway be carried by the captor into ſome of the ports belonging to the offended party. Yet it ſhall not be lawful to break open the hatches, trunks, or any other locked up place, till the admiralty court ſhall have pronounced on the matter, and have iſſued out a ſentence of confiſcation, which ſhall in no caſe extend to the ſhip, or any part of its cargo, but ſuch as conſiſt of the ſaid prohibited goods. If the captor at ſea ſhould find there is room ſufficient to put on board his own ſhip, the whole of the prohibited cargo, the prized veſſel ſhall be ſuffered to continue its courſe, nor ſhall it be carried into port, but in ſuch caſes, where the ſaid cargo could not be removed on board the captor.

Art. 13. Declares ſeizable any property belonging to the ſubjects of the reſpective States, if found on board any veſſel, the owner or maſter of which, ſhould be a ſubject of the power then at war with one of the contracting parties, unleſs it ſhould appear, upon proof, that the owner or owners of ſuch property had ſhipped

ped it off before the declaration of war, or before they could be informed of there being such a declaration; in which case, all such properties and effects shall be restored *bona fide*, and without any demur, to the real owners; provided nevertheless, if such effects are of the number of the prohibited ones, they shall not be by any means carried into any ports within the dominions of the enemy. The time specified, as sufficient for any owner or master of ships, to be informed of the declaration of war, is fixed at two months after the said declaration, whatever port or place they may happen to sail.

Art. 14. In order that sufficient provision may be made for the safety of the trading vessels and subjects of both parties, in case of any molestation from the ships of war and privateers of either, it shall be strictly enjoined to all captains and commanders of such ships not to annoy, or in any manner whatever give offence to the subjects of the other party, on pain of being made liable to make good all loss and damage to the aggrieved party.

Art. 15. Provides that all goods and merchandizes retaken from the enemies of either of the contracting parties, shall be carried to some port within the dominions of either, and safely lodged with commissioners appointed for that purpose, who are to deliver the whole and every part of the property to the real owners, upon their proving themselves to be such in a full and satisfactory manner.

Art. 16 and 17. Relate to the amicable manner in which either party is to be treated by the subjects of the other, in case of their being wrecked, or forced by distress of weather, or the fear of any enemy, to put into any port, &c. from whence they shall be at full liberty to depart, when, and for whatever destination they may think proper.

Art. 18. Provides, that in case of a war breaking out between the parties, six months from the date of the declaration, shall be allowed to their trading subjects to dispose of, or withdraw their effects and property, and if any part thereof should have been seized upon before the expiration of the said term, full satisfaction shall be made to the party aggrieved.

Art. 19. Forbids all and every subject of both parties, when either of them is at war with any foreign power, to accept from the latter any commission or letters of marque for the purpose of being employed against the party then at war as aforesaid.

Art. 20. Subjects the trading and other ships of the contracting powers to the usual forms and regulations, in case they should ride in the roads, or sail coastwise along the territories of their confederates without any express intention of making any of their ports, or in case they should enter any of the latter, but be unwilling to unlade their vessels either wholly or in part.

Art. 21. Declares both parties to be at liberty to appoint consuls, and other agents, to reside within the dominions of their confederates, if they should esteem such an establishment either convenient or necessary.

Art. 22. It is agreed between the contracting parties, that no clause or article whatever contained in the present treaty, either for the present or for the time to come, shall be understood or looked upon as any ways derogatory to the two treaties, one of amity and commerce, the other of alliance, concluded at Paris, the 6th of February, 1778, between the United States of America, and the Most Christian King, but ought to be

be deemed in every reſpect compatible with and conformable to the ſaid treaties.

Art. 23. The contracting powers leave the king of Spain at full liberty to accede to the treaties alluded to in the above article, with ſuch alterations, as to his Catholic Majeſty may ſeem good; provided nevertheleſs, that no clauſe or condition go againſt any of the articles contained in the preſent treaty between the contracting parties herein-mentioned.

Art. 24. Contains a promiſe on the part of their High Mightineſſes to exert their intereſt with the Barbary powers, that no moleſtation or annoyance may be offered by them, or their ſubjects, to the free trade of their confederate.

Art. 25. Specifies ſuch ſtores, and effects, as come within the appellation of contraband or prohibited goods: namely, all manner of arms, and offenſive weapons, linen and woollen cloths, gold and ſilver coined or in bullion, combuſtibles, pitch, tar, yarn, maſts, timber, ſails. Other articles, provided they are not made in a form adapted to warfare, either by ſea or land, are not to be looked upon as prohibited goods.

Art. 26. Enacts, that in order to prevent all diſſenſion and miſunderſtanding between the parties, if either of them ſhould chance to declare war againſt any other power, the ſubjects of the other contracting parties ſhall be provided with proper paſſports, ſpecifying the ſhip's burthen, its cargo, the name of the maſter, &c. that it may thus appear, that there are no prohibited goods on board.

Art. 27. Provides, that although the ſhips of either party be at liberty to put into any port belonging to the other, without being compelled to unload or give in a declaration of their cargo; yet if there is any juſt cauſe of ſuſpecting, that ſome prohibited merchandize is lodged on board, the maſter of ſuch a veſſel ſhall be obliged to juſtify himſelf, by preſenting his paſſport made out in a legal form, as provided by this treaty.

Art. 28. Stipulates, that any trading ſhip being met at ſea by one or more men of war, of either of the contracting parties, the commander of ſuch man of war ſhall keep without gun-ſhot, and only ſend his boat, not to ſearch, but to requeſt to ſee the paſſport of the maſter of the trading ſhip.

Art. 29. It ſhall be lawful for all traders, commanders of ſhips, either fitted out for war or trade, belonging to the United States, or any of the ſubjects thereof, freely to enter in their ſervice, and receive on board, within all and every the ports belonging to the States General, ſuch ſailors or others as may be native citizens, or ſubjects of any of the Thirteen Provinces, and that upon ſuch terms and conditions as ſhall be expreſsly agreed, without being ſubject to any penalty, action or treſpaſs, or reprehenſion for ſo doing.

The above article (being the laſt) is made reciprocal in favour of their High Mightineſſes.

State of the National Debt, as it will ſtand on the 5th of January, 1783, and the Intereſt that is, or will be paid for it. By the Earl of STAIR.

THE funded debt on the 5th of January, 1783, will be £197,325,500

The value of 980,338*l.* of annuities given as premiums, ſome for life, ſome for terms of years, at, or under the prices they

ſell

fell at, may be estimated to amount to	13,700,000
The balance of unfunded debt, after deducting from the 50,000,000*l.* charged against the public in account No. I. the 13,500,000*l.* funded in 1782, and adding the balance of 1,266,338*l.* over the fifty millions, as per account No. III. is — — —	37,766,338
Borrowed on the 6d. in the pound civil list duty — —	1,000,000
Equivalent to Scotland — —	248,550
Total capital debt on the 5th of January, 1783 — —	250,040,388

For which is, or will be paid annually by the public,

Interest of debt already funded — —	£7,481,311
Interest on the million borrowed on the civil list 6d. duty —	30,000
Interest on the Scotch equivalent, and 2,000*l.* paid yearly to Scotch fisheries, &c. — —	12,000
Interest on the above 37,766,338*l.* unfunded debt, at 5½ per cent. charges at the bank included, nearly — —	2,100,000
The charges at the bank on loans 1781 and 1782, not yet allowed, nearly	15,000
Total to be paid annually to the creditors of the public, on the 5th January, 1783 — —	9,638,311
The civil list and peace establishments will require annually, as per account No. I.	5,500,000
Total annual charge on the public on the 5th January, 1783, neat money	15,138,311

It is believed the account is just, or so to a trifle. If so, and if the annual neat amount of the public revenue cannot be brought to rise higher than twelve millions (and we think there is no great probability that it will rise higher), the whole of the deficiency must fall on the creditors of the public, who, instead of receiving annually 9,638,311*l.* will only receive 6,500,000*l.* or 13*s.* 6*d.* in the pound.

Should we be compelled to continue the war for another year, it may be fairly presumed the charge will not be less for 1783 than it was for 1782. If so, the public account will stand on the 5th of January, 1784, as follows:

To the loan as in 1782	£13,500,000
Provisions omitted, or short and defective funds taken for more than they will produce in 1782 —	
Balance of the debt of the navy, after allowing the 1,500,000*l.* carried towards it from the supplies, 1782	
The whole increase for the year, ending the 31st of Dec. 1781, being 4,145,722*l.*	
Balance therefore is	2,641,722

The

The sinking fund taken for more than it will produce, as per account No. III. crediting half a year more of the difference gained by the reduction of the 3 1-2 per cent. to 3 per cent. — —	£920,695	Capital debt on the 5th of January 1783, was per account No. IV.	250,040,000
Deficiency of funds as per account No. III. for 1783, by the intereſt running before the taxes commence, or at leaſt can be made productive — —	350,000	Addition, if the war continues during 1783 — —	18,021,988
Deficiency of grants as per account No. III. — —	200,000	Total capital debt on the 5th of January 1784. —	£268,061,988
Intereſt on Exchequer bills, as per account No. III. — —	315,014	Intereſt payable to the creditors on the 5th of January 1783, per account No. IV.	£9,638,311
Exchequer bill office, as per ditto —	3,888	Additional intereſt for debt contracted, if the war continues for 1783 —	1,091,000
To the bank of England for receiving the loan, &c. as per ditto —	10,669	To the creditors of the public, on the 5th of January 1784	£10,729,311
To diſcount on prompt payment of the loan, as per ditto —	80,000	To the amount of the peace and civil liſt eſtabliſhments, per account No. I.	5,500,000
	£4,521,988	Total annual charge of neat money on the public, if the war continues for 1783	£16,229,311
Total new debt, that muſt be contracted if the war continues during 1783	18,021,988		
Intereſt on 18 millions only at 6 per cent.	1,080,000		
Charges at the bank on 18 millions, nearly —	11,000		
Total additional annual burthen on the public (if the war continues) on the 5th of January, 1784	1,091,000		

Which on the more probable ſuppoſition, that the public revenue cannot, on a permanency, and average of years, be brought to exceed 12 millions neat annually; the creditors in that caſe, in place of 10,729,311*l.* will receive annually only 6,500,000*l.* or 12*s.* 1*d.* in the pound.

The foregoing accounts muſt certainly ſtrike every thinking mind with aſtoniſhment and apprehenſion for the conſequences.

Avarice and credulity may promiſe any thing, on extravagant terms being offered; but in the event of public misfortune, or even on the change of the caprice of public

opinion, how are they to make good their promiſes? If they fail in time of war, the worſt of ruins, anarchy enſues. In time of peace, the public not being able to completely fulfil their engagements to their creditors, will be a great calamity; but will not, I hope, endanger the ſafety of the ſtate. Indeed, moſt of the few public creditors who look beyond the price of the day, ſee that this laſt event muſt neceſſarily happen ſoon. The funds are now kept up at the rates they are at, only by an idea, ſo generally prevalent, that peace muſt be at hand, becauſe we are no longer able to go on with the war; and conſequently, as has generally happened on a peace, there will be a great riſe in the value of government ſecurities, which every body hopes by ſelling out to profit by; not reflecting that if all croud to market with their ſtock at one time, the quantity on ſale exceeding, as it needs muſt, the demand, the price cannot advance.

Letter from WILLIAM EDEN, Eſq. *to the Earl of* SHELBURNE.

Downing-ſtreet, April 5, 1782.

MY LORD,

HAVING re-conſidered the conferences with which your lordſhip yeſterday indulged me, I think that I ought ſpecifically to ſtate my reaſons for having often declined your intimations to me to enter into opinions and facts reſpecting the preſent circumſtances of Ireland, and the meaſures beſt to be purſued there. When I arrived in London, I came prepared and diſpoſed, and inſtructed to ſerve, moſt cordially, in the critical meaſure of cloſing the Lord Lieutenant's government, ſo as to place it with all practicable advantages in the hands of whatever perſon his Majeſty's miniſters might have deſtined to ſucceed to it.

I preſuppoſed, however, that either his Excellency would be recalled very ſoon, but not without the attentions which are due to him, his ſtation, and his ſervices; or that his Majeſty's miniſters would aſſiſt and inſtruct him in firſt concluding the buſineſs of the ſeſſion, and the various public meaſures and arrangements of ſome difficulty and conſequence, which are immediately connected with it, and which cannot be completed in leſs than four or five months.

Finding, however, to my extreme ſurprize, that the manner of giving the Lieutenantcy of the Eaſt Riding to Lord Carmarthen, had been ſuch as to amount to a marked and perſonal inſult, when it is conſidered that the thing taken is merely honorary, and that the perſon from whom it is taken is an abſent Viceroy; and hearing alſo from your lordſhip, that the Duke of Portland is not unlikely to be made the immediate and actual meſſenger of his own appointment, I from that moment declined any communication reſpecting facts and meaſures; becauſe this line adopted towards the preſent Lord Lieutenant, muſt in my opinion be fatal to the eaſe of his ſucceſſors for a long period of time, and ruinous to all good government, and the conſequent peace of Ireland.

Your lordſhip has informed me, that this is not meant as a perſonal exertion of power againſt Lord Carliſle, but that his Majeſty's miniſters have adopted this mode of removing the Lord Lieutenant, as a wiſe meaſure of government. I differ ſo totally in my judgment, that it would be idle in me to trouble them farther reſpecting Ireland.

I ſhall

I ſhall, as the duty of my ſituation requires, wait on ſuch of his Majeſty's miniſters as are diſpoſed to ſee me, and with that reſpect which is due to them, ſhall ſubmit what I have here ſtated.

My next anxiety is to act as I believe Lord Carliſle would wiſh me to act, for his honour and the public ſervice, two objects which cannot at this moment be ſeparated. I am ready this evening, or to-morrow morning, at any hour, to attend the commands of his Majeſty's miniſters, either ſeparately or collectively. To-morrow at two, I ſhall go into the country, to make a viſit of perſonal reſpect and private friendſhip; and on Monday, in the Houſe of Commons, I ſhall ſtate, as fully as a weak voice will permit, what I conceive to be the preſent circumſtances of Ireland: I ſhall do this without any mixture of complaint, and with the moſt anxious regard to facilitate any ſubſequent ſyſtem for the public tranquillity; I ſhall only wiſh to let it be implied by the world, from Iriſh facts, in contradiction to Engliſh treatment, that the preſent Lord Lieutenant of Ireland (I borrow his own words from his laſt letter to your lordſhip) "has had the good fortune to conduct the buſineſs of Ireland, at a moſt critical period, without diſcredit to his Majeſty's government, and with many increaſing advantages to the intereſts of his kingdoms."

I have the honour to be, &c.

WM. EDEN."

Letters from the Right Hon. THOMAS TOWNSHEND, *Eſq. one of his Majeſty's principal Secretaries of State, to the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor of the City of London.*

Whitehall, Nov. 22, 1782.

MY LORD,

HIS Majeſty's miniſters, anxious to prevent, as early as poſſible, the miſchief too commonly reſulting from ſpeculations in the funds, during the uncertain ſtate of negociations for peace with the powers at war, and which it is for the general honour and intereſt of all great powers to avoid, have thought it their duty to aſk his Majeſty's permiſſion to communicate to you, for the information of the public, that the negociations for peace, which are carrying on at Paris, are brought ſo far to a point, as to promiſe a deciſive concluſion for peace or war, before the meeting of parliament, which will, on that account, be prorogued to the 5th of next month.

I have likewiſe his Majeſty's command to aſſure your lordſhip, you will receive immediate notice of the iſſue.

I have the honour to be, &c.

T. TOWNSHEND.

Whitehall, Dec. 3, 1782.

MY LORD,

IN conſequence of my letter to your Lordſhip, of the 22d of laſt month, I take the earlieſt opportunity of acquainting you, that a meſſenger is this moment arrived from Paris, with an account of proviſional articles having been ſigned the 30th of November, by his Majeſty's commiſſioners, and the commiſſioners of the United States of America, to be inſerted in and conſtitute a treaty of peace, which is to be concluded when terms of a peace ſhall be agreed upon between Great-Britain and France.

The Right Hon. the Lord Mayor.

NEW TAXES.

An additional duty of 4*d.* per pound on tobacco.
An additional duty of 5*s.* on tea-licences.
An additional duty on brandy.
An additional duty of ten-pence per buſhel on ſalt.
A duty on all medicinal ſalts of 1*l.* per hundred weight.
A duty of 1*s.* 6*d.* in 100*l.* on all ſums of money inſured on houſes and goods from fire.
A ſtamp duty of 3*d.* on all inland bills of exchange under 50*l.* and of 6d. on all ſuch bills above 50*l.*
A duty of 50*l.* on licences to be taken out by all lottery-office keepers.
A new duty on ſmall beer.
A new duty on poſt-horſes.

Parliamentary SUPPLIES, and WAYS and MEANS, for 1782.

SUPPLIES.

NAVY.

100,000 Seamen (with 21,305 Marines)	5,200,000	0	0	
Ordinary of the Navy, - -	409,766	12	9	
Building, &c. of Ships, - -	953,519	0	0	
Navy Debt, - -	1,500,000	0	0	
				8,063,285

ARMY.

49,455 Landmen (with 4175 Invalids)	1,242,835	2	3	
General and Staff Officers -	43,840	6	0	
Guards, Garriſons, &c. - -	1,315,523	5	10	
Five Battalions for Gibraltar and Minorca	56,074	19	4½	
13,472 Troops Heſſe Caſſel - -	367,203	9	10	
2,094 ditto Hanau - -	61,108	11	0¼	
Regiment Waldeck - -	17,498	3	2¼	
4,300 Brunſwickers - -	93,947	15	8	
Regiment Brandenbourg Anſpach -	43,665	12	3	
933 Troops Anhalt Zerbſt -	23,818	11	11¼	
Proviſions for Foreign Troops in America	55,469	0	0	
Augmentation to the Troops of Heſſe Caſſel	15,499	17	5	
Ditto ditto Brandenbourg Anſpach	3,282	12	5	
Augmentation to Troops of Anhalt Zerbſt	4,942	19	0	
Artillery to Foreign Troops -	27,683	14	0	
Embodying Militia in South Britain, and four Regiments Fencibles in North-Britain	677,497	15	10	
Cloathing ditto - -	100,594	17	1	
Regiment Light Dragoons and two Regiments Foot	21,329	18	8	
One Regiment Light Dragoons, ſeven Battalions, and a detachment of Foot for the Eaſt-Indies - - -	36,280	10	8	
Land Extraordinaries and Augmentations (Chelſea Hoſpital included, and reduced Officers)	3,516,214	5	8	
				7,724,311 8 2

Brought

Brought forward,				£.7,724,311	8 2

ORDNANCE.

Ordinaries,		712,366	3 10		
Extraordinaries		899,723	15 7		
				1,612,089	19 5

MISCELLANEOUS SERVICES.

Turkey Company		5,000	0 0		
Britiſh Muſeum		3,000	0 0		
American Civil Governments		14,957	10 5		
African Forts and Settlements		13,000	0 0		
Roads and Bridges in Scotland		5,000	0 0		
Rebuilding Newgate, on account		10,000	0 0		
Ditto Somerſet-Houſe		25,000	0 0		
American Sufferers		68,439	16 0		
Salt-Petre, &c. Contracts		50,000	0 0		
Juſtitia Hulks		14,719	4 0		
Commons Addreſſes		8,672	5 0		
				217,788	15 5

EXCHEQUER BILLS.

Vote of Credit laſt Seſſions diſcharged		1,000,000	0 0		
Diſcharged before Chriſtmas Receſs		1,500,000	0 0		
Diſcharged after Chriſtmas Receſs		1,420,000	0 0		
Remain uniſſued to pay Lottery Prizes		480,000	0 0		
				4,400,000	0 0

DEFICIENCIES.

Deficiency, Fund 1758		35,149	8 0½		
Ditto, ditto, 1778		183,380	3 8		
Ditto, ditto, 1779		102,806	9 4		
Ditto, ditto, 1780		153,193	8 11		
Ditto, Coinage		8,113	16 7		
Ditto, Land and Malt		400,000	0 0		
				882,643	6 7
				£.22,900,119	2 4

WAYS and MEANS.

Land and Malt				2,750,000	0 0

SINKING-FUND SURPLUSSES, viz.

Medium produce of three laſt years		2,803,813	4 0		
Balance in Exchequer Michaelmas, 1781		203,795	11 10		
Duties from India Company, payable this month, poſtponed on account of the late arrival of laſt year's fleet		163,000	0 0		
Half-year's dividend of ½ per Cent. on 3½ per Cent. Annuities 1758, from 5th July 1782		11,250	0 0		
		3,181,858	15 10		
Taken for the round ſum of				3,100,000	0 0
Surplus Grants, 1781		254,475	7 5		
Carried over,				£.5,850,000	0 0

Brought

Brought forward, - - - -				£.5,850,000	0 0
Deduct intereſt on Exchequer Bills, &c. -	144,331	18	9		
Paid Bank of England prompt payment to proprietors of Loan, 1781 -	93,537	2	8		
	237,869	1	5		
Nett Surplus of Grants -	-			16,608	6 0
New Exchequer Bills - -	-			3,500,000	0 0
Annuities and Lottery - -	13,905,000	0	0		
Deduct Lottery Prizes - -	405,000	0	0		
				13,500,000	0 0
Sundry Savings - - -	-			100,000	0 0
French Prize Money - -	-			10,000	0 0
Sale of Ceded Iſlands - -	-			5,000	0 0
Duty on Gum Seneca - -	-			1,000	0 0
				£.22,982,608	6 0

SUPPLY -	22,900,119	2	4
WAYS and MEANS	22,982,608	6	0
EXCESS of PROVISIONS	82,489	3	8

PRICES

PRICES of STOCK for the Year 1782.

N. B. The higheſt and loweſt Prices of each STOCK in the Courſe of any Month are put down to that Month.

	Bank Stock	3 per c. red.	3 ditt. conſ.	3 ditt. 1726.	3½ do. 1758.	4 p. c. 1777.	Long Ann.	30yrs. 1778.	S. Sea Stock	ditto o. an.	ditto n. an.	3 p. c. 1751.	India Stock.	ditto Ann.	ditto Bonds	3 p c. Scrip.	4 p. c. Scrip.	Navy Bills.
Jan.	112 1/2	57 1/8	57 3/4	54 3/4	56	71 7/8	16 1/4	12 1/8	63	56 5/8	55 3/4		140 1/2	55 3/8	12s. pr			11 3/8
	110 7/8	56 1/4	55 5/8	54 1	55 5/8	71 3/8	16 1/16	11 15/16		55 7/8	55 1/4		135	53 3/8	6			10 7/8
Feb.	111 5/8	56 3/4	55 3/4	55	55 3/4	71 5/8	16 1/8	12 1/8		56 1/4	55 1/2		135	53 1/2	13			12 7/8
	109 5/8	54 7/8	53 5/8	53 3/4	54 1/8	69 7/8	15 3/4	11 13/16	54 3/4	55 1/4	54 1/2		132 1/2	52 1/2	5 dif.			10 7/8
Mar.	111 1/2	55 3/4	55 1/2	54	55 5/8	71 1/2	16 1/16	12 1/16		55 1/2	55 1/4	54 1/2	134 1/2	53 3/4	10 p.	56 3/8	70 3/8	11 7/8
	111 1/4	54 7/8	53 5/8	53 1/2	54	70 1/8	15 7/8	11 15/16		54 1/4	54 1/8	53 1/2	133 3/4	53 3/8	2 dif.	54 5/8	68 3/4	11 1/4
Apr.	117	59 5/8	60		58 1/4	74	17 3/8	13 3/16		57 1/2	59		138	56 1/4	11 p.	60 1/4	74 7/8	12
	112 1/2	56 1/2	55 5/8		56 1/8	70 1/2	16 3/8	12 5/8		56 3/4	56 5/8		136	55	2 dif.	56 1/2	70 3/8	10 1/4
May	115	59 1/8	59 7/8		58 3/8	73 1/2	17 1/2	13 7/16		58 3/8	59	58 3/4	139 1/4	56 3/4	15 p.	60 5/8	74 1/8	11 1/8
	114	57 5/8	57 5/8		58 1/8	72 1/4	17 3/16	12 15/16		58 1/8	58 5/8	58 1/2	139	56 1/2	6	59 1/8	72 7/8	10 1/4
June	116 1/4	59 7/8	61 1/4	58 1/2	59	74 5/8	17 3/4	13 1/4		59	59 5/8	59 1/4	138 1/2	56 1/4	10	61	75	12
	114 1/2	58 1/2	59 3/4		58 1/4	73	17	13 1/16		58 1/4	58 7/8		137	55 3/8	2	59 1/2	73 3/8	10 5/8
July	115 1/4	59 5/8	60 3/8		58 7/8	73 5/8	17 1/2	12 1/2		58 7/8			128	55 1/4	7	60 1/8	73 7/8	11 1/2
	113	57 1/4	56 1/4		57 1/4	71 7/8	16 7/16	12 1/4		57 1/4		55 3/4	127 1/2	54 5/8	2	57 1/2	72	11
Aug.	115	58 1/4	57 1/8		57 7/8	73	16 7/8	12 5/8		57 7/8	56 7/8		129 3/4	55	5	58 3/4	73 1/8	11 3/8
	113	57 1/8	56 1/8		57 1/4	71 3/4	16 7/16	12 3/8	63 1/2	57 1/4	56 3/8	56 1/2	127 3/4	54 1/2	par	57 1/2	72	10 1/2
Sep.	114 7/8	57 3/4	58 3/8		58 3/4	74 7/8	17 3/16	12 7/8		58 3/4	57 3/4	56 3/4	129 3/4	54 7/8	2	59 7/8	74 5/8	10 7/8
	114	57 5/8	56 1/2		57 1/2	72 3/4	16 5/8	12 1/2	64	57 1/2	56 3/8	55 3/4	126 3/4	54 3/4	par	58 1/8	7 3/4	10
Oct.	117	58	58 1/4		57 1/8	74 1/2	17 3/16	12 1/16		57 1/8	58		136	54 1/2	2	59 3/4	74 1/4	11 3/4
	113	57 1/4	57 1/4		56 3/4	72	17 1/16	12 3/4		56 3/4	57 3/8	56 5/8	130 1/2	54 1/8	1 dif.	59 1/8	73 7/8	10 1/4
Nov.	117 1/2	61 1/2	61 1/2		59 5/8	74 3/4	17 1/16	13 1/2		59 5/8	60 1/4		133 1/2	57	par	62 1/2	76 1/2	12 1/2
	112 1/2	56 3/8	57 1/4		56 1/2	71	16 15/16	12 7/8		56 1/2	57 1/2		133	54	12 d.	58 1/2	73 1/4	11 1/2
Dec.	124	66 1/4	66		64 3/4	80 1/2	19 5/8	13 13/16		64 1/4	63 1/4		140 1/2	62 1/4	12	67	78 1/4	13 3/8
	120	61	61 3/4		60	75 1/8	17 1/2	13 1/2		60	61 1/4		135	57 3/4	18	61 1/4	77 1/2	11 7/8

BIOGRAPHICAL

ANECDOTES

AND

CHARACTERS.

BIOGRAPHICAL

ANECDOTES AND CHARACTERS.

DESCENT and RISE of the Empreſs CATHARINE of RUSSIA.

[From the Memoirs of PETER HENRY BRUCE, Eſq.]

"SHE was born at Runghen, a ſmall village in Livonia, of very poor parents, who were only boors, or vaſſals: her father and mother dying, left her very young in great want; the pariſh-clerk, out of compaſſion, took her home to his houſe, where ſhe learnt to read. Dr. Glack, miniſter of Marienburgh, ſeeing her there, enquired of the clerk who ſhe was; and being informed ſhe was a poor orphan he had taken into his houſe out of charity, what from a wiſh to relieve the poor clerk from a burthen he was not well able to ſupport, and a liking to the little orphan, the doctor took her home to his houſe, notwithſtanding he had a numerous family of his own. Here her company and opportunities for improvement were better, and her deportment ſuch, that ſhe became equally eſteemed by the doctor, his wife, and children: her ſteady, diligent, and careful attention to all their domeſtic concerns, ingratiated her ſo much with the doctor and his wife, that they made no diſtinction between her and their own children. She ever after ſhowed her acknowledgment with the utmoſt gratitude, in richly providing for all thoſe who could lay claim to any alliance to the doctor's family; nor did ſhe forget her firſt benefactor the clerk of Rughen. In this happy ſituation ſhe grew up to woman, when a Livonian ſerjeant, in the Swediſh ſervice, fell paſſionately in love with her; ſhe likewiſe liking him, agreed to marry him, provided it could be done with the doctor's conſent, who, upon enquiry into the man's character, finding it unexceptionable, readily gave it. The marriage-day was appointed, and indeed, came; when a ſudden order came to the ſerjeant that very morning, to march directly with a detachment for Riga, who was thereby diſappointed from ever enjoying his lovely bride. Soon after this, general Baur, at the head of an army, came before the town and took it, in the year 1702, when all the inhabitants were made priſoners, and amongſt the reſt this lovely bride. In the promiſcuous croud, overwhelmed with grief, and bathed in tears at her unhappy fate, the general obſerving her, ſaw a *je ne ſçai quoi* in her whole appearance, which attracted him ſo much, that he aſked her ſeveral queſtions about

her ſituation; to which ſhe made anſwers with more ſenſe than is uſual with perſons of her rank. He deſired her not to be afraid, for he would take care of her, and gave immediate orders for her ſafety and reception into his houſe, of which he gave her the whole charge, with authority over all his ſervants, by whom ſhe was very much beloved from her manner of uſing them: the general afterwards often ſaid, his houſe was never ſo well managed as when ſhe was with him.

"Prince Menzikoff, who was his patron, ſeeing her one day at the general's, obſerved ſomething very extraordinary in her air and manner, and enquiring who ſhe was, and on what footing ſhe ſerved him, the general told him what has been already related, and with due encomiums on the merits of her conduct in his houſe: the prince ſaid, ſuch a perſon would be of great conſequence to him, for he was then very ill ſerved in that reſpect; to which the general replied, he was under too many obligations to his highneſs to have it in his power to refuſe him any thing he had a mind to, and immediately calling for Catherine, told her, that was prince Menzikoff, and that he had occaſion for a ſervant like herſelf, and that the prince had it much more in his power to be a friend to her than he had; adding, that he had too great a regard for her to prevent her receiving ſuch a piece of honour and good fortune. She anſwered only by a profound courteſy, which ſhewed, if not her conſent, that it was not then in her power to refuſe the offer that was made: in ſhort, the prince took her home the ſame day, and ſhe lived with him till the year 1704, when the czar, one day dining with the prince, happened to ſee her, and ſpoke to her: ſhe made a yet ſtronger impreſſion on that monarch, who would likewiſe have her to be his ſervant; from whence ſhe roſe to be empreſs of Ruſſia."

ACCOUNT of CZAR PETER's FIRST MARRIAGE; and the STORY of a Virtuous YOUNG LADY.

[From the ſame Work.]

"DURING my reſidence in Moſcow, I was told the following particulars of the czar. He was born in the year 1672, and was married in 1690, at the age of eighteen, to Ottokeſſa Lupochin, a boyar's daughter, by whom he had prince Alexis: ſome time after he turned her away, and ſhut her up in a monaſtery, on ſuſpicion of diſloyalty to his bed. It was ſaid, that in one of her jealous fits, ſhe charged prince Menzikoff with carrying the czar to drabs of his former acquaintance, who had been his cuſtomers for cakes; upbraiding him with his firſt occupation, and that Menzikoff ever after bore an irreconcilable enmity to both her and her ſon. After the divorce, one Miſs Mons, a very beautiful young lady, born at Moſcow, of foreign parents, was much in favour with the czar; but when he was abroad, Mr. Keyſerling, then reſiding at Moſcow as envoy from the king of Pruſſia, paid his addreſſes to, and married her. When the czar returned, he was ſo much offended

offended at Keyſerling, that he ordered him to leave Moſcow, which occaſioned his immediate recall by the king his maſter, who ſent another in his room. It was believed, if his public character had not protected him, he would have ſeverely felt his majeſty's diſpleaſure.

" The czar was ſome time after ſmitten with the charms of another beautiful young lady, the daughter of a foreign merchant in this city: he firſt ſaw her in her father's houſe, where he dined one day. He was ſo much taken with her appearance, that he offered her any terms ſhe pleaſed, if ſhe would live with him; which this virtuous young woman modeſtly refuſed: but dreading the effects of his authority, ſhe put on a reſolution, and left Moſcow in the night, without communicating her deſign even to her parents. Having provided a little money for her ſupport, ſhe travelled on foot ſeveral miles into the country, till ſhe arrived at a ſmall village where her nurſe lived with her huſband and their daughter, the young lady's foſter-ſiſter, to whom ſhe diſcovered her intention of concealing herſelf in the wood near that village: and to prevent any diſcovery, ſhe ſet out the ſame night, accompanied by the huſband and daughter. The huſband, being a timber-man by trade, and well acquainted with the wood, conducted her to a little dry ſpot in the middle of a moraſs, and there he built a hut for her habitation. She had depoſited her money with her nurſe to procure little neceſſaries for her ſupport, which were faithfully conveyed to her at night by the nurſe or her daughter, by one of whom ſhe was conſtantly attended in the night-time.

" The next day after her flight, the czar called at her father's to ſee her, and finding the parents in anxious concern for their daughter, and himſelf diſappointed, fancied it a plan of their own concerting. He became angry, and began to threaten them with the effects of his diſpleaſure, if ſhe was not produced: nothing was left to the parents but the moſt ſolemn proteſtations with tears of real ſorrow running down their cheeks, to convince him of their innocence, and ignorance what was become of her; aſſuring him of their fears that ſome fatal diſaſter muſt have befallen her, as nothing belonging to her was miſſing, except what ſhe had on at the time. The czar, ſatisfied of their ſincerity, ordered great ſearch to be made for her, with the offer of a conſiderable reward to the perſon who ſhould diſcover what was become of her, but to no purpoſe: the parents and relations, apprehending ſhe was no more, went into mourning for her.

" Above a year after this ſhe was diſcovered by an accident. A colonel who had come from the army to ſee his friends, going a hunting into that wood, and following his game through the moraſs, he came to the hut, and looking into it ſaw a pretty young woman in a mean dreſs. After enquiring of her who ſhe was, and how ſhe came to live in ſo ſolitary a place, he found out at laſt that ſhe was the lady whoſe diſappearance had made ſo great a noiſe: in the utmoſt confuſion, and with the moſt fervent intreaties, ſhe prayed him on her knees that he would not betray her; to which he replied, that he thought her danger was now paſt, as the czar was then otherways engaged, and that ſhe might with ſafety diſcover herſelf, at leaſt to her parents, with whom he would conſult how matters ſhould be managed. The lady agreed to his propoſal, and he ſat out immediately, and overjoyed her parents with the

happy diſcovery: the iſſue of their deliberations was to conſult Madame Catherine (as ſhe was then called) in what manner the affair ſhould be opened to the czar. The colonel went alſo upon this buſineſs, and was adviſed by Madame to come next morning, and ſhe would introduce him to his majeſty, when he might make the diſcovery and claim the promiſed reward. He went according to appointment, and being introduced, told the accident by which he had diſcovered the lady, and repreſented the miſerable ſituation in which he found her, and what ſhe muſt have ſuffered by being ſo long ſhut up in ſuch a diſmal place, from the delicacy of her ſex. The czar ſhewed a great deal of concern that he ſhould have been the cauſe of all her ſufferings, declaring that he would endeavour to make her amends. Here Madame Catherine ſuggeſted, that ſhe thought the beſt amends his majeſty could make, was to give her a handſome fortune and the colonel for a huſband, who had the beſt right, having caught her in purſuit of his game. The czar, agreeing perfectly with Madame Catherine's ſentiments, ordered one of his favourites to go with the colonel, and bring the young lady home; where ſhe arrived, to the inexpreſſible joy of her family and relations, who had all been in mourning for her. The marriage was under the direction, and at the expence of the czar, who himſelf gave the bride to the bridegroom; ſaying, that he preſented him with one of the moſt virtuous of women; and accompanied his declaration with very valuable preſents, beſides ſettling on her and her heirs, three thouſand rubles a year. This lady lived highly eſteemed by the czar, and every one who knew her. Beſides the concurring reports of other people, I had the ſtory from her own mouth."

THE CZAR'S DANGER FROM ROBBERS.

[From the ſame Work.]

"A Gentleman of the name of Knipercron, whoſe father had been reſident from Sweden before the war, told me, how the czar himſelf had been attacked in his younger days: his majeſty frequented their houſe very often, and always ſhewed a great regard for their family. One evening the czar intending them a viſit, being only attended by two ſervants, the one riding before and the other ſtanding behind the ſledge, up comes a ſledge with eight Raſbonicks in it, and were juſt going to faſten his ſledge to theirs with a grapling-iron, which they commonly make uſe of on theſe occaſions: but the czar being then young, ſtout, and vigorous, got up, and ſeized one of the robbers by the hair of his head, and pulled him out of their ſledge; and, keeping his hold, drove out of their reach, dragging the fellow along with him till he reached the reſident's houſe, which was not far, and entered to their great ſurprize all in a ſweat, ſtill holding the fellow by the hair. He ordered the gates to be immediately ſhut, that none of the ſervants might go out till he had examined the robber. When the fellow

low underſtood that it was the czar they had attacked, he ſhook and trembled, ſaying if they had known who he was they would not have meddled with him, and then begged he might be put to death, without being put to the torture. To this his majeſty conſented, on condition he diſcovered the reſt of his gang; but this the fellow would not do, without a promiſe of his life and a reward, which was alſo granted him, and he went with a detachment of ſoldiers to the rendezvous of his companions, and coming to the houſe he called to them to open the door. On hearing his voice they directly opened it, and in ruſhed the ſoldiers, and ſeized not only his ſeven accomplices, but thirteen others of the ſame gang, who were ſoon after all executed, except the informer.

"At another time the czar was attacked on his way from Moſcow to Novogorod, when he was attended by four ſervants only. Going from Twer, he was ſtopped by a ſtrong party of Raſbonicks, on which he immediately jumped out of his ſledge, with a ſword drawn in one hand, and a cocked piſtol in the other, and told them he was the czar, aſking them what they wanted? They replied they were poor fellows reduced to great want, and as he was their lord and maſter, he was the propereſt perſon to relieve them: he told them he had no money about him; to which they anſwered, if he had, they would take none from him, but deſired that he would give them a written order to the governor of Novogorod for what ſum he pleaſed to beſtow upon them, begging that it might be ſuch as would relieve them from their ſtraits. The czar then aſked them, if one thouſand rubles would be ſufficient; and on their ſaying it would, he wrote an order for that ſum payable at ſight, and for which they directly diſpatched one of their number, who very ſoon returned with the money: they then obliged the czar to return to Twer, and to pledge his royal word not to proſecute, or even enquire after them, promiſing to amend their lives and become good ſubjects for the future. Inſtead of proceeding to Novogorod, the czar returned back to Moſcow."

STORY of Lieutenant-General BOHN.

[From the ſame

"WHILE we were at Copenhagen, a circumſtance happened to a lieutenant-general of our ſervice, whoſe name was Bohn, which I cannot omit mentioning. He was born on the iſland of Bornholm, where his father had been a miniſter; his mother was left a very poor widow, and now hearing that her ſon was at Copenhagen, a general in the Ruſſian ſervice, ſhe came to ſee him, and calling at his lodgings, was told by his ſervants that he was not at home: ſhe deſired the ſervants to tell their maſter that ſhe was mother, and was come from Bornholm on purpoſe to ſee him, and would call again next morning. Upon this information, the general flew into a great paſſion, ſaying, his mother had been dead many years ago, and that this muſt be ſome

needy perſon or other, or perhaps, out of her mind; and ordered his aid-de-camp, if ſhe called again, to give her ten ducats, and ſend her away, that he might not be farther troubled with her. The mother calling next morning, the aid-de-camp did as he was directed, and offered her the ten ducats as his maſter's charity; ſhe threw them with diſdain upon the ground, and ſaid, with tears in her eyes, ſhe did not come to beg charity, but to ſee her ſon; and ſince he could both deny and deſpiſe his mother, ſhe would return from whence ſhe came, and trouble him no more. This made ſo great a noiſe all over the town, that it came to the czarina's ears: ſhe ſent for the woman, who ſoon ſatisfied the empreſs that ſhe was the general's mother; he was ſent for, and received a reprimand for his unnatural behaviour, and was ordered to ſettle two hundred rubles a year on his mother for her life, which was complied with; and he was, in the mean time, twitted with general Baur's generous behaviour to his poor relations, who was not aſhamed of them, though of a lower degree than his. This reprimand put the general into great confuſion, and he was afterwards very much diſregarded."

ACCOUNT of the DEATH and CHARACTER of Prince ALEXIS, CZAROWITZ of RUSSIA.

[From the ſame Work.]

"FROM the numerous executions and puniſhments after the inquiſition at Moſcow, every body believed that buſineſs at an end; but from the freſh diſcoveries made every day, it appeared, the prince had not been genuine in his confeſſion of all his confederates in the conſpiracy; and the accomplices appearing ſo numerous, and the plot ſo deep laid, the czar found it abſolutely neceſſary to bring the prince to a formal trial. For this purpoſe he ſummoned all the nobility and clergy, the principal officers of the army and navy, the governors of provinces, and many others of different ranks and degrees, to attend at the ſenate-houſe at Peterſburg, to examine and try the ſaid prince. The trial was begun the 25th of June (the particulars of which have been ſo fully related by others, that I thought a repetition of it needleſs), and continued to the 6th of July, when this ſupreme court, with unanimous conſent, paſſed ſentence of death upon the prince, but left the manner of it to his majeſty's determination: the prince was brought before the court, his ſentence was read to him, and he was re-conveyed to his priſon in the fortreſs.

"On the next day, his majeſty, attended by all the ſenators and biſhops, with ſeveral others of high rank, went to the fort, and entered the apartments where the czarowitz was kept priſoner. Some little time thereafter marſhal Weyde came out, and ordered me to go to Mr. Bear's the druggiſt, whoſe ſhop was hard by, and tell him to make the potion ſtrong which he had beſpoke, as the prince was then very ill: when I delivered this meſſage to Mr. Bear, he turned quite pale, and fell a ſhaking and trembling, and appeared in the utmoſt confuſion, which ſurpriſed me ſo much, that I aſked him what

what was the matter with him, but he was unable to return me any anſwer. In the mean time the marſhal himſelf came in, much in the ſame condition with the druggiſt, ſaying, he ought to have been more expeditious, as the prince was very ill of an apoplectic fit: upon this the druggiſt delivered him a ſilver cup with a cover, which the marſhal himſelf carried into the prince's apartments, ſtaggering all the way as he went, like one drunk. About half an hour after, the czar with all his attendants withdrew with very diſmal countenances, and when they went, the marſhal ordered me to attend at the prince's apartment, and in caſe of any alteration, to inform him immediately thereof: there were at that time two phyſicians and two ſurgeons in waiting, with whom, and the officer on guard, I dined on what had been dreſſed for the prince's dinner. The phyſicians were called in immmediately after to attend the prince, who was ſtruggling out of one convulſion into another, and, after great agonies, expired at five o'clock in the afternoon. I went directly to inform the marſhal, and he went that moment to acquaint his majeſty, who ordered the corpſe to be imbowelled; after which it was laid in a coffin, covered with black velvet, and a pall of rich gold tiſſue ſpread over it. It was then carried out of the fort, to the church of the Holy Trinity, where the corpſe lay in ſtate till the 11th in the evening, when it was carried back to the fort, and depoſited in the royal burying-vault, next the coffin of the princeſs his late conſort; on which occaſion, the czar and czarina, and chief of the nobility, followed in proceſſion. Various were the reports that were ſpread concerning his death: it was given out publicly, that on hearing his ſentence of death pronounced, the dread thereof threw him into an apoplectic fit, of which he died. Very few believed he died a natural death, but it was dangerous for people to ſpeak as they thought. The miniſters of the emperor, and the ſtates of Holland, were forbid the court for ſpeaking their minds too freely on this occaſion, and upon complaint againſt them were both recalled.

"Thus died prince Alexis, undoubted heir to that great monarchy; little regretted by people of rank, as he always ſhunned their acquaintance and company. It was ſaid, the czar had taken uncommon pains with the education of this prince, but all in vain: indolent and ſlovenly by nature, he kept the loweſt of company, with whom he indulged himſelf in all manner of vice and debauchery. His father, to put a ſtop to this, ſent him abroad to ſee foreign courts, thinking thereby to reclaim him, but all to no purpoſe; on which he ordered him to attend him in all his expeditions, thereby to have a watchful eye over him himſelf; but the prince evaded this, by continually pretending to be ſick, which might probably be the caſe, as he was moſt part of his time drunk. The czar, at laſt, thought to reclaim him by marrying him to ſome foreign princeſs: what effect that had, has been already mentioned. After the death of his amiable princeſs, his majeſty ordered him to attend him in his expedition to Germany; and being on his journey, under pretence of going to join him in Mecklenburg, he fled privately, and ſought the protection of his brother-in-law, the emperor of Germany, whom he endeavoured to engage in a war againſt his father.

"It was made appear on his trial, that

that he threatened, whenever he came to the throne, to overturn all his father had done, declaring, that he then would be revenged on prince Menzikof, and of his ſiſter-in-law, by impaling them alive, as alſo the great chancellor count Goloſkin, and his ſon, for perſuading him to marry the princeſs of Wolfenbuttel; that he would ſend all his father's favourites into baniſhment, and expel all foreigners out of the country; that he would releaſe his mother out of confinement, and put dame Catherine, and her children, in her place; after this, he would form his court of people who had the ancient manners and cuſtoms of Ruſſia moſt at heart, for he hated all innovations. Nothing could have touched the czar more ſenſibly than threatening to overthrow all he had been doing for ſo many years for the welfare and glory of his country, with ſo much danger, toil, and labour, without ever ſparing his own perſon; which made him ſay, with great emotion, that he would rather give his dominions to a worthy ſtranger, than be ſucceeded by ſo worthleſs a ſon: at the time of this expreſſion, he had no other ſon but the czarowitz, which ſhewed plainly, he had the good of his country more at heart than the ſucceſſion in his own family."

General MATUSKIN's MARRIAGE to the WIDOW in TEARS.

[From the ſame Work.]

"GENERAL Matuſkin, after the taking of Baku, was promoted to the rank of lieutenant-general, and was at the ſame time major of the firſt regiment of guards, and in great eſteem with his majeſty. He was an old bachelor when he married a beautiful buxom young widow, whoſe firſt huſband, major general Glebof of the dragoons, had been concerned in the late troubles with the czarowitz, for which he was condemned, but died in priſon, and his eſtate being confiſcated, the widow was reduced to very low circumſtances. General Matuſkin, who was appointed judge on that trial, was ſolicited by the mournful widow, who implored him on her knees, bathed in tears, to commiſerate her unmerited ſufferings, being now reduced to the utmoſt miſery and want. In this ſupplicating poſture, ſhe ſo captivated the old bachelor, that he directly made her an offer of himſelf, and all he had for her relief, which the widow joyfully accepted, on which the general applied to the empreſs to procure his majeſty's conſent. When the affair was mentioned to the emperor, he was much diſpleaſed at the general's ſeeking to match himſelf with the widow of a rebel, offering him at the ſame time any other lady he ſhould pitch upon; but the general told him that it was impoſſible for him to love any other woman, and humbly beſeeched his majeſty to grant his requeſt, otherwiſe he would loſe one of his moſt faithful ſervants: being ſeconded by the empreſs in his application, his majeſty became at laſt curious to ſee this widow, who had made ſuch an impreſſion on the heart of the old ſpark; and when ſhe was introduced to the emperor, he de-

declared he was not at all surprised at the conquest she had made, and not only gave his consent, but honoured their marriage with his presence, attended by the whole court. The lady ever afterwards went by the name of the Widow in Tears."

ANECDOTE concerning the Death of CHARLES the XIIth. of Sweden.

[From the same Work.]

"AS I was dining at an ordinary one day, with several of my acquaintances, there happened to be at the table a Swedish colonel and a lieutenant-colonel, who was born dumb, and had been a great favourite with the late king of Sweden. While we were at dinner, the governor's aid-de-camp came in, and addressing himself to the Swedish colonel, ordered him in the emperor's name to leave Riga immediately, otherwise he would be proceeded against as a traitor. The Swede immediately getting up from the table, quitted the room, pale and trembling. On our enquiring into the reason of this sudden order to the colonel, we were informed that he was suspected of having shot the late king of Sweden, in the trenches before Frederickshal. It seems that some of the company had, by signs, made the dumb lieutenant-colonel understand the affair, on which he ran after him with his sword drawn, and, but for the interposition of the aid-de-camp and some others with him, he would certainly have killed the colonel, who was safely conducted over the river Dwina, which divides Livonia from Courland, and was followed by his servants and baggage. It was observed that while he resided in Riga, large remittances had come to him from Stockholm, which made it generally suspected that he had been highly bribed to commit the regicide. The colonel made haste to get into Poland, intending to pass through that kingdom into Turkey, where he was well acquainted, having attended the king of Sweden all the time that prince resided in Bender; but as he was no more heard of, it was generally thought he had been murdered in Poland."

ACCOUNT of the Elder COELLO.

[From Mr. CUMBERLAND's Anecdotes of Eminent Painters in Spain; during the Sixteenth and Seventeenth Centuries.]

"AMONG the principal artists, employed by Philip in the paintings of the Escorial, the Elder Coello was one in the chief favour and esteem of that sovereign, who in his letters styles him Titiano Portugues (for he was of that nation), and addresses him by the affectionate appellation of my beloved son Alonso Sanchez Coello. He studied

ſtudied at Rome in the ſchool of Rafael de Urbino, and completed himſelf in his art under the inſtruction of Antonio Moro in Spain: he paſſed from Spain into Portugal, and was in the ſervice of Don Juan, and afterwards of his widow Donna Juana, ſiſter of Philip the Second. Upon the retirement of Antonio Moro, the king of Spain ſolicited his ſiſter to ſupply the loſs of that great artiſt by ſending him Coello: upon his arrival at the court, Philip lodged him in an apartment near at hand, with which he had a private communication, for the purpoſe of viſiting him whilſt he was at work. On theſe occaſions he treated Coello with great familiarity and condeſcenſion; he was in ſuch favour with all the royal family, that his apartment became at times their general rendezvous; and in theſe viſits Coello made ſeveral portraits of Philip on foot and horſeback, and of all the royal or diſtinguiſhed perſonages, that compoſed the court: in ſhort he became conſidered as a man in ſuch high degree of favour, that his protection was lookt up to by the courtiers and grandees, and his houſe and table frequented by the firſt perſons in the nation, not excepting cardinal Grambela, Don Gaſpar de Zueroga, archbiſhop of Toledo, and Don Rodrigo de Caſtro, archbiſhop of Seville. Coello was no leſs in favour with pope Gregory the XIIIth and Sixtus Quintus, with the dukes of Florence and Savoy, cardinal Farneſe, and many other illuſtrious characters of that time. After endowing a charitable foundation for the reception of poor orphans at Valladolid, Coello died in the ſixty-fifth year of his age, in 1590; an æra fatal to the arts in Spain.

"If Coello cannot properly be conſidered as a native of Spain, he muſt be acknowledged to rank high amongſt the chief artiſts, who have flouriſhed in that kingdom. His paintings in the Eſcorial, which are chiefly of ſaints affixed to the reſpective altars, do great honour to his memory: the portrait, that he made of the great patriarch San Ignacio, drawn from an impreſſion of his face, taken in wax after his death, is much celebrated; and his original figures of Siſiphus and Titius, as well as his copies from Titiano of Tantalus and Ixion, now in the palace of Madrid, are noble ſpecimens. His portraits of many royal and noble perſons, which are ſpoken of as excellent, periſhed with many other of his capital works in the unfortunate fire of the Pardo: of all which ſurvive, the principal in point of compoſition is preſerved in the church of San Geronimo in Madrid, repreſenting the martyrdom of San Sebaſtian: on the right hand of the ſaint ſtands the figure of Chriſt, on the left the Virgin Mary, and lower in the front San Bernardo and San Franciſco; above, a glory and a figure repreſenting El Padre Eterno: the whole is executed with great majeſty of deſign, a bold relief, and a ſtrong and maſterly expreſſion: he colours in the ſtyle of Titiano, and ſeems to draw with great facility and freedom. He died univerſally regretted by the artiſts, lamented by Philip, who regarded him highly, and celebrated by the famous Lopez de Vega, who wrote his epitaph.

"Philip, in the decline of fortune and life, by the death of Coello loſt his beſt, and perhaps only reſource againſt the vexations of ſtate and the intruſions of remorſe. Haughty by nature, and harſh through diſappointment, there were ſtill ſome moments, when his pride ſought the relief of familiarity, and when his temper for a while relaxed

into

into complacency: in thoſe moments he would mount the ladder, (the only one he ever climbed without ambition or diſgrace) that privately communicated with the painting-room of Coello. Philip had deſerved well of the arts, and in company with them he found himſelf for once amongſt his friends: Coello had diſcretion, good manners, and much acquaintance with the world. If the king encouraged converſation, Coello knew every body and every thing, and out of thoſe could chuſe his topics ſuitably, and treat them agreeably; if the king was diſpoſed to ſilence during his viſit, as was frequently the caſe, Coello purſued his work with fixt attention, he preſſed his canvaſs into life with all the energy and ſpirit of his genius; the king ſate by, contemplating the new creation, which the hand of art was forming in his ſight, and for a while perhaps forgot the breaches he had cauſed in that of nature's producing: by the eaſel of Coello, if he was not defended from the cares, he was at leaſt ſecure from the intruſions of royalty. Whoever has been accuſtomed to look on during the operations of induſtry or art, muſt have experienced a repoſe of thought, an interval from worldly inquietude, that ſteals inſenſibly and gradually upon the mind, as ſleep does on the body. If ſuch are our ſenſations, whilſt contemplating the labourer at his taſk, or the mechanic at his trade, how much do we improve the avocation, when the eye is called off from every other object and fixed upon one of the moſt pleaſing and ſurpriſing in the whole circle of human arts and inventions! We may naturally believe that Philip felt the benefits of this reſource. In his council-chamber the defection of provinces galled his pride, and the diſperſion of armadas thwarted his ambition; in his cloſet the injured Perez ſtung his conſcience and the unhappy Don Carlos haunted his imagination; but in the academy of Coello he ſaw himſelf in his moſt favourable light, and perhaps the only one, which can reflect a luſtre on his memory."

ACCOUNT of ANTONIO MORO.

[From the ſame Work.]

"ANTONIO Moro (Sir Antony More) the predeceſſor and preceptor of the elder Coello above mentioned, was born at Utrecht, where, in the early years of his life, he ſtudied in the ſchool of Juan Eſcorelio; from thence he paſſed into Italy, where he ultimately formed himſelf upon the models of the great maſters Michael Angelo and Rafael de Urbino. He came into Spain 1552, Charles V. being then on the throne, under the protection of his countryman cardinal Grambeli. He made a portrait of prince Philip, and, being recommended by the cardinal to the ſervice of the emperor, he was ſent by him into Portugal to take the portrait of the princeſs Donna Maria, then contracted to Philip: at the ſame time he painted John III. of Portugal, and his queen Donna Catalina, Charles's youngeſt ſiſter; by all

all which portraits he gave entire satisfaction, and was magnificently rewarded, both by Charles and the royal personages above mentioned. Having succeeded so well in this commission, he was next dispatched by the emperor into England, to the court of Mary, to take the portrait of that princess, previous to her espousals with Philip. Moro employed all the flattering aids of his art in this portrait, and so captivated the courtiers of Spain with the charms of Mary's person, that he was employed by his patron, the cardinal and many of the grandees to make copies of his picture, one of which I have seen in possession of a noble family, and by which it should appear that Moro was not only a very good painter, but an excellent courtier. Having enriched himself by his embassy to England, he returned into Spain upon the conclusion of the peace between that kingdom and France, and was eagerly received into the service of Philip II. then on the throne. His excellence in the painting of portraits supplied him with ample employ in this court. Philip, who made slaves of his friends, and friends of his painters, treated Moro with extraordinary familiarity. This great artist had not all the courtly discretion of his scholar Coello, and met the king's advances with the same ease that they were made; so that one day, whilst he was at work and Philip looking on, Moro dipt his pencil in carmine, and with it smeared the hand of the king, who was resting his arm on his shoulder: the jest was rash, and the character to which it was applied, not to be played upon with impunity. The hand of the sovereign of Spain (which even the fair sex kneel down to salute) was never so treated since the foundation of the monarchy. The king surveyed it seriously a while, and in that perilous moment of suspence the fate of Moro balanced on a hair: the courtiers, who were in awful attendance, revolted from the sight with horror and amazement (could Luca Jordano have seized the groupe in that moment and dashed it off with his rapid facility, what a subject for a painter!) caprice, or I would rather say pity, turned the scale, and Philip passed the silly action off with a smile of complacency. The painter, dropping on his knees, eagerly seized those of the king, and kissed his feet in humble atonement for the offence, and all was well, or seemed at least so to be: but the person of the king was too sacred, in the consideration of those times, and the act too daring to escape the notice of the awful office of the inquisition. These holy and enlightened fathers, maturely weighing all the circumstances of the case, learnedly concluded that Antonio Moro, being a foreigner and a traveller, had either learnt the art magic, or obtained in England some spell or charm, wherewith he had bewitched the king: nor let the heretical reader treat this story as a fiction, or think that the fathers, according to the premises on which their judgments then were and still are formed, reasoned much amiss; for a disbelief in witches is a species of criminal infidelity to the present moment condemnable at that sacred tribunal, of which I could give a late very notable example, if it was proper to make public a gentleman's disgrace, for which he has suffered punishment, and of which it is hoped he has duly repented. If Antonio had contended that he practised no other charms upon Philip, than those of his art, which over some minds has a kind of bewitching influence, such a plea would scarce have passed with

his

his judges, whoſe hearts were far out of reach of ſuch mechanical faſcination; and as little would it have ſerved his cauſe to plead the natural gaiety and good-humour of the monarch; ſuch an argument would have been fairly ſet down amongſt thoſe *quæ non admittuntur*; ſo that his condemnation would have been inevitable. For as it is hard to ſuppoſe how any man could daub the fingers of a king of Spain with carmine, unleſs by the correſpondence and conſpiracy of the devil, or ſome of his agents in witchcraft, no doubt the tragedy of poor Torregiano would have been revived on this occaſion, had not the ſame devil, in the ſhape of one of Philip's miniſters, luckily ſnatcht Antonio from his fate, whilſt the tortures were preparing to force out the impious ſecrets of his black and diabolic art. This ſame miniſter of Philip, or I ſhould rather ſay of the devil, ſpirited away his brother imp of darkneſs to Bruſſels without loſs of time, upon the feigned pretence (which on ſuch occaſions is readily enough ſupplied to the wicked) of an immediate and preſſing avocation. It was in vain that Philip moved him to revoke his reſolution, in vain that he ſolicited him by letters under his own hand, expreſſed in terms the moſt kind and condeſcending, and declarations even of affection to his perſon, as well as of eſteem for his talents. The terrors of a tribunal, from which even the royal hand, that he had ſo familiarly treated, could not ſnatch him, weighed down all the careſſes, all the ſolicitations of the king, and he departed, loaded with the rewards of Philip's munificence, and penetrated with the proofs of his complacency and indulgence. He left many portraits and ſome hiſtorical pieces in the royal collection, but moſt of them periſhed at the Prado."

ANECDOTE of PARESA, a Slave belonging to VELAZQUEZ DE SILVA, an eminent Spaniſh Painter.

[From the ſame Work.]

"THE genius of Velazquez was of that quality, that to be within the ſphere of its activity was in ſome degree to partake of its enthuſiaſm, at leaſt where its attraction met with any particles that were of correſpondent quality. A ſlave, by name Juan de Pareſa, a Mulatto, was employed in mixing his colours and feeding his pallet: from pointing the arrows of Apollo he became ambitious of trying his ſtrength at the bow. The diſqualification of his condition nevertheleſs was ſuch, that to touch the moſt liberal of arts with the hand of a ſlave was danger in the extreme: the caſts in India do not ſtand off at greater diſtance from each other, than degrees of men do in Spain; and Velazquez was of all maſters the leaſt likely to brook a violation ſo preſumptuous as that which Pareſa meditated. Hung round with chains of gold and courtly orders, of haughty pretenſions in point of family, and high in favour and familiarity with his ſovereign, Velazquez would have treated the inſolence of his ſlave, as Jupiter did that of Salmoneus, by extinguiſhing his exiſtence. Notwithſtanding, the temptation

tation was for everpreſent, and the impulſes of genius in the end became irreſiſtible: in the ſtolen moments of his maſter's ſieſta, or when court avocations called him from home, Pareſa ſeized the clandeſtine opportunities, and by the force of talents became in time an accompliſhed artiſt. Ambition now inſpired him with higher projects, and as the liberality of Philip held out a general aſylum to merit, he determined upon a method of introducing his performances to the eye of the king: he obſerved it was his practice in Velazquez's chamber to order the pictures, that ſtood with their faces to the wall, to be turned that he might ſee them. This ſuggeſted to him the thought of ſubſtituting one of his own productions, and taking his chance for what ſhould follow. The expedient happily took place, and the king coming into the academy, ordered the canvaſs to be turned: Pareſa eagerly obeyed and preſented to the royal view a piece compoſed by the audacious pencil of a ſlave and a Mulatto, but ſuch an one in point of excellence as would have done honour to a freer and a fairer artiſt. It was not eaſy to appeal to better judgment than the king's, or enter upon his trial at a more merciful tribunal: Pareſa fell upon his knees, and avowing the guilt of the performance, implored protection againſt the reſentment of his maſter for having ſecretly purloined his art. Velazquez, ſays the king, you muſt not only overlook this tranſgreſſion in Pareſa, but obſerve that ſuch talents ſhould emancipate the poſſeſſor. The generous decree was obeyed by Velazquez, and Pareſa had his freedom. The grateful freed man continued his voluntary ſervice till the death of Velazquez, and after his death to his daughter, who married Don Juan Bauptiſta del Mazo."

CHARACTER of HENRY STUART, LORD DARNLEY.

[From Dr. GILBERT STUART's Hiſtory of Scotland.]

"THUS periſhed, in the twenty-firſt year of his age, Henry Stuart, lord Darnley, a prince of a high lineage. A fate ſo ſudden, and ſo immature excited a ſympathy and ſorrow which muſt have been loſt in the conſciouſneſs of his imperfections, if he had fallen by the ravages of diſeaſe, or the ſtroke of time. The ſymmetry of his form recommended him to the moſt beautiful princeſs of Chriſtendom; and her generoſity and love placed him upon the throne of an ancient kingdom. But he neither knew how to enjoy his proſperity, nor to enſure it. His vices did not permit him to maintain the place he had won in her affection; and he was not intitled by his ability to hold the reins of government. He was ſeen to the greateſt advantage in thoſe games and ſports which require activity and addreſs. He rode with ſkill the war horſe, and was dexterous in hawking and the chaſe; but poſſeſſing no diſcernment of men, and no profoundneſs of policy, he was altogether unequal to direct an agitated monarchy, and to ſupport the glory of his queen. Inſtead of acting to her protection and advantage, he encouraged her misfortunes and

and calamities. His imbecillity laid him open to her enemies and his own. The exceſſive facility of his nature made him the dupe of the ſhalloweſt artifice; and while he was weakly credulous, he could not keep in concealment thoſe ſecrets which moſt nearly concerned him. Driven into difficult ſituations by paſſion and imprudence, he was unable to extricate himſelf. Under the guidance of no regular principles, he was inconſtant and capricious. His natural levity was prompted by his proneneſs to intemperance; and he was as much a ſtranger to decorum as to virtue. While he was not qualified for the cares of royalty, he was even unfit for the trappings of ſtate, and thoſe guarded and faſtidious ceremonials which are ſo neceſſary to impoſe on the quickneſs of human reaſon, and to cover the infirmity and the nakedneſs of high ſtation. His prepoſterous vanity and aſpiring pride rouſed the reſentment and the ſcorn of the nobles. His follies and want of dignity made him little with the people. To the queen, his infidelity and frequent amours were moſt inſulting and ungrateful. The admiration of the ſex which in cultivated and ſuperior men is an elegant paſſion and an amiable weakneſs, was in him a groſs attachment and an unſentimental propenſity growing out of the ſtrength of his conſtitution, and the cravings of an animal appetite. But while our graver hiſtorians are aſſiduous to reproach him with wantonneſs in the chamber of Venus, it ought to be remembered, that the murder of Rizzio, and his attempt to diſpoſſeſs the queen of her government, are far more indelible ſtains upon his memory, and imply a profligacy and guilt which could only be exceeded by the enormity of that wickedneſs which ſchemed and executed his deſtruction. It is with pain that hiſtory relates ſuch cruel events; but while ſhe melts with human woe, it is her province to be rigorouſly juſt. Her weeping eye is the indication of an inſtructive ſorrow; and while her burſting heart mourns over the crimes, the calamities, and the wretchedneſs of ages that are paſt, ſhe records them with fidelity as a leſſon to ſucceeding times."

DEATH and CHARACTER of the EARL OF MURRAY, REGENT OF SCOTLAND.

[From the ſame Work.]

"JAMES Hamilton, of Bothwelhaugh, who had been taken a priſoner at the battle of Langſide, obtained his liberty and life, but his eſtates were forfeited. His wife, the heireſs of Woodhouſlie, retired upon this emergency to her paternal inheritance, in the hope that it might eſcape the rapacity of the regent. He had, however, given it away in a gift to one of his favourites, Sir James Ballenden; and the inſtruments of his power having the inhumanity to ſtrip her of her garments, and to turn her naked out of her houſe, in a cold and dark night, ſhe became diſtracted before the morning. Hamilton vowed revenge; and the regent made a mockery of his threats. This

contempt inſpirited his paſſions; and the humiliation of the houſe of Hamilton, to which he was nearly allied, foſtered the eagerneſs of his diſcontents. The madneſs of party fermented in him with the atrociouſneſs of rage. His mind reconciled itſelf to aſſaſſination. After watching, for ſome time, a proper opportunity to commit this horrible purpoſe, he found it at Linlithgow. The regent was to paſs through this town in his way from Stirling to Edinburgh. Intimations reached him, that Hamilton was now to perpetrate his deſign; and he unaccountably neglected them. The aſſaſſin, in a houſe that belonged to the archbiſhop of St. Andrews, waited deliberately his approach, and, firing his muſket from a window, ſhot him through the body. The wound, when examined, was not judged to be mortal; but the regent finding its pain to increaſe, prepared himſelf for death; and in a few hours his ſoul took its departure. A fleet horſe of the abbot of Arbroth's carried the aſſaſſin to the palace of Hamilton; and from thence he ſoon after effected his eſcape into France.

"Such was the lamentable fate of James Stuart, earl of Murray. Great talents, a pleaſing exterior, and a propitious fortune, had conducted him to diſtinction and eminence. A ſelfiſh and inſatiable ambition was his ruling appetite; and he purſued its dictates with an unſhaken perſeverance. His inclination to aſpire beyond the rank of a ſubject was encouraged by the turbulence of his age; and his connections with Elizabeth overturned in him altogether the virtuous reſtraints of allegiance and duty. He became an enemy to his ſiſter and his ſovereign; and the arts by which he accompliſhed her overthrow, are the vouchers of his capacity, and his demerits. His obligations to her were exceſſive; his ingratitude was monſtrous; and no language has any terms of reproach that are ſufficiently powerful to characterize his perfidiouſneſs and cruelty to her. Uncommon pretenſions to ſanctity, and to the love of his country, with the perpetual affectation of acting under the impulſe of honourable motives, concealed his purpoſes, and recommended him to popular favour. His manners were grave, even to ſadneſs. By a compoſed and ſevere deportment, and by oſtentatious habits of devotion, he awakened and ſecured the admiration of his contemporaries. His houſe had a greater reſemblance to a church than a palace. A dark ſolemnity reigned within its walls; and his domeſtics were preciſe, pragmatical, and mortified. The more zealous of the clergy were proud of reſorting to him; and while he invited them to join with him in the exerciſes of religion, he paid a flattering reſpect to their expoſitions of the Scriptures, which he hypocritically conſidered as the ſacred rule of his life. By an attention to law and juſtice, he endeavoured to conciliate the approbation of men, upon whom he could not impoſe by his affectations of piety. He was ſedulous in attending the court of ſeſſion; and as the moſt ſalutary ſtatutes are of little avail where their adminiſtration is corrupt, he repreſſed with vigour the inordinate venality of its ſenators. To the intereſts of ſcience and learning he was favourable in an uncommon degree; and Buchanan, who had taſted his bounty, gives a varniſh to his crimes. The glory of having atchieved the Reformation, afforded him a fame that was moſt ſeducing and brilliant. His other projects were equally ſucceſsful; and

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perhaps they were more difficult and arduous. But as they were little diſtinguiſhed by heroic action, and were far leſs honourable, they added no ſplendor to his renown; and it has been ſuppoſed that his talents were more eminent in his youth, than in his riper age. His activity, however, had only changed its objects; and his capacity and ambition were, at all times, equally ardent and vigorous. His abilities, notwithſtanding, though extenſive and various, were better calculated for the ſtruggles of faction than the ſpeculations of polity. He was greater as a demagogue than as a miniſter; and it was more flattering to him to be the viceroy of a foreign potentate, than to direct the councils of his natural ſovereign. His genius aſſimilated with buſtle; and though he could be eaſy and tranquil in the midſt of dangers, the ever-flowing ſtream of circumſtances in the details of government, fatigued his attention, and diſturbed his repoſe. With a cold and perfidious heart, he conferred favours without being generous, and received them without being grateful. His enmity was implacable; his friendſhip dangerous; and his careſſes, oftener than his anger, preceded the ſtroke of his reſentment. The ſtandard of his private intereſt directed all his actions, and was the meaſure by which he judged of thoſe of other men. To the neceſſities of his ambition he was ready to ſacrifice every duty and every virtue; and in the paroxyſms of his ſelfiſhneſs, he feared not the commiſſion of any crime or cruelty, however enormous or deteſtable. Upon his elevation to the regency, he gave a free indulgence to his pride. He parted with that ſhow of ſincerity and candour which had contributed to his riſe, and became ſullen and diſtant. He neglected and deſpiſed his ancient friends, and, indulging himſelf in the enjoyment of ſtateline ſs and adulation, aſſumed that contemptuous air which befits only a deſpot who is ſurrounded with ſlaves. The pillars of his greatneſs were forſaking him; and the blow that laid him in the duſt only prevented his exit in the field, or on the ſcaffold. To the great body of the Scottiſh nobles, whoſe conſequence he had humbled, his death was a matter of ſtern indifference, or of ſecret joy; but to the common people, it was an object of ſincere grief, and they lamented him long under the appellation of the Godly Regent. Elizabeth bewailed in him a ſtrenuous partizan, and a choſen inſtrument by which ſhe might ſubvert the independency of Scotland; and Mary, tender and devout, wept over a brother, a heretic, and an enemy, whom a ſudden and violent deſtiny had overtaken in his guilty career, with his full load of unrepented crimes."

DEATH and CHARACTER of JOHN KNOX, the famous Scottiſh Reformer.

[From the ſame Work.]

"THIS remarkable innovation was hardly introduced n to the church, when it loſt John Knox, its ſtrongeſt ſupport and firmeſt friend. The zeal which he had diſplayed in overtur ing popery, and

in reſiſting the deſpotic projects of Mary of Lorraine, have diſtinguiſhed and immortalized his name; and, upon the eſtabliſhment of the Reformation, he continued to act with fortitude according to his principles. His piety was ardent, and his activity indefatigable; his integrity was ſuperior to corruption; and his courage could not be ſhaken by dangers or death. In literature and learning his proficiency was ſlender and moderate; and to philoſophy he was altogether a ſtranger. His heart was open, his judgment greater than his penetration, his tempere ſevere, his behaviour ruſtic. The fears and contempt he entertained of popery were extravagant; and while he propagated the reformed doctrines, he fancied he was advancing the purpoſes of heaven. From his conviction that the ends he had in view were the nobleſt which can actuate a human creature, he was induced to imagine that he had a title to proſecute them by all the methods within his power. His motives of conduct were diſintereſted and upright; but the ſtrain of his action and life deſerves not commendation. He was ever earneſt to promote the glory of God; but he perceived not that this ſublime maxim, in its unlimited exerciſe, conſiſts not with the weakneſs and imperfections of man. It was pleaded by the murderers of cardinal Beaton; and he ſcrupled not to conſider it as a ſufficient vindication of them. It was appealed to by Charles IX. as his apology for the maſſacre of Paris; and it was urged by Ravaillac as his juſtifying motive for the aſſaſſination of Henry IV. The moſt enormous crimes have been promoted by it; and it ſtimulated this Reformer to cruel devaſtations and outrages. Charity, moderation, the love of peace, patience, and humanity, were not in the number of his virtues. Papiſts as well as popery were the objects of his deteſtation; and though he had riſen to eminence by exclaiming againſt the perſecutions of prieſts, he was himſelf a perſecutor. His ſuſpicions that the Queen was determined to re-eſtabliſh the popiſh religion, were rooted and uniform; and upon the moſt frivolous pretences he was ſtrenuous to break that chain of cordiality which ought to bind together the prince and the people. He inveighed againſt her government, and inſulted her perſon with virulence and indecency. It flattered his pride to violate the duties of a ſubject, and to ſcatter ſedition. He affected to direct the politicians of his age; and the aſcendant he maintained over the people, drew to him their reſpect and obeiſance. He delivered his ſentiments to them with the moſt unbounded freedom; and he ſought not to reſtrain, or to diſguiſe his impetuoſity, or his peeviſhneſs. His advices were preſſed with heat; his admonitions were pronounced with anger; and whether his theme was a topic of polity, or of faith, his knowledge appeared to be equally infallible. He wiſhed to be conſidered as an organ of the divine will. Contradiction inflamed him with hoſtility; and his reſentments took a deep, and a laſting foundation. He conſidered the temporal intereſts of ſociety as inferior to the eccleſiaſtical; and, unacquainted alike with the objects of government, and the nature of man, he regarded the ſtruggles of ambition as impious and profane; and knew not that the individual is carried to happineſs and virtue on the tide of his paſſions, and that admiration and eminence are chiefly to be purchaſed by the vigour, the fortitude, and the capacity which are exerted and diſplayed

in public occupations. He inculcated retired and aſcetic virtues. He preached the unlimited contempt of this world; he was a mortal enemy to gaiety and mirth; and it was his opinion that human life ought to be conſumed in the ſolemnities of devotion, in ſufferance, and in ſorrow. The pride of ſucceſs, the ſpirit of adulation, the awe with which he ſtruck the gaping and ignorant multitude, inſpired him with a ſuperlative conception of his own merits. He miſtook for a prophetic impulſe the illuſions of a heated fancy; and with an intemperate and giddy vanity he ventured at times to penetrate into the future, and to reveal the myſteries of Providence. Not contented with being a ſaint, he aſpired to be a prophet. In diſcharging the functions of his miniſtry, his ardour was proportioned to his ſincerity. Aſſiduous and fervent toils, watchful and anxious cares waſted his ſtrength, and haſtened his diſſolution. He ſaw it approach without terror; ſpoke with exultation of the ſervices which he had rendered to the Goſpel and the church; and was almoſt conſtantly in prayer with the brethren. His confidence of a happy immortality was ſecure and firm, and diſdained the ſlighteſt mixture of ſuſpicion or doubt. He ſurrendered his ſpirit with chearfulneſs, and without a ſtruggle. It belongs to hiſtory to deſcribe with candour his virtues as well as his imperfections; and it may be obſerved in alleviation of the latter, that the times in which he lived were rude and fierce; and that his paſſion for converts, and his proneneſs to perſecution, while they roſe more immediately out of the intenſeneſs of his belief, and the natural violence of his temperament, were keenly and warmly foſtered by his profeſſional habits."

CHARACTER of the Earl of MORTON, Regent of SCOTLAND.

[From the ſame Work.]

"THE earl of Morton, the laſt of the Scottiſh Regents, was low in ſtature, had an engaging countenance, and poſſeſſed a form and habit vigorous and active. His natural capacity and endowments were uncommon; and his experience in the world, and in buſineſs, was moſt ample. He had known the greateſt changes of fortune; the evils of poverty and exile, the advantages of immenſe wealth and exorbitant power, the blandiſhments of flattery, and the wretchedneſs of the moſt abject humiliation. He engaged himſelf in the purſuits of ambition with a pertinacity and ardour that could neither be repreſſed nor fatigued; and he advanced in them with no fear of ſhame, and no deſire of glory. He was rather inſolent than haughty, rather cunning than wiſe, and more artificial than politic. In a period when every ſtateſman was a ſoldier, he had talents for war as well as peace; but his courage was more undaunted in the cabinet than in the field. He was ſubtle, intriguing, and treacherous. He was ſtained with rebellion and murder; and from the incurable malignity of his nature, he was inclined to wanton in miſchief, and to take a delight in

the enormities of wickedneſs. He was cloſe, cruel, covetous, and vindictive. He gratified, without ſcruple, the madneſs of his paſſions, and the whimſies of his caprice. His rapacity was heightened and deformed by inſults. He was forward to encounter every ſpecies of execration and odium. The contempt of integrity, which marked and polluted his public conduct, was alſo characteriſtic of his private life; and in both he diſdained alike the cenſure and diſapprobation of his compatriots. But while the vices of the man were not ſo pernicious as the crimes of the politician, they were accompanied with cultivation and luſtre. His mode of living, though voluptuous, was taſteful. His palaces and gardens were ſplendid beyond the faſhion of his age. His luxury had the charm of refinement; and while an ardent propenſity carried him to the ſex, his amours were delicate and elegant. He relieved the agitations, and the cares of ambition, with the ſmiles of beauty, and the ſolacements of love. But while his paſſion for pleaſure appears with ſome advantage amidſt the deformities of his character, it was little ſuited to the complexion of his times. The auſterity and gloom which the preachers had excited in the body of the people, and which ſtood in the place of religion, were hoſtile to gallantry in the greateſt degree. His ſenſualities, though the moſt venial of all his errors, rouzed up againſt him the moſt general, and the moſt indignant reſentment. Odious with private corruptions, and execrable with public crimes, he exhauſted the patience of an age accuſtomed to the moſt enormous profligacy. The jealouſy of his enemies, and the juſtice of his nation called him to expiate, upon the ſcaffold, the murder of his ſovereign; and he aſcended it without the conſolation of one virtue. He had yet reconciled himſelf to heaven from partialities that are natural to man; and he relied, with an aſſured hope, upon entering into a happy immortality in another exiſtence. His burſts of repentance and remorſe were humiliating and inſtructive; and terminated with propriety the tenor of a life, which had never experienced the ſatisfaction, and the tranſports of patriotiſm and probity."

DEATH and CHARACTER of GEORGE BUCHANAN.

[From the ſame Work.]

"THIS year, ſo afflicting to Mary, was the laſt in the life of Buchanan; and his ability, his virtues, and his demerits, are too conſpicuous to be paſſed without notice. Afflicted with the ſtone, and preſſed down by the infirmities of old age, he felt the approaches of his diſſolution, and prepared for it like a philoſopher. He reſigned his employments, and, tired of the living, waited with reſignation for the moment that was to number him with the dead. At Edinburgh, in the ſeventy-ſeventh year of his exiſtence, on the twenty-eighth day of September, a little paſt five o'clock in the morning, his ſpirit took its flight. The envy that attends on eminence, and the bitterneſs that fills

fills the heart of an enemy, are commonly extinguiſhed when their object is removed. But Buchanan was purſued with reproaches while in his grave. Many writers have deſcribed him as a monſter of impiety, as habitually beſotted with wine, and as deluded with women. It is impoſſible to give any credit to the vileneſs of calumny; and it were equally vain to yield, without reſerve, to the heated admiration of panegyriſts. Sir James Melvil, whoſe political ſentiments were different from his, has done him the juſtice to declare, that he died a ſincere member of the reformed church. In paſſing from the errors of popery, he diſcovered not, indeed, the flaming zeal of a convert; and his moderation was the effect of his wiſdom. A ſuperſtitious grimace was no part of his character; and to a perſon of his uncommon endowments, it would be an error to impute the moſt ſcrupulous adherence to every tenet in any popular faith. His life was liberal like his opinions. From the uncertain condition of his fortune, or from his attachment to ſtudy, he kept himſelf free from the reſtraint of marriage; but if a judgment may be formed from the vivacity of his temper, and the wantonneſs of his verſes, he was no enemy to beauty and to love, and muſt have known the tumults and the languors of voluptuouſneſs. Violent in his nature, he embraced his friend with ardour, and indulged in the play of the ſocial affections. Proud of mental ſuperiority, he was prone to treat with contempt, men of high rank, whoſe chief or only recommendation was their birth or their riches. Againſt his enemies he was animated with an atrocity of revenge. A malignant keenneſs glanced in his eye; and the perſecutions of prieſts, and the oppreſſions of misfortune, ſerved to augment the natural fretfulneſs of his diſpoſition, and gave an edge to his ſpleen. His converſation was gay, ingenious, and ſatyrical. When he was poſſeſſed of wealth there were no bounds to his prodigality; when in want, he ſubmitted to little arts to procure the means of expence; and, being careleſs of the future, he made no proviſion for the ſeaſon of dotage and helpleſſneſs. His money and his life terminated in the ſame moment. He was rather low in ſtature; of his dreſs he was negligent; and his external appearance bore no marks of the cultivation of his taſte. Yet in the ſlaviſh occupations of a pedagogue, in which he paſſed the better part of his days, he had contracted no pedantic impertinence. No meanneſs of ſituation could deſtroy the greatneſs of his mind. He paſſed with propriety from the ſchool to the cabinet, and felt himſelf alike a ſcholar and a courtier. In poetry he was deemed unrivalled by his contemporaries. He is more nervous, more various, more elegant, than the Italian poets. He has imitated thoſe of Rome with greater grace and purity. His Pſalms, in which he has employed ſo many kinds of verſe, diſplay admirably the extent and univerſality of his mind, the quickneſs and abundance of his fancy, and the power and acuteneſs of his judgment. In hiſtory, he has contended with Livy and Salluſt. The chequered ſcenes of his life had given him a wide experience of the world, and he was naturally of a thoughtful diſpoſition. He treats accordingly the tranſactions of men with great prudence and diſcernment. In the preciſion and exactneſs of his narration he is not equally ſucceſsful. Minute facts too often eſcape his attention; and important ones do not always receive from him

that niceneſs of examination, and that fulneſs of detail which they merit. Of ornament he is more ſtudious than of truth; and the fables which diſgrace the earlier portions of his hiſtory, ars not more diſguſting than the partiality with which he records the events of his own times. A love of liberty, and a reſpect for the beſt intereſts of mankind pervade and illuſtrate his work; but his admiration of tyrannicide, and his contempt of royalty, betray a propenſity to licentiouſneſs and faction. His learning is admirable; his penetration better than his learning. The vigour of his mind, the intereſt of his manner, the dignity of his narration, the deepneſs of his remark, the purity of his diction, are all conſpicuous. But while his genius and ability adorned the times in which he lived, and muſt draw to him the admiration of the moſt diſtant poſterity, it is not to be forgotten, that his political conduct was diſgraceful in the greateſt degree, and muſt excite its regrets, and provoke its indignation. His zeal for the earl of Murray overturned altogether his allegiance as a ſubject, and his integrity as a man. His activity againſt Mary in the conferences in England was in a ſtrain of the moſt ſhameleſs corruption; and the virulence with which he endeavoured to defame her by his writings was moſt audacious and criminal. They involve the complicated charge of ingratitude, rebellion, and perjury. That he repented of his political tranſactions, and of his malignity to Mary has indeed been affirmed with great probability; but no deciſive vouchers of his ſorrow have been recorded; and in the ſhort Memoir he left of himſelf, he has avoided all mention of it. A dark cloud was gathering around him, when an opportune death afforded him a peaceful retreat from the anxieties and the cares of a world, with which his infirmities and his age had diſguſted him."

CHARACTER of MARY STUART, QUEEN of SCOTS.

[From the ſame Work.]

"SUCH was the melancholy fate of Mary Stuart queen of Scots, in the forty-fifth year of herage. Her abilities were an honour to her birth, which was moſt illuſtrious. Her virtues were great; her misfortunes greater. While ſhe was capable of profound views, and a bold policy, ſhe was firm and ſtrenuous. Her underſtanding was clear, her judgment penetrating, her ſpirit loſty, her application vigorous. But ſhe was called to the exerciſe of royalty, in an unhappy and moſt critical period. The troubles of the Reformation had confirmed the turbulence of her nobles; and ſhe had been accuſtomed to the orderly government, and the refined and ſeducing manners of France. The zeal of her people for the new opinions was moſt paſſionate; and ſhe was attached to the ancient religion with a keenneſs that excited their fears. Her prime miniſters, though able and popular, were deſtitute of integrity and patriotiſm; and a conſpiracy to diſturb her peace, and to accompliſh her ruin

ruin was formed early by an imperious rival, who, to exorbitant power and immenſe wealth, added the ſingular felicity of being directed by ſtateſmen devoted to her purpoſes, and poſſeſſed of the greateſt talents. With the happieſt intentions, with public ſpirit and the love of juſtice, with moderation, liberality, and ſplendour, ſhe attained not the praiſe of true glory. Circumvented by the treachery of ſmiling and corrupted counſellors, and expoſed to the unceaſing hatred and ſuſpicions of turbulent eccleſiaſtics, ſhe perpetually experienced the miſeries of diſappointment, and the malignity of detraction. With great capacity for buſineſs, ſhe was unſucceſsful in affairs. Infinitely amiable in her private deportment, ſhe enjoyed not tranquillity and happineſs. She was candid and open; engaging and generous. Her manners were gentle, her temper chearful, her converſation eaſy and flowing; her wit polite, her information various, her taſte elegant. But her huſbands like her courtiers were eager to interrupt her proſperity and enjoyments; and while her adminiſtration was deformed with diſaſters and faction, her domeſtic life was embittered with diſquietudes and ſorrow. With every claim to felicity ſhe was expoſed to all the croſſes of fortune; and her form which gave a ſplendour to her rank, her abilities, her virtues, and her accompliſhments, ſerved to ennoble her afflictions. The incomparable beauty and expreſſion of her countenance, the exquiſite propriety of her ſtature, and the exact ſymmetry of her ſhape, attracted and fixed the admiration of every beholder. In her air, her walk, her geſture ſhe mingled majeſty and grace. Her eyes, which were of a dark gray, ſpoke the ſituations and ſenſibility of her mind; the ſound of her voice was melodious and affecting; and her hair, which was black, improved the brightneſs of her complexion. To give the greateſt luſtre to her perſon, ſhe took a full advantage of the adventitious aids and garniture of dreſs. She diſcovered an inexhauſtible fancy in the richneſs and variety of her garments. She delighted in jewels and precious ſtones; and ſhe was anxiouſly curious in the fineneſs and faſhion of her linen. But while her mind and her perſon were ſo perfect and ſo alluring, ſhe was not exempted from frailties. Though capable of diſſimulation, and acquainted with the arts of management and addreſs, ſhe did not ſufficiently accommodate herſelf to the manners of her people. Her reſpect for her religion was too fond and doating to conſiſt with the policy and the dignity of a great ſovereign. In her counſellors ſhe uniformly repoſed too unbounded a confidence; and from the ſoftneſs of her nature, ſhe could be ſeduced to give them her truſt even after their demeanour was equivocal and ſuſpicious. Her clemency was not guided by prudence, and was generally repaid with ingratitude and inſult. To the proteſtant clergy, whoſe inſolence was inordinate and ſeditious, ſhe conducted herſelf, ſometimes with a paſſion that was unbecoming, and ſometimes with a remiſſneſs that detracted from her conſequence. A determined contempt or a vigorous ſeverity would have ſuited better with her royal condition. She received her impreſſions with too much vivacity; and from the delicacy of her organization ſhe was diſpoſed to that ſpirit of caprice which is in ſome meaſure characteriſtic of her ſex; but which, though often pleaſant and even delightful in the ſtill and endearing intercourſe of private life, betrays in public concerns the

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ſuſpicion of inconſtancy and indiſcretion. Her faults, however, were the reſult of amiable weakneſſes; and they excite regret rather than indignation. The moſt unpardonable error of her life was the romantic imprudence with which ſhe ventured into England, and entruſted herſelf to the power of Elizabeth. By courage and perſeverance ſhe might have defeated the turbulence and ambition of her nobles; and experience and time would have opened up to her all the arts of government. But by this fatal ſtep ſhe involved herſelf in difficulties which ſhe was never able to ſurmount. Elizabeth to whom her abilities and beauty were a ſource of the moſt unrelenting jealouſy and anger, embraced with a ferocious ardour the opportunity of humbling her completely as a queen, and as a woman. She was expoſed to all the practices of a cunning and a wicked vengeance. The vileſt calumnies, the moſt inſulting mortifications, the moſt ſtudied barbarities were employed againſt her. She was made to exchange a kingdom for a priſon; and while ſhe felt in her own perſon the crueleſt injuries, ſhe was afflicted with the dangers that threatened her country and her ſon. An inclement and ſuſpicious adverſary, who dreaded to encounter her when at liberty, tarniſhed the glory of an illuſtrious reign by trampling upon her ſceptre while ſhe was a captive. The rivalſhip of beauty ſtill more perhaps than of talents, foſtered the reſentments of Elizabeth; and while ſhe made Mary to ſuffer under her power, ſhe found the moſt exquiſite delight in overturning the dominion of her charms. It pleaſed her in the greateſt degree, that the beauty of the Scottiſh princeſs ſhould waſte itſelf in ſolitude, that ſhe ſhould be kept at a diſtance from admiration and homage, and that ſhe ſhould never experience, in any fortunate alliance, the melting tenderneſs, and the delicate ſenſibilities of connubial love. During the long period which paſſed from the flight of Mary into England till her death, her miſeries were intenſe, piercing, and uninterrupted. The bitter cup of her fortune, which often overflowed, never ceaſed to be full. But, though agonizing with conſtant afflictions and though crowned with thorns, ſhe ſtill remembered that ſhe was a queen, and maintained the elevation and the dignity which became her. To overwhelm her with diſtreſs and anguiſh Elizabeth ſcrupled not to inſult and to violate the moſt eſtabliſhed principles of law and juſtice, the honour of hoſpitality, the reverence of her ſex, the holineſs of religion, the ſolemnity of engagements, the ties of relation, the feelings of humanity, the ſanctity of innocence, and the majeſty of kings. But no inſolence of tyranny, no refinement of anger, and no pang of woe could conquer or deſtroy her greatneſs and her fortitude. Her mind, which grew in its powers under ſtruggles and calamity, ſeemed even to take a ſtrain of vigour from the atrocious paſſions of her rival; and during her lamentable captivity, and in her dying ſcene, ſhe diſplayed a magnanimity and a heroiſm that perhaps may have been equalled, but which has never been ſurpaſſed in any age, or in any nation."

ANECDOTES of JOSQUIN, a celebrated MUSICIAN, at the End of the fifteenth and the Beginning of the fixteenth Century.

[From the ſecond Volume of Dr. BURNEY's General Hiſtory of Muſic.]

"THE next great contrapuntiſt, of the Flemiſh ſchool, to Okenheim, was his ſcholar, Joſquin des Prez, Del Prato, or, as he was ſtyled in Latin, Iodocus Pratenſis, the author of the preceding dirge, whoſe compoſitions for the church, though long laid aſide, and become obſolete by the gradual changes in notation, continue ſtill to merit the attention of the curious. Indeed the laws and difficulties of canon, fugue, augmentation, diminution, reverſion, and almoſt every other ſpecies of learned contrivance, allowable in eccleſiaſtical compoſitions for voices, were never ſo well obſerved, or happily vanquiſhed, as by Joſquin; who may juſtly be called the father of modern harmony, and the inventor of almoſt every ingenious contexture of its conſtituent parts, near a hundred years before the time of Paleſtrina, Orlando di Laſſo, Tallis, or Bird, the great muſical luminaries of the 16th century, whoſe names and works are ſtill held in the higheſt reverence by all true judges and lovers of what appears to me the true and genuine ſtyle of choral compoſitions.

"This ingenious, learned, and voluminous compoſer, is enumerated by Lewis Guicciardini, among Flemiſh muſicians. However, the conſtant addition of Pratenſis, or Del Prato, to his name, ſeems rather to make him a native of Prato in Tuſcany; and the frequent mention that is made of him by Italian writers, implies at leaſt, if he was not a native of Italy, that he had lived there, and that his works were very familiar to them; for not only by the name of Joſquino, Jodoco del Prato, is he often mentioned by Franchinus, and all the muſical writers of Italy in the next age, as a moſt excellent compoſer, but by miſcellaneous writers, who only ſpeak of muſic incidentally. As a proof of this, I need give no better authority than the following paſſage in Caſtiglione's admirable Cortegiano.

"This author, ſpeaking of the operations of prejudice in favour of great names, tells us of the eagerneſs and delight with which a polite company of his acquaintance had read a copy of verſes ſuppoſing them to have been written by Sannazaro, who afterwards, when it was certain that they were not of his compoſition, thought them execrable. "So likewiſe, ſays one of the interlocutors, a motet ſung before the ducheſs of Urbino, was unnoticed, till it was known to be the production of Joſquin."

"Zarlino, who likewiſe ſpeaks of him among the *pratici periti*, gives another inſtance of predilection in favour of Juſquin, at Rome, "which, ſays he, was at the expence of my friend, the admirable Adrian Williaert, who has often himſelf confirmed the fact." The motet *verbum bonum et Suave*, for ſix voices, having been long performed in the pontifical chapel at Rome, on the feſtival of our Lady, as the production of Joſquin, was thought to be one of the fineſt compoſitions of the time; but Willaert, having quitted Flanders, in order to viſit Rome, in the time of Leo X. and finding that this motet was ſung as the compoſition of Joſquin, whoſe name

name was affixed to it in the chapel books, ventured to declare it to be his own work, and not that of the famous Josquin: but so great were the ignorance, envy, and prejudice of the singers, that, after this declaration, the motet was never again performed in the pontifical chapel.

"Adami, in his historical list of the singers in the pope's chapel, mentions Josquin next to Guido, as one of the great cultivators and supporters of church music; he calls him '*Uomo insigne per l'inventione*,' and says that he was a singer in the pontifical chapel during the time of Sixtus the Fourth.

"After quitting Italy he was appointed maestro di capella to Lewis the Twelfth of France, who reigned from 1498 to 1515, and it is hardly probable that such an honour should have been conferred upon him till he had arrived at great eminence in his profession: he must either have acquired the public favour by his works or performance, before he could be noticed by a sovereign. Indeed the impediments to their approximation must have been reciprocal, and it has been well observed, that it is as difficult for a prince to get at a man of merit, as it is for a man of merit to approach a prince.

"It is related, that when Josquin was first admitted into the service of Lewis, he had been promised a *benefice* by his majesty: but this prince, contrary to his usual custom, for he was in general both just and liberal, forgot the promise he had made to his maestro di capella; when Josquin, after suffering great inconvenience from the shortness of his majesty's memory, ventured by a singular expedient to remind him publicly of his promise, without giving offence: for being commanded to compose a motet for the chapel royal, he chose part of the 119th Psalm: *Memor esto verbi tui servo tuo*; "Oh think of thy servant, as concerning thy word:" which he set in so supplicating and exquisite a manner, that it was universally admired, particularly by the king, who was not only charmed with the music, but felt the force of the words so effectually, that he soon after granted his petition, by conferring on him the promised preferment. For which act of justice and munificence, Josquin, with equal felicity, composed, as a hymn of gratitude, another part of the same Psalm: *Bonitatem fecisti cum servo tuo Domine*, "Oh Lord, thou hast dealt graciously with thy servant."

"Josquin seems to have been possessed of a certain vein of wit and humour, as well as musical genius; of which Glareanus has given his readers several instances, besides those just related. In consequence of the long procrastination of the performance of Lewis XIIth's promise relative to the benefice, Josquin applied to a nobleman, in high favour at court, to use his interest with this prince in his behalf, who, encouraging his hopes with protestations of zeal for his service, constantly ended with saying, "I shall take care of this business, *let me alone*"—*Laisse faire moi*, *(laisser moi faire)* when, at length, Josquin tired of this vain and fruitless assurance, turned it into *solmisation*, and composed an entire mass on these syllables of the hexachords: *La sol fa re mi*; which mass is among the productions of our author in the Brit. Mus. and is an admirable composition.

"The following circumstance, which likewise happened during Josquin's residence at the court of France, has been recorded both by Glareanus and Mersennus. These writers inform us, that Lewis, though

though muſic afforded him great pleaſure, had ſo weak and inflexible a voice, that he never was able to ſing a ſingle tune, and that he defied his maeſtro di capella to compoſe a piece of muſic in which it was poſſible for him to bear a part. However the muſician accepted the challenge, and compoſed a canon for two voices, to which he added two other parts, one of which had nothing more to do than to ſuſtain a ſingle ſound, and the other only the key note, and its fifth, to be ſung alternately. Joſquin gave his majeſty the choice of theſe two parts, and beginning with the long note, after ſome time, his royal ſcholar was enabled to continue it as a drone to the canon, in deſpite of nature, which had never intended him for a ſinger.

"Rabelais, in his prologue to the third book of Pantagruel, places Joſquin des Prez at the head of all the fifty-nine *joyeulx muſicines* whom he had formerly heard. Joſquin, among muſicians, was the giant of his time, and ſeems to have arrived at that univerſal monarchy and dominion over the affections and paſſions of the muſical part of mankind, that has been mentioned above. Indeed his compoſitions ſeem to have been as well known, and as much practiſed throughout Europe, at the beginning of the ſixteenth century, as Handel's were in England, about forty years ago."

ACCOUNT of the Military and Political CONDUCT of PITT, the Engliſh Miniſter; written during the Time of his Adminiſtration in the War which commenced in 1755.

[From the Letters, Military and Political, of Count ALGAROTTI.]

"THE Engliſh have done wonders under Cromwell and Marlborough, ſince the times of Elizabeth, who was truly the foundreſs of the Engliſh grandeur: all this, however, was but a prelude to what was to be done in our days, under the conduct of a PITT. I myſelf ſaw this luminary of the age riſe and expand itſelf in the moſt turbulent times that England ever experienced, while the oppoſition againſt Sir Robert Walpole was in its higheſt fury. Being a ſoldier, as well as an orator, the miniſter took from him his commiſſion of cornet in a regiment of dragoons, for having ſpoken his mind too freely in Parliament. As inacceſſible to bribes as a Fabricius or a Curius, ſober, indefatigable, firm in his deſigns, vigorous in executing them, nervous in his language, attentive to no other object but the glory of his nation, which he conſiders as his own, he has arrived by honourable means to that degree of greatneſs, which is ſeldom attained without mean intrigues, and artifices at court.

"He is not much given to *fineſſe* in his political negociations: with a heart full of zeal for the public good, and a mind firmly directed towards it, he attends only to eſſentials, and follows the conciſe and concluſive method of the Romans.

"When called to the helm of ſtate, he found the treaty with Pruſſia already formed. His firſt public act was to ſend back the Heſſians and Hanoverians, and to raiſe in their room

room a national militia for the defence of the kingdom.

" What will appear aſtoniſhing to thoſe unacquainted with the affairs of England, and what appeared even there very ſingular, is, that though the king's miniſter, he acted in oppoſition to the deſigns and inclination of the king.

" The duke of Cumberland had paſſed over from London into Germany, in the month of April, to the defence of Hanover, againſt a large army of French, that was marching towards it; but he had paſſed over without a Britiſh army, which he was extremely deſirous of, as well as the king his father, who, as it is natural to ſuppoſe, held his electorate more at heart than any other part of his dominions. It was deliberated in the council, whether a large reinforcement of Engliſh troops ſhould be ſent over to the duke, who preſſed the meaſure ſtrongly, and pointed out the urgent neceſſity of it. After a long debate in the council, many having ſpoken for and againſt it, Mr. Pitt's opinion weighed down the reſt. He warmly maintained, " That England ſhould not deprive herſelf of her national forces, in order to ſupport foreign intereſts, in which ſhe was not in the ſmalleſt degree concerned. That it would be abſurd and impolitic to ſend them to diſtinguiſh themſelves upon the continent, and to gain glory for their country there; while ſhe was left to languiſh under the preſſure of internal wounds, and to endure evils which would bring her to the very brink of deſtruction. That from this ſource have flowed all our paſt misfortunes. What effect have the victories of Marlborough produced, but an accumulation of the public debt? By having in the laſt war entered more than was fitting into the affairs of the continent, we were obliged to cede Cape Breton, the only reward we could have conſoled ourſelves with for ſuch a profuſion of treaſure, which would have bridled the French power in America, and which has ſince enabled them, as often as they thought proper, to over-run that continent. That ſubſidiſing foreign princes muſt in the end exhauſt the riches of the nation: beſides, that the inutility of theſe ſubſidies was evident from the recent inſtances of Bavaria and Saxony, which the ſubſidies had retained in our intereſt in time of peace; but on the breaking out of war, when their aſſiſtance was the moſt required, could not prevent them from joining our enemies. That England ſhould not embroil herſelf in the affairs of the continent but on the greateſt emergency; as in the Roman armies the Triarii did not enter into action till every other reſource had failed. That ſhe was like an amphibious animal, which might live upon land, yet whoſe proper element is the water. That the real ſtrength of a ſtate lies in that from which it derives its ſubſiſtence. That England ſubſiſts by her trade, and by the naval armaments which protect her trade. That America, on whoſe account ſhe had entered into the war with France, was her ſeminary of ſeamen; the promiſed land, the Eden of England. Thence ſhe ſupplies the neighbouring nations with fiſh, with tobacco, with rice, with indigo: thence ſhe may draw all her naval ſtores. That the command of the ſea would give her the dominion of the land: in fine, that the councils of England ſhould reſemble thoſe of Athens, when under the direction of Themiſtocles."

" The council was brought over by this harangue; but the King was ſo much enraged, as to demand the

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ſeals from Pitt, and to diſmiſs him from his ſervice. The novelty of the affair made an extraordinary noiſe in London; and if ever Pitt's houſe was full, it was the day after his reſignation; when he was attended by a crowd of people, who with the loudeſt acclamations hailed him the ſincere patriot, and miniſter of the people. The city of London ſent deputies to thank him in the moſt ſolemn manner, for the zeal he had ſhewn, whilſt in office, for the public good, and to preſent him with the freedom of the city, in a handſome box of gold: an example that was followed by half the kingdom. For ſeveral weeks, freſh deputies, with the freedom of their reſpective towns, were continually pouring on him, ſome from one county, and ſome from another: his houſe was perpetually reſounding with acclamations of applauſe, and was conſtantly filling with new viſitors and ambaſſadors. There never was a triumph more glorious than this exile; he might indeed be rather ſuppoſed to have retired of his own accord, than to have been diſmiſſed from his office.

"Meanwhile the cabinet at St. James's was in the utmoſt confuſion and diſorder: ſo that the king was obliged to recall Pitt, towards the concluſion of June, in the ſame year, and to re-eſtabliſh him in his office. He would not, however, conſent to reſume the reins of government, without the principal offices of the ſtate being conferred on perſons poſſeſſed of zeal for the public welfare, and in whom he himſelf could place confidence.

"His intention was not to ſend any troops to Hanover, ſtill perſiſting in his former ideas; but to carry on a maritime and predatory war upon the coaſts of France, in order to divert the force of the French, and to prevent them from detaching into Germany. But it was urged in the cabinet, by thoſe who were attached to the court, that affairs had now proceeded to too great a length for ſuch weak and undeciſive meaſures, ſince the fatal action at Haſtembeck; that the French having the whole electorate at their diſpoſal, and the duke's army being reduced to neutrality and diſperſed, it became neceſſary not to truſt to the effects of harraſſing the coaſt, but to make a vigorous attack upon the heart of the enemy.

"In the mean time, the French army having been routed by the king of Pruſſia, when it was leaſt expected, at the memorable battle of Roſbach, and in a month after, the Auſtrians, at the ſtill more memorable battle of Liſſa, which was followed by the taking of Breſlau, the Engliſh began to talk of nothing but the king of Pruſſia's victories. It was a ſcandal, ſaid they, to leave at the mercy of Fortune, a hero, who ſhould be conſidered as the champion of the proteſtant cauſe in Germany, and the only prince on the continent worthy of the alliance of England, in oppoſition to France. His portrait was every where to be ſeen, and was the admiration of all deſcriptions of perſons. His birth-day was kept through the whole iſland with as much rejoicing, as if at Roſbach he had ſaved England from the invaſion of the French. The King took the advantage of this public enthuſiaſm, to bring once more upon the carpet, the propoſition of ſending an army, or at leaſt a large body of Engliſh troops, to the continent.

The connection between England and Pruſſia became cloſer than ever. By means of Engliſh gold they thought of reſtoring the emaciated

army

army of Cumberland. The king of Pruſſia inſpired a new life into it, by appointing for its commander Ferdinand of Brunſwick, who had lately given freſh proofs of his valour at Prague, in which victory he had a very conſiderable ſhare; and who, in concert with the king, afterwards performed ſuch great exploits, as will carry his name to the lateſt poſterity.

"The next year large reinforcements of Engliſh troops were ſent to Germany; the famous treaty of ſubſidy with Pruſſia was concluded: then it was that Pitt conceived the idea of conquering America in Germany, conſtrained, as he himſelf has ſince acknowledged, by the neceſſity which Engliſh miniſters will ever be under, whilſt the King of Great Britain is elector of Hanover.

"Notwithſtanding Pitt ſent troops to the electorate, Engliſh armaments appeared every day upon the coaſts of France. One would imagine that under him the number of people was multiplied. He inſpired into all, the noble thirſt of conqueſt and of glory: that rooted animoſity, which has always ſubſiſted between the ſailors and the ſoldiers, between the commanders by ſea and thoſe by land, he found means to convert into a laudable emulation, which ſhould moſt effectually ſerve their country.

"The whole body of the people repoſe an unlimited confidence in this miniſter; and he has contrived to unite all parties, and to baniſh diſcord from their parliament, hitherto a ſcene of perpetual diſſenſion. He requires fifteen, ſixteen, ſeventeen millions: it is immediately granted to him, and with reaſon; for he makes as good uſe of it as prince Eugene did of the Engliſh money before Turin. You know how he wrote from the French camp, which he had ſtormed, to thoſe merchants who had advanced the ſums neceſſary for the campaign: "I have received your money, and I hope that I have employed it to your ſatisfaction." Pitt may ſay the very ſame thing. The war on the continent, coſts England ſix millions ſterling *per annum*; an immenſe ſum! But it coſts France full as much; with this difference, that her trade being cut off, ſhe has not wherewithal to ſupply ſo great an expence; and has been obliged to take all her plate to the mint: on the other hand, it does not fall ſo heavy on England, on account of the new ſources of riches which flow in upon her from the freſh channels of trade which her victories are continually opening to her.

"Pitt ſketches all the outlines of the different operations, though he does not, perhaps, finiſh the picture. He chuſes, however, perſons whom he knows to be equal to the taſk. He gives ſcope to the abilities of an Anſon, a Hawke, a Boſcawen, a Saunders, a Granby, a Wolf, a Murray, and an Amherſt; and does not ſuffer them to remain inactive or unemployed. It is to him that England is indebted for that fine illumination which was exhibited laſt year in a certain houſe in London, in which every quarter of the globe had its particular window decorated with an inſcription: the taking of Goree and Senegal for Africa; that of Surat for Aſia; the victories at Minden, Cadiz, and Quiberon, for Europe; the conqueſt of Cape Breton, of Quebec, &c. &c. &c. for America; an illumination that the Romans never could have made, for want of a window. This year ſome Engliſhman may perhaps merit the title of AMERICANUS, as Pitt has, ſince he

firſt

firſt became miniſter, that of Reſtitutor Britanniæ.

"Such a man as this, a Demoſthenes in the parliament, an Epaminondas, a Themiſtocles, in the council of war, is worthy of co-operating with a Frederick."

LIFE of SIR JOHN HILL.

[From the BIOGRAPHIA DRAMATICA.]

"THIS gentleman, who may very juſtly be eſteemed as a phænomenon in literary hiſtory, was perhaps one of the moſt voluminous writers that this or any other age has produced; yet, on an examination of his works, it will, I am afraid, appear, that he has juſt inverted that ſentiment of Horace, which his name-ſake choſe for the motto of his Fatal Viſion, and that the doctor's maxim will appear the direct contrary to the

I not for vulgar admiration write;
To be well read, not much, is my delight.

But of this more hereafter. He was the ſecond ſon of one Mr. Theophilus Hill, a clergyman, if I miſtake not, of either Peterborough or Spalding. The year of our author's birth I am not abſolutely aſcertained of, but ſhould, from a collection of circumſtances, be apt to conclude it about 1716 or 1717, as in the year 1740 we find him engaged in a controverſy with Mr. Rich, in regard to a little opera called Orpheus, in which much perſonal abuſe appeared on both ſides. He was originally bound apprentice to an apothecary, after ſerving his time to whom, he ſet up in that profeſſion in a little ſhop in St. Martin's Lane; but, having very early incumbered himſelf with the cares of a family, by an haſty marriage with a young woman of no fortune, the daughter of one Mr. Travers, who was houſhold-ſteward to the late earl of Burlington, and whom he fell in love with at a dancing, he found the little buſineſs he had in his profeſſion inſufficient for the ſupport of it, and therefore was obliged to apply to other reſources to help out the poor pittance he could obtain by his regular occupation. Having, during his apprenticeſhip, attended the botanical lectures which are periodically given under the patronage of the company of apothecaries, and being poſſeſſed of quick natural parts and ready abilities, he had made himſelf a very complete maſter of the practical, and indeed the theoretical part alſo, of botany; and, having procured a recommendation to the late duke of Richmond, and the lord Petre, two noblemen, whoſe love of ſcience and conſtant encouragement of genius ever did honour to their country, he was by them employed in the regulation of their reſpective botanic gardens, and the arrangement of certain curious dried plants, which they were in poſſeſſion of. Aſſiſted by the gratuities he received from theſe noblemen, he was enabled to put a ſcheme in execution of travelling over ſeveral parts of this kingdom, to gather certain of the more rare and uncommon plants; a ſelect number of which, prepared in a peculiar manner, he propoſed to publiſh, as it were, by ſubſcription, at a certain price. The labour

and expences attendant on an undertaking of this kind, however, being very great, and the number of even probable purchaſers very few, the emoluments accruing to him from all his induſtry, which was indeed indefatigable, were by no means adequate either to his expectations or his merits. The ſtage now preſented itſelf to him, as a ſoil in which genius might ſtand a chance of flouriſhing. But this plan proved likewiſe abortive, and, after two or three unſucceſsful attempts at the Little Theatre in the Hay-market, and the Theatre Royal in Covent Garden, he was obliged to relinquiſh his pretenſions to the ſock and buſkin, and apply again to his botanical advantages, and his buſineſs as an apothecary.

"During the courſe of theſe occurrences, he was introduced to the acquaintance of Martin Folkes, eſq. the late preſident of the Royal Society, to Dr. Alexander Stuart, Mr. Henry Baker, F. R. S. and many other gentlemen eminent in the literary and philoſophical world, by all of whom he was received and entertained, on every occaſion, with the utmoſt candour and warmth of friendſhip; being eſteemed as a young man of very conſiderable abilities, ſtruggling with the moſt laudable aſſiduity againſt the ſtream of misfortune, yet, with a degree of baſhful diffidence, which ſeemed an unſurmountable bar to his ever being able to ſtem the torrent, or make that figure in life which his merit juſtly entitled him to. In this point of view Mr. Hill appeared for a conſiderable time, admitted to every literary aſſembly, eſteemed and careſſed by all the individuals which compoſed them, yet indigent and diſtreſſed, and ſometimes put to difficulties for the obtaining even the common neceſſaries of life. At length, about the year 1745 or 1746, at which time he had a trifling appointment of apothecary to a regiment or two in the Savoy, he tranſlated from the Greek a ſmall tract, written by Theophraſtus, on ſtones and gems, which, by the addition of a great number of very judicious and curious notes, he enlarged into an octavo volume of three ſhillings and ſix pence price, which formed almoſt a complete ſyſtem of that branch of Natural Hiſtory. This work he publiſhed by ſubſcription, and, being extremely well executed, and as ſtrongly recommended by all his literary friends, it not only anſwered his expectations from it with reſpect to pecuniary advantages, but alſo eſtabliſhed a reputation for him as a writer, in conſequence of which he was immediately engaged in works of more extent, and of greater importance. The firſt work he undertook was a general Natural Hiſtory, in three volumes, folio, the firſt of which, excluſive of other writings, he completed in leſs than a twelvemonth. He was alſo engaged, in conjunction with George Lewis Scott, eſq. in a Supplement to Chambers's Dictionary. He took on him the management of a monthly publication, entitled the Britiſh Magazine, in which he wrote a great variety of eſſays on different ſubjects; and was at the ſame time concerned in many other works. In ſhort, the rapidity of his pen was aſtoniſhing, nor will it perhaps readily gain credit with poſterity, that while he was thus employed in ſeveral very voluminous concerns at one time, ſome of which were on ſubjects which ſeemed to claim ſingly the whole of his attention, and which he brought to perfection with an expedition that is ſcarcely to be conceived, he ſolely, and without any aſſiſtance, carried on a daily periodical

riodical Eſſay, under the title of the Inſpector. Nor was this the only extraordinary circumſtance attending on it; for, notwithſtanding all this employment, ſo much leiſure did he find means ever to reſerve to himſelf, that he was, at the ſame time, a conſtant frequenter of every place of public amuſement. No play, opera, ball or aſſembly, but Mr. Hill was ſure to be ſeen at, where he collected, by wholeſale, a great variety of private intrigue and perſonal ſcandal, which he as freely retailed again to the public in his Inſpectors and Magazines.

But now a diſpoſition began to ſhew itſelf in this gentleman, which thoſe, who had been the moſt intimate with him in his earlier parts of life, could never have ſuſpected in him, viz. an unbounded ſhare of vanity and ſelf-ſufficiency, which had for years lain dormant behind the maſk of their directly oppoſite qualities of humility and diffidence; a pride, which was perpetually laying claim to homage by no means his due, and a vindictiveneſs which never could forgive the refuſal of it to him. Hence it was that perſonal abuſe and the moſt licentious and uncandid ſcurrility continually flowed from his pen; every affront, though ever ſo trivial, which his pride met with, being aſſuredly revenged by a public attack on the morals, underſtandings, or peculiarities of the perſon from whom it had been received. In conſequence of this diſpoſition we find him very frequently engaged in perſonal diſputes and quarrels; particularly in one with an Iriſh gentleman, of the name of Browne, who, on finding himſelf univerſally conſidered as the perſon intended by a very ridiculous character drawn in one of the Inſpectors, thought proper to beſtow ſome correction on him, not of the gentleſt kind, in the public gardens at Ranelagh, which however Mr. Hill does not appear to have replied to with any other weapon but his pen. He alſo engaged himſelf in a little paper war with Mr. Woodward, the comedian, in conſequence of an inſult that gentleman received, in the exerciſe of his profeſſion, from a gentleman in one of the boxes. Mr. Hill was alſo extremely buſy in the oppoſition againſt the late Mr. Henry Fielding, in that intricate and inexplicable affair of Elizabeth Canning. But the moſt important conteſt he was ever concerned in was his attack on the Royal Society of London, which, as his writings on the ſubject are of ſome extent, and may be handed down to poſterity when the cauſe of them is forgotten, it will not, perhaps, be diſagreeable to my readers, if I take up a ſmall portion of their time in a detail of the origin and progreſs of it.

"When Mr. Hill had ſtarted all at once, as I have before related, from a ſtate of indigence and diſtreſs, to taſte the comforts of very conſiderable emoluments from his labour, giddy with ſucceſs, and elated, beyond bounds, with the warm ſunſhine of proſperity, he ſeemed to be ſeized with a kind of infatuation. Vanity took entire poſſeſſion of his boſom, and baniſhed from thence every conſideration but of ſelf. His converſation turned on little elſe, and even his very writings were tainted with perpetual details of every little occurrence that happened to him. A paſſion for dreſs, ſhew and parade, the natural attendants on ſelf-love, now broke forth: he ſet up his chariot, and, profeſſing to aſſume the character of a mere man of pleaſure, gallantry, and bon ton, affected to expreſs, on every occaſion, the higheſt contempt for buſineſs and the drier kinds of ſtudy.

His raillery, both in company and in his writings, frequently turned on thoſe who cloſely attached themſelves to philoſophical inveſtigations, more eſpecially in the branches of natural philoſophy. The common-place wit of abuſing the Medal-Scraper, the Butterfly-Hunter, the Cockle-ſhell-Merchant, &c. now appeared in ſome of his Magazines and Inſpectors; and in two or three places he even indulged ſome diſtant glances of ſatire at the Royal Society. Notwithſtanding which, however, when the ſupplement to Chambers's Dictionary was nearly finiſhed, the proprietors of that work, very ſenſible of the weight which an F. R. S. annexed to the author's name, ever has in the recommendation of a work of that nature, were very deſirous that Mr. Hill (who had juſt before this purchaſed a diploma for the degree of doctor of phyſic from the Scotch univerſity of St. Andrews) ſhould alſo have this addition as well as Mr. Scott, his colleague in the work. In conſequence of this their deſign, the new Dr. Hill procured Mr. Scott to propoſe him for election into that honourable body; but the doctor's conduct for ſome time paſt having been ſuch as had rendered him the object of contempt to ſome, of diſguſt to others, and of ridicule to almoſt all the reſt of his former grave and philoſophical acquaintances, he now ſtood but a very indifferent chance for carrying an election, where an oppoſition of one third was ſufficient to reject the candidate; and as the failing in that attempt might have done our author more eſſential prejudice than the ſucceeding in it could even have brought him advantage, the late ingenious and worthy preſident, Martin Folkes, eſq. whoſe remembrance muſt ever live in the higheſt eſtimation with all who ever had the honour of knowing him, notwithſtanding that Dr. Hill had given him perſonal occaſion of offence againſt him, yet with the utmoſt generoſity and candour, adviſed Mr. Scott to diſſuade his friend, for his own ſake, againſt a deſign which there appeared ſo little probability of his ſucceeding in. This advice, however, Dr. Hill, inſtead of conſidering it in the generous light it was meant, miſinterpreted into a prejudiced oppoſition againſt his intereſt; and would have perſiſted in his intention, even in deſpight of it, had not his being unable to obtain the ſubſcription of the requiſite number of members to his recommendation, obliged him to lay it aſide, from a conviction that he could not expect to carry an election in a body compoſed of three hundred members, of which he could not prevail on three to ſet their names to the barely recommending him as a candidate. Thus diſappointed, his vanity piqued, and his pride lowered, no relief was left him but railing and ſcurrility; for which purpoſe, declaring open war with the ſociety in general, he firſt publiſhed a pamphlet, entitled, A Diſſertation on Royal Societies, in a letter from a Sclavonian nobleman in London to his friend in Sclavonia, which, beſides the moſt ill-mannered and unjuſt abuſe on the whole learned body, he had been juſt aiming, in vain, to become a member of, is interlarded with the groſſeſt perſonal ſcurrility on the characters of Mr. Folkes and Mr. Henry Baker, two gentlemen to whom Dr. Hill had formerly been under the greateſt obligations, and whoſe reſpective reputations in both the moral and literary world had long been too firmly eſtabliſhed for the weak efforts of a diſappointed ſcribbler to ſhake or undermine.

Not

Not contented with this, he proceeded to compile together a large quarto volume, entitled, A Review of the Works of the Royal Society, in which, by the moſt unfair quotations, mutilations, and miſrepreſentations, numbers of the papers, read in that illuſtrious aſſembly, and publiſhed under the title of the Philoſophical Tranſactions, are endeavoured to be rendered ridiculous. This work is uſhered into the world with a moſt abuſive and infamous dedication to Martin Folkes, eſq. againſt whom, and the aforementioned Mr. Henry Baker, the weight of this furious attack was chiefly aimed; ſince of the few other authors, who have been dragged in to ſuffer the laſh of the doctor's abuſe, much the greateſt part of them ſeem to have had no claim to his reſentment, but that of being correſpondents of, or their pieces being communicated by, one or the other of theſe gentlemen. But here again Dr. Hill met with a diſappointment; for the perſons, whom he had thus unjuſtly and ungratefully attacked, being greatly above the reach of his malice, he found the ill effects of it, like a recoiling piece, revert on himſelf: the world, inſtead of laughing with him, deſpiſed him; thoſe, who would have otherwiſe been the principal purchaſers of his philoſophical writings, were now too much exaſperated to afford him the leaſt encouragement or aſſiſtance. By giving ſo ample a ſcope to perſonal ſlander and ſcurrilous abuſe in ſome of his works, and by his too great hurry, and the impoſſibility of giving a proper digeſtion to others, he made himſelf ſo many perſonal enemies on the one hand, and wrote himſelf ſo out of repute, both with the town and the bookſellers, on the other, that at length, even when employed by the latter, he was obliged, by contract, to conceal from the former his being the author, from the conſideration that his very name was ſufficient to damp the ſale of any piece to which it might be affixed. This, however, did not prevent his engaging in many works, though not ſo voluminouſly as before, till at length he hit upon another method for getting money, which, as I am informed, brought him a very conſiderable income. This was no other than the preparation of certain ſimple medicines, whoſe effects are very ſerviceable in many caſes, and, being moſtly of the vegetable kind, are, I believe, very inoffenſive in all. Theſe medicines, in conſequence of conſtant advertiſements and puffing, have had a very extenſive ſale and conſumption, and are, I think, chiefly of four ſorts, viz. The Eſſence of Water-Dock, Tincture of Valerian, Pectoral Balſam of Honey, and Tincture of Bardana. Dr. Hill was, for ſome time, warmly patronized by the earl of Bute, through whoſe intereſt, I have been informed, he was appointed to the management of the royal gardens, but, by what means I know not, the grant was never confirmed. Under that nobleman's patronage, and, I believe, at his expence, the doctor publiſhed a very pompous and voluminous botanical work, entitled, A Syſtem of Botany, with a great number of elegant and magnificent copper-plates.

"About the ſame time he frequently appeared at the magnificent routes of the late dutcheſs of Northumberland, where, had he not been generally known, the ſplendor of his dreſs might have denoted him to be ſome perſon of real conſequence and fortune. But as the frequenters of this elegant aſſembly took not the ſlighteſt notice of him, his ſituation among the great and

polite was rather an object of commiseration than envy.

"In the latter part of his life he was honoured by the king of Sweden with the order of Vasa, and died in November, 1775, of the gout, a disorder, which, though he professed to cure in others, he was unable to root out of his own constitution. He was buried at Denham.

"And now, having related what peculiar circumstances I have been able to collect in regard to his life, it may be expected that I should give some observations with respect to his character; yet these I shall here confine only to his literary one, and the rank of merit which his writings ought to stand in. Dr. Hill's greatest enemies could not deny that he was master of considerable abilities, and an amazing quickness of parts. The rapidity of his pen was ever astonishing, and I have even been credibly informed, that he has been known to receive, within one year, no less than fifteen hundred pounds, for the works of his own single hand; which, as he was never in such estimation as to be entitled to any extraordinary price for his copies, is, I believe, at least three times as much as ever was made by any one writer in the same period of time. But, had he written much less, he would probably have been much more read. The vast variety of subjects he handled, certainly required such a fund of universal knowledge, and such a boundless genius, as were never, perhaps, known to center in any one man; and therefore it is not to be wondered at, if, in regard to some, he appears very inaccurate, in some very superficial, and, in others, very inadequate to the task he had undertaken. His works, in the philosophical way, are what he seemed most likely to have purchased future fame by, had he allowed himself time to have digested the knowledge he was possessed of, or adhered to that precision with regard to veracity, which the relation of literary facts so rigidly demands. His novels, of which he has written many, such as the History of Mr. Lovell (in which he had endeavoured to persuade the world he had given the detail of his own life), the adventures of a Creole, the Life of Lady Frail, &c. have, in some parts of them, incidents not disagreeably related; but the most of them are no more than narratives of private intrigues, containing, throughout, the grossest calumnies, and aiming at the blackening and undermining the private characters of many respectable and amiable personages. In his Essays, which are by much the best of his writings, there is, in general, a liveliness of imagination, and a prettiness in the manner of extending perhaps some very trivial thought, which, at the first coup d'œil, is pleasing enough, and may, with many, be mistaken for wit; but, on a nearer examination, the imagined sterling will be found to dwindle down into mere French plate. A continued use of smart short periods, bold assertions, and a rotain of egotisms, for the most part give a glitter to them, which, however, presently sullies to the eye, and seldom tempts the spectator to a second glance. In a word, the utmost that can be said of Dr. Hill, is, that he had talents, but that he, in general, either greatly misapplied them, or most miserably hackneyed them out.

"As a dramatic writer, he stands in no estimation, nor has been known in that view by any thing but three very insignificant little pieces."

LIFE

LIFE of SAMUEL FOOTE, Esq.

[From the same Work.]

"THIS well-known author was was born at Truro, in Cornwall, but in what year I know not. His father, John Foote, enjoyed the posts of commissioner of the prize-office and fine-contract. His mother was heiress of the Dineley and Goodere families, and to her, in consequence of an unhappy and fatal quarrel between her two brothers, Sir John Dineley Goodere, bart. and Sir Samuel Goodere, captain of his majesty's ship the Ruby, which terminated in the loss of life to both, the Dineley estate, which was of great value, descended. He received his education at Worcester College, formerly Glouceſter-Hall, Oxon, which owed its foundation and change of name to Sir Thomas Cooks Winford, bart. a second cousin of our author's. From the University he was removed to the Temple, being designed for the study of the law; in which it is most probable that his great oratorical talents, and powers of mimickry and humour, would have shewn themselves in a very conspicuous light. The dryness and gravity of this study, however, not suiting the more volatile vivacity of his disposition, he chose rather to employ those talents in a sphere of action to which they seemed better adapted, viz. on the stage, in the pursuit of which, the repeated proofs he received of the public approbation, bear the strongest testimonials to his merit. His first appearance was in the part of Othello; but whether he early discovered that his forte did not lye in tragedy, or that his genius could not bear the being only a repeater of the works of others, he soon struck out into a new and untrodden path, in which he at once attained the two great ends of affording entertainment to the public and emolument to himself. This was by taking on himself the double character of author and performer, in which light, in 1747, he opened the little theatre in the Haymarket, with a dramatic piece of his own writing, called The Diversions of the Morning. This piece consisted of nothing more than the introduction of several well-known characters in real life, whose manner of conversation and expression, this author had very happily hit, in the diction of his drama, and still more happily represented on the stage, by an exact and most amazing imitation, not only of the manner and tone of voice, but even of the very persons, of those whom he intended to *take off*. Among these characters, there was in particular, a certain physician, who was much better known from the oddity and singularity of his appearance and conversation, than from his eminence in the practice of his profession. The celebrated chevalier Taylor, the oculist, who was at that time in the height of his vogue and popularity, was also another object, and indeed a deserved one, of Mr. Foote's mimickry and ridicule; and in the latter part of his piece, under the character of a theatrical director, this gentleman took off, with great humour and accuracy, the several styles of acting of every principal performer of the English stage.

"This performance at first met with some little opposition from the civil magistrates of Westminster, under the sanction of the act of parliament for limiting the number of play-houses. But the author being

nized by many of the principal nobility and others, this oppoſition was over-ruled, and with an alteration of the title of his piece to that of Mr. Foote's giving Tea to his Friends, he proceeded without farther moleſtation, and repreſented it through a run of upwards of forty mornings, to crowded and ſplendid audiences.

"The enſuing ſeaſon he produced another piece of the ſame kind, which he called an Auction of Pictures. In this he introduced ſeveral new characters, all however popular ones, and extremely well known, particularly Sir Thomas de Veil, then the acting juſtice of peace for Weſtminſter; Mr. Cock, the celebrated auctioneer, and the equally famous orator Henley. This piece had alſo a very great run.

"Neither of the abovementioned pieces have yet appeared in print, nor would they perhaps give any very great pleaſure in the cloſet; for, conſiſting principally of characters whoſe peculiar ſingularities could never be perfectly repreſented in black and white, they might probably appear flat and inſipid, when diveſted of that ſtrong colouring which Mr. Foote had given them in his perſonal repreſentation: for it may not be improper to obſerve in this place, that he himſelf repreſented all the principal characters in each piece, which ſtood in need of his mimick powers to execute, ſhifting from one to another with all the dexterity of a Proteus. He now, however, proceded to pieces of ſomewhat more dramatic regularity, his Knights being the produce of an enſuing ſeaſon. Yet in this alſo, though his plot and characters ſeemed leſs immediately perſonal, it was apparent that he kept ſome particular real perſonages ſtrongly in his eye, in the performance, and the town took on themſelves to fix them where the reſemblance appeared to be the moſt ſtriking. It would be ſuperfluous in this place to enumerate the courſe of this gentleman's dramatic progreſs as to all the reſpective pieces which he has ſince written and performed, as a particular account of each of them may be ſeen, under its proper head, in the ſecond volume of this work. Let it here ſuffice therefore to obſerve, that he continued from time to time to entertain the public, by ſelecting for their uſe, ſuch characters, as well general as individual, as ſeemed moſt likely to contribute to the exciting our innocent laughter, and beſt anſwer the principal end of dramatic writings of the comic kind, viz. the relaxation of the mind from the fatigue of buſineſs or anxiety.

The following is a liſt of his performances.

1. Taſte. C. 8vo. 1752.
2. The Engliſhman in Paris. C. 8vo. 1753.
3. The Knights. C. 8vo. 1754.
4. The Engliſhman returned from Paris. F. 8vo. 1756.
5. The Author. C. 8vo. 1757.
6. The Diverſions of the Morning. F. 1758. N. P.
7. The Minor. C. 8vo. 1760.
8. The Lyar. C. 1761. printed 8vo. 1764.
9. The Orators. C. 8vo. 1762.
10. The Mayor of Garratt. C. 8vo. 1763.
11. The Patron. C. 8vo. 1764.
12. The Commiſſary. C. 8vo. 1765.
13. Prelude, on opening the theatre, 1767.
14. The Devil upon Two Sticks. C. 1768 printed 8vo. 1778.
15. The Lame Lover. C. 8vo. 1770.
16. The Maid of Bath. C. 1771. printed 8vo. 1778.

17. The

17. The Nabob. C. 1772. printed 8vo. 1778.

18. Piety in Pattens. F. 1773. N. P.

19. The Bankrupt. C. 8vo. 1773.

20. The Cozeners. C. 1774. printed 8vo. 1778.

21. The Capuchin. C. 1776. printed 8vo. 1778.

22. A Trip to Calais. C. 8vo. 1778.

Beſides theſe pieces Mr. Foote ſuffered his name to be put to a work entitled, The Comic Theatre, in 5 vols. 12mo. being a tranſlation of a number of French comedies. Of theſe however, we are aſſured the firſt only, viz. The Young Hypocrite, is to be aſcribed to him.

The following is the liſt of them.

Vol. I. The Young Hypocrite. The Spendthrift. The Triple Marriage.

Vol. II. The Imaginary Obſtacle. The Siſters. The Libertine; or, The Hidden Treaſure.

Vol. III. The Legacy; or, The Fortune Hunter. The Generous Artifice; or, The Reformed Rake. The Whimſical Lovers; or, The Double Infidelity.

Vol. IV. The Blunderer. The Amorous Quarrel. The Conceited Ladies. The Forced Marriage.

Vol. V. The Man Hater. The Faggot-binder; or, The Mock Doctor. The Gentleman Cit.

To proceed with Mr. Foote's hiſtory. From the year 1752 to 1761, he continued to perform at one of the theatres every ſeaſon as fancy or intereſt directed his choice, generally for a ſtated number of nights; and on theſe engagements he uſually brought out a new piece. In this courſe he went on until a very preſſing embarraſſment in his affairs compelled him to perform The Minor at the Hay-Market in the ſummer of the year 1760, with ſuch a company as he could haſtily collect. The ſucceſs of this attempt ſeems to have ſuggeſted to him the ſcheme of occupying that theatre when the others were ſhut up; and from the year 1762, until the ſeaſon before his death, he regularly performed there, and acquired a very conſiderable income, which, as œconomy was not to be numbered among his excellencies, he generally expended in the gratification equally of his vices and virtues, being at times both generous and extravagant. In February 1766, he had the misfortune to fall from his horſe, while at lord Mexborough's ſeat in the country, on a viſit, when the duke of York alſo was there. It is generally ſuppoſed that this accident facilitated his application for a patent, which he obtained on the 9th of July, in the ſame year. As he was ever attentive to ſuch temporary circumſtances as would afford ſubjects of ridicule, ſo he was not at all ſcrupulous whom he offended in his ſatirical career. In 1776, he drew a character intended for a lady of quality then much talked of, who had influence enough to obtain a prohibition to his play being repreſented, and in the controverſy which this incident occaſioned, ſome imputations were thrown out againſt his character, too groſs to be recorded, and of too vile a nature to be believed without the cleareſt evidence. This diſpute had hardly ſubſided, when a legal charge was made againſt him for an offence ſimilar to that before alluded to; and it is but juſtice to his memory to declare, that the accuſation was generally ſuppoſed to have originated in malice, and that he was acquitted by the direction, and agreeably to the ſentiments, of the learned judge who tried him, after a very long and ſtrict inveſtigation of all the circumſtances of

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the affair. The ſhock which he received from this diſgraceful ſituation is ſuppoſed to have had a fatal effect upon him. A few months afterwards he was ſeized, while on the ſtage, with a paralytic fit, from which he recovered ſufficiently to ſpend the ſummer at Brighthelmſtone, and from thence, on the approach of winter, was adviſed to remove to France. On the 20th of October, 1777, he arrived at Dover, intending immediately to proceed to Calais. But about eleven o'clock next morning he complained of a ſhivering, and went to bed, where he was ſeized with another fit, which laſted three hours; after it was over he lay very compoſed, and ſeemed inclined to ſleep; in a few minutes he began to breathe in a moaning tone, and at length fetched a deep ſigh, and expired. He was buried in Weſtminſter-Abbey.

"Mr. Foote's dramatic works are all to be ranked among the petite pieces of the theatre, as he never attempted any thing which attained the bulk of the more perfect drama. In the execution of them they are ſometimes looſe, negligent, and unfiniſhed, ſeeming rather to be the haſty productions of a man of genius, whoſe Pegaſus, though indued with fire, has no inclination for fatigue, than the laboured finiſhings of a profeſt dramatiſt aiming at immortality. His plots are ſomewhat irregular, and their cataſtrophes not always concluſive or perfectly wound up. Yet, with all theſe little deficiencies, it muſt be confeſſed that they contain more of one eſſential property of comedy, viz. ſtrong character, than the writing of any other of our modern authors; and although the diction of his dialogue may not, from the general tenor of his ſubjects, either require, or admit of, the wit of a Congreve, or the elegance of an Etherege, yet it is conſtantly embelliſhed with numberleſs ſtrokes of keen ſatire, and touches of temporary humour, ſuch as only the cleareſt judgment and deepeſt diſcernment could dictate; and though the language ſpoken by his characters may at firſt ſight ſeem not the moſt accurate and correct, yet it will, on a cloſer examination, be found entirely dramatical, as it contains numbers of thoſe natural minutiæ of expreſſion, on which the very baſis of character is frequently founded, and which render it the trueſt mirrour of the converſation of the times he wrote in.

"It has been objected againſt Mr. Foote, that the introduction of real characters on the ſtage was not only ungenerous, but cruel and unjuſt; and that the rendering any perſon the object of public ridicule and laughter, was doing him the moſt eſſential injury poſſible, as it was wounding the human breaſt in the tendereſt point, viz. its pride and ſelf-opinion. Yet I cannot think this charge ſo ſtrong as the vehement opponents of mimickry would have it appear to be. Mr. Foote himſelf, in his Minor, has very properly diſtinguiſhed who are the proper objects of ridicule, and the legal victims to the laſh of ſatire; that is to ſay, thoſe who appear what they are not, or would be what they cannot. When hypocriſy and diſſimulation would lay ſnares for the fortunes, or contaminate the principles of mankind, it is ſurely but juſtice to the world to withdraw the maſk, and ſhew their natural faces with the diſtortions and ſhocking deformities they are really poſſeſſed of. And when affectation or ſingularity overbear the more valuable parts of any perſon's character, and render thoſe diſagreeable and weariſome companions, who, diveſted of thoſe cha-

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racteriſtic foibles, might be valuable, ſenſible, and entertaining members of the community, it is themſelves ſurely who act the ridiculous part on the more extenſive ſtage of the world; and it ſhould rather be deemed an act of kindneſs, both to the perſons themſelves and their acquaintance, to ſet up ſuch a mirrour before them, as by pointing out to themſelves their abſurd peculiarities (and who is without ſome?) afford them an opportunity, by amendment, to deſtroy the reſemblance, and ſo avoid the ridicule: ſuch a ſort of kindneſs as it would be to lead a perſon to a looking-glaſs who had put on his peruke the wrong ſide foremoſt, inſtead of ſuffering him in that condition to run the gauntlet in the mall or the playhouſe, where he muſt perceive the titter of the whole aſſembly raiſed againſt him, without knowing on what account it is raiſed, or by what means to put a ſtop to it. In a word, if a ſir Penurious Trifle, a Peter Paragraph, or a Cadwallader, have ever had their originals in real life, let thoſe originals keep their own counſel, remember the *qui capit, ille facit*, and reform their reſpective follies. Nor can I help being of opinion, that an author of this kind in ſome reſpects is more uſeful to the age he lives in, than thoſe who only range abroad into the various ſcenes of life for general character. And although Mr. Foote's dramatic pieces may not perhaps have the good fortune to attain immortality, or be perfectly reliſhed by the audiences of a future age, yet, I cannot deny him here the juſtice of bearing ſtrong teſtimony to his merits, and ranking him among the firſt of the dramatiſts of *this*."

ACCOUNT of MARTIN FOLKES, Eſq. ſome Time PRESIDENT of the ROYAL SOCIETY.

[From Mr. NICHOLS's "Biographical and Literary Anecdotes of WILLIAM BOWYER, Printer, F. S. A. and of many of his learned Friends."]

"MARTIN Folkes, eſq. was deſcended of a good family, and eldeſt ſon of Martin Folkes, eſq. counſellor at law, by his wife Dorothy, one of two daughters and coheirs of William Hovell, of Hillington-hall, near Lynn, in the county of Norfolk, knight; the other daughter being married to Dr. William Wake, afterwards archbiſhop of Canterbury. He was born in the pariſh of St. Giles's in the Fields, in the city of Weſtminſter, on the 29th of October, 1690; and at the age of nine years was intruſted to the learned Mr. Cappel, ſon of the celebrated Lewis Cappel, and ſucceſſor to him in the profeſſorſhip of the Hebrew language at Saumur in France, till the ſuppreſſion of that univerſity in January, 1694-5. He continued ſeven years under the tuition of Mr. Cappel, by whom he is deſcribed in a letter to Monſieur Le Clerc, dated at Hillington-hall in February, 1706-7, as a choice youth of a penetrating genius, and a maſter of the beauties of the beſt Roman and Greek writers. Soon after the date of that letter, he was ſent to the univerſity of Cambridge, and was placed in Clare-hall, under the care of Dr. Laughton,

Laughton, fellow of that college, and one of the moſt able and diligent tutors of that time. The progreſs which he made there, and after he left the univerſity, in all parts of learning, and particularly mathematical and philoſophical, diſtinguiſhed him at ſo early an age, that when he was but three and twenty years of age, he was eſteemed worthy of a ſeat in the Royal Society, into which having been propoſed as a candidate on the 13th of December, 1713, he was on the 29th of July following elected, and on the 11th of November admitted a fellow of it. He had not been much above two years a member, when, on account of his known abilities and conſtant attendance at the meetings of the ſociety, he was, at the anniverſary election November 30, 1716, choſen one of the council. His firſt communication to the ſociety was on the 6th of the following month, December, concerning the eclipſe of a fixed ſtar in Gemini, by the body of Jupiter. This was followed in 1717 by an account of a remarkable aurora borealis, ſeen at London on the 30th of March that year; which account is printed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, vol. xxx. No. 352. p. 586. On the 6th of October of the ſame year, 1717, he had the degree of maſter of arts conferred on him by the univerſity of Cambridge, when that learned body had the honour of a viſit from the late king George the Firſt. He was choſen a ſecond time of the council of the Royal Society on the 1ſt of December 1718, and continued to be re-choſen every year till 1727; and the 17th of January, 1722-3, had the farther diſtinction of being appointed by their illuſtrious preſident, ſir Iſaac Newton, one of his vice-preſidents. Mr. Leeuwenhoeck having by his laſt will left his curious microſcopes to the ſociety, of which he had been above forty years a member, Mr. Folkes drew up an account of them, which he gave in on the 23d of January, 1723-4, to the ſociety, who deſired it might be made public, as it was ſoon after in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, vol. xxxii. No. 380. p. 446. At the firſt anniverſary election of the Royal Society, after the death of ſir Iſaac Newton, in 1727, Mr. Folkes was competitor with ſir Hans Sloane, bart. for the office of preſident; his intereſt being ſupported by a great number of members, though the choice was determined in favour of ſir Hans. The 24th volume of the Philoſophical Tranſactions for the years 1726 and 1727 was addreſſed to Mr. Folkes by Dr. Jurin, ſecretary of the Royal Society, in a dedication, the motive of which was, as that very learned phyſician obſerved, the fame which induced the greateſt man that ever lived to ſingle out Mr. Folkes to fill the chair, and to preſide in the aſſemblies of that ſociety, when the frequent returns of his indiſpoſition would no longer permit him to attend them with his uſual aſſiduity. "This motive, added Dr. Jurin, we all know, was your uncommon love to, and your ſingular attainments in, thoſe noble and manly ſciences, to which the glory of ſir Iſaac Newton, and the reputation of the Royal Society, is ſolely and entirely owing." And he concludes his dedication with the higheſt compliment to Mr. Folkes, that, "It is ſufficient to ſay of him, that he was ſir Iſaac Newton's friend." He was choſen of the council of the ſociety on the 1ſt of December, 1729, and continued in it, till he was advanced to the preſidentſhip, twelve years after, having been appointed on the 8th of February, 1732-3, one of the vice preſidents by ſir Hans Sloane. He ſet

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out with his whole family on a tour into Italy the 25th of March, 1733; and, passing through Germany, reached Venice in September following; whence he proceeded to Rome, where he resided for a considerable time, as he did afterwards some months at Florence. He returned by sea from Leghorn to England, where he arrived on the 1st of September, 1735, after having spent two years and a half abroad with the highest satisfaction to himself, and the greatest marks of esteem and respect from the principal persons in all places which he visited. The opportunities which he had of consulting the best-furnished cabinets in Italy, enabled him to compose there an excellent dissertation on the weights and values of ancient coins. This he read to the Society of Antiquaries, London, of which he was a member, at two of their meetings, on the 15th and 22d of January, 1735-6, and received their unanimous thanks for it, with a request, that a copy of it might be registered in their books, which he promised to give them, after he had revised it and made some additions to it. In the following month he read them a dissertation upon the measures of Trajan's and Antonine's pillars; and in April, 1736, another upon the brass equestrian statue at the Capitol in Rome; and on the 14th of that month communicated to them "A table of English cold coin, from the 18th of king Edward the Third, when gold was first coined in England, to the present time, with their weights and intrinsic values;" which, at their desire, on the 22d of that month, he consented to publish; and it was according printed the same year in 4to. Two years after he likewise read to them a Dissertation upon an ancient Latin inscription at Nismes. Nor was he less obliging to the Royal Society, whom he favoured with his "Remarks on the standard measure preserved in the Capitol of Rome;" which were read at their meeting of the 5th of February, 1735-6, and published in the Philosophical Transactions, vol. xxxix. No. 442, p. 262. He exhibited to that society on the 8th of July following a model of an ancient sphere, in the Farnese palace at Rome, which model had been made in plaister of Paris, under his directions, during his residence in that city; the original sphere in stone, supported by an Atlas, being conjectured by him upon good grounds to have been made in the year of the Christian æra 112, towards the end of the emperor Trajan's reign. A draught of this was communicated by him to Dr. Bentley, then preparing his long promised edition of Manilius, in which it was afterwards published in the year 1739, in 4to. His next communication to the Royal Society was on the 4th of November, 1736, an account of some mock suns, or parhelia, seen by him on the 17th of September preceding. See the Philosophical Transactions, vol. xl. No. 445. p. 59. His ingenious friend, Dr. Robert Smith, then Plumian Professor of Mathematics in Cambridge, and afterwards master of Trinity college there, being engaged in composing "A Complete System of Optics," Mr. Folkes furnished him with several curious remarks on the fallacies of vision, on the sun's apparent distance, on the apparent figure of the sky, on the apparent curvity of the sides of long walks and ploughed lands, and on the changes of curvity by the observer's motions; for which he received the acknowledgments of the professor in the preface to that work, published in 1738, in 4to. As he had not seen France in his travels to Italy,

Italy, he made a tour to Paris in May, 1739, chiefly with a view of ſeeing the academies there, and converſing with the learned men, who do honour to that city and the republic of letters, and by whom he was received with all the teſtimonies of reciprocal regard. Sir Hans Sloane having, on account of his advanced age and growing infirmities, reſigned the preſidentſhip of the Royal Society, at the annual election in 1741; Mr. Folkes was unanimouſly choſen to fill that honourable poſt, which he did with the higheſt reputation to the ſociety and himſelf. Soon after his election he preſented the ſociety with 100l. The death of Dr. Edmund Halley in January, 1741-2, occaſioning a vacancy in the Royal Academy of Sciences at Paris, the eyes of that illuſtrious body were immediately fixed upon the new preſident of the Royal Society, whom they choſe to place in the room of that great philoſopher and aſtronomer. On the 11th of November, 1742, he communicated to the Royal Society an account of the proportions of the Engliſh and French meaſures and weights, from the ſtandards of the ſame kept at that ſociety: which account was printed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, vol. xlii. No. 465, p. 185. An account of the diſcovery of that extraordinary inſect called the freſh-water polypus, by Monſ. Trembley, then reſiding at the Hague, was no ſooner brought to England than Mr. Folkes began to make experiments upon it; the reſult of which he communicated to the Royal Society in a paper read before them the 24th of March, 1742-3, and printed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, vol. xlii. No. 469, p. 422. His curioſity with relation to the geography of his country having led him to a particular examination of ſome of the oldeſt maps of it, thoſe of Mr. Chriſtopher Saxton, he gave in a paper concerning them to the Royal Society on the 12th of May, 1743. In this paper he ſhewed, that thoſe maps were the firſt which were made from an actual ſurvey; and that from them moſt parts of the preſent maps, except Ogilby's roads, are taken: That it appears, from a privilege granted for ten years to Mr. Saxton by Queen Elizabeth, dated July 22, 1577, that his work was carried on at the expence of Thomas Seckford, eſq. maſter of the requeſts, afterwards knighted, and was then in hand, but not completed; that the date of the earlieſt map is 1574, and that of the general title 1579. The next paper of his which appears in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, vol. xlii. No. 470, p. 541, was read on the 16th of June, 1743, being an account of the compariſon, lately made by ſome members of the Royal Society, of the ſtandard of a yard, and the ſeveral weights lately made for their uſe; with the original ſtandards of meaſure and weights in the Exchequer, and ſome others kept for public uſe at Guildhall, Founders Hall, the Tower, and other places. His excellent work, intituled, "A Table of Engliſh Silver Coins, from the Norman Conqueſt to the preſent time: with their weights, intrinſic values, and ſome remarks upon the ſeveral pieces," publiſhed at London in May, 1745, in 4to. is a valuable ſpecimen of the accuracy and judgement with which he treated every ſubject that he thought proper to diſcuſs; and as it greatly ſurpaſſed whatever had been publiſhed of that kind before, ſo it has left little room for either addition or amendment. He printed this treatiſe, together with a ſecond edition of his Table of Engliſh Gold Coins,

Coins, at his own expence, both for the benefit of the Society of Antiquaries, and as preſents to his numerous friends. He intended likewiſe to have illuſtrated it by a ſet of prints of the ſilver and gold coins of England, of which he had engraved forty-four plates, which came down to the reſtoration of Charles II. and ſince his death have been purchaſed by the ſaid ſociety, who are preparing to publiſh them, with a new edition of his book to which they relate. Several experiments having been made in Holland upon the fragility of unnealed glaſs veſſels, he not only gave an account of them, but likewiſe exhibited ſome of them to the Royal Society on the 31ſt of October, 1745; his account of both being publiſhed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, vol. xliii. No. 477, p. 505. His remarks on ſome bones incruſted with ſtone, which he had ſeen at Rome in the Villa Ludoviſia, furniſhed him with the ſubject of another paper, read before the ſociety on the 12th of December the ſame year, and printed in the ſame volume and number of the Philoſophical Tranſactions, p. 557. The univerſity of Oxford being deſirous of having a gentleman of his eminence in the learned world a member of their body, as he was of the univerſity of Cambridge, conferred on him in July, 1746, the degree of Doctor of Laws; upon receiving which, he returned them a compliment in a Latin ſpeech, admired for its propriety and elegance. He was afterwards admitted to the ſame degree at Cambridge, when his grace the duke of Newcaſtle, their chancellor, made a viſit to it. A paſſage in Pliny's Natural Hiſtory, lib. ii. § 74, as publiſhed by father Hardouin at Paris, in his folio edition of 1723, and a remark by the editor upon it, gave occaſion to ſome obſervations of Mr. Folkes, communicated to the Royal Society Jan. 22, 1746-7, and printed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, vol. xlv. No. 482, p. 365. The deſign was to ſhew how the text of Pliny had been altered by the editor from all the former printed editions; and that it was upon mere conjecture, and againſt the truth of the fact contained in the paſſage in queſtion: for his alteration implies, that the equinoctial ſhadow of the gnomon being made ſhorter at Ancona than at Rome, the latitude of Ancona muſt conſequently be made leſs than that of Rome; whereas it is known to be conſiderably greater, Ancona ſtanding on the Adriatic about two degrees to the north of that capital. Mr. Folkes therefore juſtifies the common reading of this paſſage of Pliny, and gives a clear explanation of the ſenſe of it. The laſt paper communicated by him to the Royal Society, which was on the 8th of March, 1749-50, contains an account of the ſecond ſhock of an earthquake felt that morning at London and in the parts adjacent. It is printed in the Philoſophical Tranſactions, vol. xlvi. No. 497, p 613. Algernon, duke of Somerſet, who had been many years preſident of the Society of Antiquaries of London, dying Feb. 9, 1749-50, Mr. Folkes, who was one of the vice-preſidents, was immediately choſen to ſucceed his grace in that poſt, in which he was continued by the charter of incorporation of that ſociety Nov. 2, 1751. But he was ſoon diſabled from preſiding in perſon either in that or the Royal Society, being ſeized on the 26th of September the ſame year with a palſy, which deprived him of the uſe of his left ſide. In this unhappy ſituation, which occaſioned him on the 30th of November, 1753, to reſign

reſign the preſidentſhip of the Royal Society, he languiſhed near three years, till a ſecond ſtroke of his diſorder, which attacked his right ſide on the 25th of June, 1754, put an end to his life on the 28th of that month at four in the morning. He had two daughters who ſurvived him; his only ſon of his own name having died at Caen in Normandy, in July, 1740. His regard for the Royal Society appeared from the above mentioned benefaction and a legacy left to it in his laſt will, made juſt before his fatal indiſpoſition, of 200l. and an excellent portrait of the lord chancellor Bacon, and a ſeal, with the arms of the ſociety engraved on it, to his ſucceſſors in the preſidentſhip. His library was large and well-choſen; and his cabinet enriched with a collection of Engliſh coins, ſuperior to moſt, whether public or private ones. The manuſcripts of his compoſition, which were not a few, and upon points of great curioſity and importance, not having received from him that perfection which he was capable of giving them, were expreſsly directed by him to be ſuppreſſed, an injunction which the public has great reaſon to regret. His knowledge was very extenſive, his judgement exact and accurate, and the preciſion of his ideas appeared from the perſpicuity and conciſeneſs of his expreſſion in his diſcourſes and writings, on abſtruſe and difficult topics, and eſpecially in his ſpeeches at the anniverſary elections of the Royal Society on the delivery of the prize medals, in which he always traced out the riſe and progreſs of the ſeveral inventions for which they were aſſigned as a reward. He had turned his thoughts to the ſtudy of antiquity and the polite arts with a philoſophical ſpirit, which he had contracted by the cultivation of the mathematical ſciences from his earlieſt youth. Too many of thoſe who have engaged in the former branch of literature, have been too little exerciſed in logic, and contented themſelves with heaping up paſſages from a multitude of authors, without being able to connect them, or to draw the proper concluſions from them. But his greater ſagacity and habit of reaſoning ſeparated or united ſuch paſſages agreeably to their reſpective force, laid upon each its juſt weight, and deduced their true conſequences with the utmoſt exactneſs. Theſe talents appeared eminently upon the ſubjects of coins, weights and meaſures, which had been extremely perplexed by other writers for want of a moderate ſhare of arithmetic; in the proſecution of which he produced many arguments and proofs, which were the reſult of his own experiments and obſervations on common things, not ſufficiently attended to, or ſeen with leſs diſtinguiſhing and penetrating eyes, by others. Mathematics and antiquities were by him, as philoſophy was by Socrates, rendered familiar and intelligible to an ordinary underſtanding. His notions of them were repreſented in the moſt obvious lights, and the knowledge of them by that means rendered eaſy and entertaining. He had a ſtriking reſemblance to Peireſkius, the ornament of the laſt age, and particularly in ſome parts of his character repreſented by the elegant writer of that great man's life. The generoſity of his temper was no leſs remarkable than the civility of his converſation. His love of a ſtudious and contemplative life, amidſt a circle of friends of the ſame diſpoſition, diſinclined him in a very high degree to the buſineſs and hurry of a public one; and his only ambition was to diſtinguiſh himſelf by his zeal and activity for the promotion of ſciences and literature."

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ANECDOTES OF MR. SAMUEL RICHARDSON.

[From the ſame Work.]

"MR. Samuel Richardſon, who was born in 1689, had no acquaintance with the learned languages but what a common ſchool-education afforded; his mind, like that of Shakſpeare, being much more enriched by nature and obſervation. He exerciſed the profeſſion of a printer, with the higheſt reputation, for a long ſeries of years in Saliſbury-court, Fleet-ſtreet. Diſſimilar as their geniuſes may ſeem, when the witty and wicked duke of Wharton (a kind of Lovelace) about the year 1723 fomented the ſpirit of oppoſition in the city, and became a member of the Wax Chandlers company; Mr. Richardſon, though his political principles were very different, was much connected with, and favoured by him, and printed his "True Briton," publiſhed twice a week. Yet he exerciſed his own judgment, in peremptorily refuſing to be concerned in ſuch papers as he apprehended might endanger his own ſafety, and which accordingly did occaſion the impriſonment and proſecution of thoſe who were induced to print and publiſh them. He printed for ſome time a newspaper called "The Daily Journal;" and afterwards "The Daily Gazetteer," which was for the moſt part under the patronage of ſir Robert Walpole; but on that miniſter's withdrawing his ſupport, he declined it about the year 1747, when it fell into other hands. Through the intereſt of his friend Mr. Speaker Onſlow, he printed the firſt edition of the Journals of the Houſe of Commons. He purchaſed a moiety of the patent of law-printer at Midſummer, 1760, and carried on that department of buſineſs in partnerſhip with Miſs Catherine Lintot. By his firſt wife Martha Wilde, daughter of Mr. Allington Wilde, printer, in Clerkenwell, he had five ſons and a daughter, who all died young. His ſecond wife (who ſurvived him many years) was Elizabeth, ſiſter of the late Mr. Leake, bookſeller of Bath. By her he had a ſon and five daughters. The ſon died young; but four of the daughters ſurvived him; viz. Mary, married, in 1757, to Mr. Ditcher, an eminent ſurgeon of Bath; Martha, married, in 1762, to Edward Bridgen, eſq. F. R. and A. SS.; Anne, unmarried; and Sarah, married to Mr. Crowther, ſurgeon, of Boſwell-court, and ſince dead. His country retirement, firſt at North End near Hammerſmith, and afterwards at Parſons Green, was generally filled with his friends of both ſexes. He was regularly there from Saturday to Monday, and frequently at other times, being never ſo happy as when he made others ſo, being himſelf, in his narrower ſphere, the Grandiſon he drew; his heart and hand ever open to diſtreſs. His Pamela, which appears to have been written in three months, firſt introduced him to the literary world; and never was a book of the kind more generally read and admired. It was even recommended not unfrequently from the pulpit, particularly by Dr. Slocock, late of Chriſt Church, Surrey, who had a very high eſteem for it, as well as for its author. But it is much to be regretted that his improved edition, in which much was altered, much omitted,

omitted, and the whole new-modelled, has never yet been given to the public, as the only reaſon which prevented it in his life-time, that there was an edition unſold, muſt long have ceaſed.

" By many family misfortunes, and his own writings, which in a manner realiſed every feigned diſtreſs, his nerves naturally weak, or as Pope expreſſes it, " trembling alive all o'er," were ſo unhinged, that for many years before his death his hand ſhook, he had frequent vertigos, and would ſometimes have fallen, had he not ſupported himſelf by his cane under his coat. His paralytic diſorder affected his nerves to ſuch a degree for a conſiderable time before his death, that he could not lift a glaſs of wine to his mouth without aſſiſtance. This diſorder at length terminating in an apoplexy, deprived the world of this amiable man and truly original genius, on July 4, 1761, at the age of 72. He was buried, by his own direction, with his firſt wife, in the middle aile, near the pulpit of St. Bride's church.

" In a MS. of the late Mr. Whiſton the bookſeller, which fell into the hands of one of my friends, was the following paſſage: " Mr. Samuel Richardſon was a worthy man altogether. Being very liable to paſſion, he directed all his men, it is ſaid by letters; not truſting to reprove by words, which threw him into haſtineſs, and hurt him, who had always a tremor on his nerves." I have heard nearly the ſame account from ſome of his workmen. But this, I believe, was not the reaſon; though the fact was certainly true. It was rather for convenience, to avoid altercation, and going up into the printing-office; and beſides, his principal aſſiſtant Mr. Tewley was remarkably deaf.

" Beſides his three great works, he publiſhed an edition of " Æſop's Fables, with Reflections," and " Letters to and from ſeveral Perſons," and had a ſhare in " The Chriſtian's Magazine, by Dr. James Mauclerc, 1748;" and in the additions to the ſixth edition of De Foe's " Tour through Great Britain." " Six original Letters upon Duelling," were printed after his death, in " The Literary Repoſitory, 1765," p. 227.

" N° 97, vol. ii. of the Ramblers, it is well known, was written by Mr. Richardſon, in the preamble to which Dr. Johnſon ſtyles him " an author from whom the age has received greater favours, who has enlarged the knowledge of human nature, and taught the paſſions to move at the command of virtue." He has been often compared to Rouſſeau; and Rouſſeau was one of his profeſſed admirers. In his letter to D'Alembert, ſpeaking of Engliſh romances, he ſays, " Theſe, like the people, are either ſublime or contemptible. There never has been written in any language a romance equal to, or approaching to Clariſſa." But the eſteem was not reciprocal; Mr. Richardſon being ſo much diſguſted at ſome of the ſcenes and the whole tendency of the new Eloiſa, that he ſecretly criticiſed the work (as he read it) in marginal notes, and thought, with many others, that this writer " taught the paſſions to move at the command of vice." If this ſecret cenſure of Mr. Richardſon's ſhould be thought too ſevere or phlegmatic, let it be conſidered, that admitting the tendency of Rouſſeau's principles to be better in the main than his more rigid readers allow, his ſyſtem is too refined to be carried into execution in any age when the globe is not uniformly peopled with philoſophers.

" Dr.

"Dr. Johnſon, in his Biographical Preface to Rowe's Poems, obſerves, "The character of Lothario ſeems to have been expanded by Richardſon into Lovelace, but he has excelled his original in the moral effect of the fiction. Lothario, with gaiety which cannot be hated, and bravery which cannot be deſpiſed, retains too much of the ſpectator's kindneſs. It was in the power of Richardſon alone to teach us at once eſteem and deteſtation, to make virtuous reſentment overpower all the benevolence which wit, and elegance, and courage, naturally excite; and to loſe at laſt the hero in the villain."

"Mr. Aaron Hill, in a letter to Mr. Mallet, who ſuppoſed there were ſome traces of Hill's hand in Pamela, ſays, "Upon my faith, I had not any (the minuteſt) ſhare in that delightful nurſery of virtue. The ſole and abſolute author is Mr. Richardſon; and ſuch an author too he is, that hardly mortal ever matched him, for his eaſe of natural power. He ſeems to move like a calm ſummer ſea, that ſwelling upward, with unconſcious deepneſs, lifts the heavieſt weights into the ſkies, and ſhews no ſenſe of their incumbency. He would, perhaps, in every thing he ſays or does be more in nature than all men before him, but that he has one fault, to an unnatural exceſs, and that is Modeſty." In a letter to Mr. Richardſon, after endeavouring to divert him from a melancholy train of thought he had fallen into in 1748, from "the death of a relation emphatically near," Mr. Hill proceeds, "Are you to hope no end to this long, long nervous perſecution? But it is the tax you pay your genius! and I rather wonder you have ſpirits to ſupport ſuch mixture of prodigious weights! ſuch an effuſion of the ſoul, with ſuch confinement of the body! than that it has conſtrained your nerves to bear your ſpirits' agitation." Many other of this gentleman's letters are filled with commendations of Mr. Richardſon and his writings; and from one of them I ſhall copy a complimentary epigram by this ingenious printer:

"When noble thoughts with language pure unite,
To give to kindred excellence its right,
Though unencumber'd with the clogs of rhyme,
Where tinkling ſounds, for want of meaning chime,
Which, like the rocks in Shannon's midway courſe,
Divide the ſenſe, and interrupt its force;
Well may we judge ſo ſtrong and clear a rill
Flows higher, from the Muſes ſacred Hill."

"Mrs. Sheridan, on publiſhing the "Memoirs of Miſs Sidney Biddulph," took an opportunity of paying the tribute due to exemplary goodneſs and diſtinguiſhed genius, when found united in one perſon, by inſcribing theſe memoirs to the author of Clariſſa and ſir Charles Grandiſon."

"Dr. Young addreſſed his "Conjectures on Original Compoſition" to Mr. Richardſon; and the former part of "Reſignation" was printing by Mr. Richardſon at the time of his death; in which the poet took occaſion of paying the following affectionate compliment to his memory:

" To touch our paſſions ſecret ſprings
Was his peculiar care;
And deep his happy genius div'd
In boſoms of the fair;
Nature, which favours to the few
All art beyond imparts,
To him preſented, at his birth,
The key of human hearts."

" The following epigram on Clariſſa, by the late David Graham, eſq. fellow of King's College, Cambridge, has all the ſimplicity of the Greek epigrammatiſts:

" This work is Nature's; every tittle in't
She wrote, and gave it Richardſon to print."

Mrs. Montagu's elegant compliment, in lord Lyttelton's, " Dialogues of the Dead," turns nearly on the ſame thought. " It is pity he ſhould print any work but his own," ſays Plutarch to the bookſeller, who had juſt before obſerved that in two characters drawn by a printer, that of Clariſſa diſplays " the dignity of heroiſm tempered by the meekneſs and humility of religion, a perfect unity of mind, and ſanctity of manners;" and that of ſir Charles Grandiſon, " a noble pattern of every private virtue, with ſentiments ſo exalted as to render him equal to every public duty."

" Mrs. Chapone, in her " Ode to Health," has this apoſtrophe:

" Haſt thou not left a Richardſon unbleſt?
He wooes thee ſtill in vain, relentleſs maid;
Tho' ſkill'd in ſweeteſt accents to perſuade,
And wake ſoft pity in a ſavage breaſt:
Him Virtue loves, and brighteſt Fame is his,
Smile thou too, goddeſs, and complete his bliſs!"

" In Dr. Warton's eſſay on Pope's Genius, p. 283, 284, is the following eulogium: " Of all repreſentations of madneſs, that of Clementina in the Hiſtory of ſir Charles Grandiſon is the moſt deeply intereſting. I know not whether even the madneſs of Lear is wrought up, and expreſſed by ſo many little ſtrictures of nature and genuine paſſion. Shall I ſay it is pedantry to prefer and compare the madneſs of Oreſtes in Euripides to this of Clementina?"

" Mr. Richardſon's reputation is far from being confined to his own country. He has been read in many of the languages, and known to moſt of the nations of Europe; and has been greatly admired, notwithſtanding every diſſimilitude of manners, or even diſadvantage of tranſlation. Several writers abroad, where no prepoſſeſſion in his favour could poſſibly take place, have expreſſed the high ſenſe which they entertained of the merit of his works. M. Diderot, in his Eſſay on Dramatic Poetry, p. 96, mentions Richardſon particularly as a perfect maſter of that art: " How ſtrong," ſays he, " how ſenſible, how pathetic, are his deſcriptions! his perſonages, though ſilent, are alive before me; and of thoſe who ſpeak, the actions are ſtill more affecting than the words." A portrait of him, by Grignion, is prefixed to an edition of Grandiſon, 1770."

LIFE OF BISHOP WARBURTON.

[From the ſame Work.]

"THIS learned prelate was born at Newark upon Trent, in the county of Nottingham, Dec. 24, 1698. His father was George Warburton, an attorney, and town-clerk of the place, in which this his eldeſt ſon received his birth and education. His mother was Elizabeth, the daughter of William Hobman, an alderman of the ſame town, and his parents were married about the year 1696. The family of Dr. Warburton came originally from the county of Cheſter, where his great grand-father reſided. His grandfather, William Warburton, was the firſt who ſettled at Newark; where he practiſed the law, and was coroner of the county of Nottingham. George Warburton, the father, died about the year 1706, leaving his widow with four children, two ſons and two daughters, of which the ſecond ſon George died young; but of the daughters one ſtill ſurvives her brother. The biſhop received the early part of his education under Mr. Weſton, then maſter of Okeham ſchool in Rutlandſhire, and afterwards vicar of Campden in Glouceſterſhire; where he ſhewed no indication of ſuperior genius. His original deſignation was to the ſame profeſſion as that of his father and grand-father; and he was accordingly placed clerk to an attorney, with whom he remained until he was qualified to engage in buſineſs upon his own account. He was then admitted to one of the courts at Weſtminſter, and for ſome years continued the employment of an attorney and ſolicitor at the place of his birth. The ſucceſs he met with as a man of buſineſs was probably not great. It was certainly inſufficient to induce him to devote the reſt of his life to it: and it is probable, that his want of encouragement might tempt him to turn his thoughts towards a profeſſion in which his literary acquiſitions would be more valuable, and in which he might more eaſily purſue the bent of his inclination. He appears to have brought from ſchool more learning than was requiſite for a practiſing lawyer. This might rather impede than forward his progreſs, as it has been generally obſerved, that an attention to literary concerns, and the buſtle of an attorney's office, with only a moderate ſhare of buſineſs, are wholly incompatible. It is therefore no wonder that he preferred retirement to noiſe, and relinquiſhed what advantages he might expect from continuing to follow the law. It has been ſuggeſted by an ingenious writer, that he was for ſome time uſher to a ſchool. In the year 1724, his firſt work, conſiſting of tranſlations from Cæſar, Pliny, Claudian, and others, appeared, under the title of "Miſcellaneous Tranſlations in Proſe and Verſe, from Roman poets, Orators, and Hiſtorians," 12mo. It is dedicated to his early patron, ſir Robert Sutton, and ſeems to have laid the foundation of his firſt eccleſiaſtical preferment. At this period it is probable he had not abandoned his profeſſion, though it is certain he did not attend to it much longer. About Chriſtmas, 1726, he came to London, and while there, was introduced to Theobald, Concanen, and

others of Mr. Pope's enemies, with whose converſation he was extremely pleaſed. It was at this time that he wrote a letter to Concanen, dated Jan. 2, 1726, which, by accident, falling into the hands of the late Dr. Akenſide, was produced to moſt of that gentleman's friends, and by that means became the ſubject of much ſpeculation. About this time he alſo communicated to Theobald ſome notes on Shakſpeare, which afterwards appeared in that critic's edition of our great dramatic poet. In 1727, his ſecond work, intituled, "A Critical and Philoſophical Enquiry into the Cauſes of Prodigies and Miracles, as related by Hiſtorians," &c. was publiſhed in 12mo. and was alſo dedicated to ſir Robert Sutton. He was at this time in orders, and on the 25th of April, 1728, had the honour to be in the king's liſt of Maſters of Arts, created at Cambridge, on his majeſty's viſit to that univerſity. In June, the ſame year, he was preſented by ſir Robert Sutton to the rectory of Burnt Broughton, in the county of Lincoln; a living which he retained till his death, at which he ſpent a conſiderable part of his middle-life in a ſtudious retirement, devoted entirely to letters, and there planned, and in part executed, ſome of his moſt important works. Several years elapſed, after obtaining this preferment, before Mr. Warburton appeared again in the world as a writer. In 1736 he exhibited a plan of a new edition of Velleius Paterculus, which he printed in the "Bibliotheque Britannique, ou Hiſtoire des Ouvrages des Savans de la Grande Bretagne, pour les Mois Juillet, Aout, et Sept. 1736. A la Haye.' The deſign never was completed. Dr. Middleton, in a letter to him, dated April 9, 1737, returns him thanks for his letters, as well as the journal, which, ſays he, "came to my hands ſoon after the date of my laſt. I had before ſeen the force of your critical genius very ſucceſsfully employed on Shakſpeare, but did not know you had ever tried it on the Latin authors. I am pleaſed with ſeveral of your emendations, and tranſcribed them into the margin of my editions, though not equally with them all. It is a laudable and liberal amuſement, to try now and then in our reading the ſucceſs of a conjecture; but in the preſent ſtate of the generality of the old writers, it can hardly be thought a ſtudy fit to employ a life upon, at leaſt not worthy, I am ſure, of your talents and induſtry, which, inſtead of trifling on words, ſeem calculated rather to correct the opinions and manners of the world." Theſe ſentiments of his friend appear to have had their due weight; for, from that time, the intended edition was laid aſide, and never afterwards reſumed. It was in this year, 1736, that he may be ſaid to have emerged from the obſcurity of a private life into the notice of the world. The firſt publication which rendered him afterwards famous now appeared, under the title of "The Alliance between Church and State; or, the Neceſſity and Equity of an eſtabliſhed Religion and a Teſt-law, demonſtrated from the Eſſence and End of Civil Society, upon the fundamental Principles of the Law of Nature and Nations." In three parts: the firſt, treating of a civil and religious ſociety; the ſecond, of an eſtabliſhed church; and the third, of a teſt law, 8vo. At the end was announced the ſcheme of "The Divine Legation of Moſes," in which he had at this time made a conſiderable progreſs. The firſt volume of this work was publiſhed in January 1737-8, under the title of "The

Divine

Divine Legation of Moſes demonſtrated on the principles of a religious deiſt, from the omiſſion of the doctrine of a future ſtate of rewards and puniſhments in the Jewiſh diſpenſation. In ſix books. By William Warburton, M. A. Author of the Alliance between Church and State;" and met with a reception which neither the ſubject, nor the manner in which it was treated, ſeemed to authoriſe. It was, as the author afterwards obſerved, fallen upon in ſo outrageous and brutal a manner, as had been ſcarcely pardonable, had it been "the Divine Legation of Mahomet." It produced ſeveral anſwers, and ſo much abuſe from the authors of "The Weekly Miſcellany," that in leſs than two months he was conſtrained to defend himſelf, in "A Vindication of the Author of the Divine Legation of Moſes, from the Aſperſions of the Country Clergyman's Letter in the Weekly Miſcellany of February, 24, 1737-8," 8vo. Mr. Warburton's extraordinary merit had now attracted the notice of the heir-apparent to the crown, in whoſe immediate ſervice we find him, in June 1738, when he publiſhed, "Faith working by Charity to Chriſtian Edification; a ſermon preached at the laſt epiſcopal viſitation for confirmation in the dioceſe of Lincoln; with a preface, ſhewing the reaſons of its publication, and a poſtſcript, occaſioned by ſome letters lately publiſhed in the Weekly Miſcellany. By William Warburton, M. A. chaplain to his royal highneſs the prince of Wales." A ſecond edition of "The Divine Legation" alſo appeared in November, 1738. In March, 1739, the world was in danger of being deprived of this extraordinary genius by an intermitting fever, which with ſome difficulty was relieved by a plentiful uſe of the bark. The "Eſſay on Man" had been now publiſhed ſome years; and it is univerſally ſuppoſed that the author had, in the compoſition of it, adopted the philoſophy of lord Bolingbroke, whom on this occaſion he had followed as his guide, without underſtanding the the tendency of his principles. In 1738, M. de Crouſaz wrote ſome remarks on it, accuſing the author of Spinoſiſm and naturaliſm; which falling into Mr. Warburton's hands, he publiſhed a defence of the firſt epiſtle, and ſoon after of the remaining three, in ſeven letters, of which ſix were printed in 1739, and the ſeventh in June 1740, under the title of "A Vindication of Mr. Pope's Eſſay on Man, by the author of the "Divine Legation." The opinion which Mr. Pope conceived of theſe defences, as well as of their author, will be beſt ſeen in his letters. In conſequence, a firm friendſhip was eſtabliſhed between them, which continued with undiminiſhed fervour until the death of Mr. Pope, who, during the remainder of his life, paid a deference and reſpect to his friend's judgment and abilities, which will be conſidered by many as almoſt bordering on ſervility. In 1741, the ſecond volume of "The Divine Legation," in two parts, containing books IV. V. VI. was publiſhed; as was alſo a ſecond edition of the "Alliance between Church and State." In the ſummer of that year, Mr. Pope and Mr. Warburton, in a country ramble, took Oxford in their way, where they parted; Mr. Pope, after one day's ſtay, going weſtward; and Mr. Warburton, who ſtayed a day after him to viſit Dr. Coneybeare, then dean of Chriſt Church, returning to London. On that day the vice chancellor, Dr. Leigh, ſent a meſſage to his lodgings, with the uſual compliment, to

know if a doctor's degree in divinity would be acceptable to him; to which such an answer was returned as so civil a message deserved. About the same time, Mr. Pope had the like offer made him of a doctor's degree in law, which he seemed disposed to accept, until he learned that some impediment had been thrown in the way of his friend's receiving the compliment intended for him by the Vice-Chancellor. He then absolutely refused that proposed to himself. Both the degrees were therefore laid aside; and the university of Oxford lost some reputation by the conduct of this business, being thus deprived of the honour of two names, which certainly would have reflected credit on the society in which they were to have been enrolled. Mr. Pope's affection for Mr. Warburton was of service to him in more respects than merely increasing his fame. He introduced and warmly recommended him to most of his friends, and amongst the rest to Ralph Allen, esq. of Prior-Park, whose niece he some years afterwards married, and whose great fortune at length came to his only son. In consequence of this introduction, we find Mr. Warburton at Bath in 1742. There he printed a sermon which had been preached at the Abbey-Church, on the 24th of October, for the benefit of Mr. Allen's favourite charity, the General Hospital or Infirmary. To this sermon, which was published at the request of the governors, was added, "A Short Account of the Nature, Rise, and Progress, of the General Infirmary at Bath." In this year also he printed a Dissertation on the Origin of Books of Chivalry, at the end of Jarvis's Preface to a Translation of Don Quixote, which, Mr. Pope tells him, he had not got over two paragraphs of, before he cried out, aut Erasmus, aut diabolus. "I knew you (adds he) as certainly as the ancients did the gods, by the first pace and the very gait. I have not a moment to express myself in, but could not omit this, which delighted me so much." Mr. Pope's attention to his interest did not rest in matters which were in his own power;—he recommended him to some who were more able to assist him: in particular, he obtained a promise from lord Granville, which probably, however, ended in nothing. In 1742, Mr. Warburton published "A Critical and Philosophical Commentary on Mr. Pope's Essay on Man. In which is contained a Vindication of the said Essay from the Misrepresentations of Mr. de Resnel, the French translator, and of Mr. de Crousaz, Professor of Philosophy and Mathematics, in the Academy of Lausanne, the Commentator." It was at this period, when Mr. Warburton had the entire confidence of Mr. Pope, that he advised him to complete the Dunciad, by changing the hero, and adding to it a fourth book. This was accordingly executed in 1742, and published early in 1743, 4to. with notes by our author, who, in consequence of it, received his share of the satire which Mr. Cibber liberally bestowed on both Mr. Pope and his annotator. In the latter end of the same year, he published complete editions of "The Essay on Man," and "The Essay on Criticism;" and, from the specimen which he there exhibited of his abilities, it may be presumed, Mr. Pope determined to commit the publication of those works, which he should leave, to Mr. Warburton's care. At Mr. Pope's desire, he about this time revised and corrected the "Essay on Homer," as it now stands in the last edition of that translation.

The

The publication of "The Dunciad" was the laſt ſervice which our author rendered Mr. Pope in his lifetime. After a lingering and tedious illneſs, the event of which had been long foreſeen, this great poet died on the 30th of May, 1744; and by his will, dated the 12th of the preceding December, bequeathed to Mr. Warburton one half of his library, and the property of all ſuch of his works already printed as he had not otherwiſe diſpoſed of or alienated, and all the profits which ſhould ariſe from any edition to be printed after his death; but at the ſame time directed, that they ſhould be publiſhed without any future alterations. In 1744, his aſſiſtance to Dr. Z. Grey was handſomely acknowledged in the Preface to Hudibras. "The Divine Legation of Moſes" had now been publiſhed ſome time, and various anſwers and objections to it had ſtarted up from different quarters. In this year, 1744, Mr. Warburton turned his attention to theſe attacks on his favourite work; and defended himſelf in a manner which, if it did not prove him to be poſſeſſed of much humility or diffidence, at leaſt demonſtrated, that he knew how to wield the weapons of controverſy with the hand of a maſter. His firſt defence now appeared under the title of "Remarks on ſeveral Occaſional Reflections; in Anſwer to the Rev. Dr. Middleton, Dr. Pococke, the Maſter of the Charter-Houſe, Dr. Richard Grey, and others; ſerving to explain and juſtify divers Paſſages in The Divine Legation, objected to by thoſe learned Writers. To which is added, A General Review of the Argument of the Divine Legation, as far as it is yet advanced: wherein is conſidered the Relation the ſeveral Parts bear to each other, and the Whole. Together with an Appendix, in Anſwer to a late Pamphlet, intituled, An Examination of Mr. W——'s Second Propoſition," 8vo. And this was followed next year by "Remarks on ſeveral Occaſional Reflections; in Anſwer to the Rev. Doctors Stebbing and Sykes; ſerving to explain and juſtify the Two Diſſertations in The Divine Legation, concerning the command to Abraham to offer up his ſon, and the Nature of the Jewiſh Theocracy, objected to by thoſe learned writers. Part II. and laſt;" 8vo. Both theſe anſwers are couched in thoſe high terms of confident ſuperiority, which marked almoſt every performance that fell from his pen during the remainder of his life. On the 5th of September, 1745, the friendſhip between him and Mr. Allen was more cloſely cemented by his marriage with Miſs Tucker, who ſurvived him, and is now (1781) the wife of the Rev. Mr. Smith. At this juncture the kingdom was under a great alarm, occaſioned by the rebellion breaking out in Scotland. Thoſe who wiſhed well to the then eſtabliſhed government found it neceſſary to exert every effort which could be uſed againſt the invading enemy. The clergy were not wanting on their part; and no one did more ſervice than Mr. Warburton, who printed three very excellent and ſeaſonable ſermons, at this important criſis. I. "A faithful Portrait of Popery, by which it is ſeen to be the reverſe of Chriſtianity, as it is the Deſtruction of Morality, Piety, and Civil Liberty. A Sermon preached at St. James's Church, Weſtminſter, Oct. 1745." 8vo. II. "A Sermon occaſioned by the preſent unnatural Rebellion, &c. preached in Mr. Allen's Chapel, at Prior-Park, near Bath, Nov. 1745, and publiſhed at his Requeſt." 8vo.

III.

III. "The Nature of National Offences truly ſtated. A Sermon preached on the General Faſt-Day, Dec. 18, 1745." 8vo. 1746. On account of the laſt of theſe ſermons, he was again involved in a controverſy with his former antagoniſt, Dr. Stebbing; which occaſioned "An Apologetical Dedication to the Rev. Dr. Henry Stebbing, in Anſwer to his Cenſure and Miſrepreſentations of the Sermon preached on the General Faſt-Day to be obſerved Dec. 18, 1745." 8vo. 1746. Notwithſtanding his great connections, his acknowledged abilities, and his eſtabliſhed reputation; a reputation founded on the durable baſis of learning, and upheld by the decent and attentive performance of every duty incident to his ſtation; yet we do not find that he received any addition to the preferment given him in 1728 by ſir Robert Sutton (except the chaplainſhip to the Prince of Wales), until April 1746, when he was unanimouſly called by the Society of Lincoln's-Inn to be their preacher. In November he publiſhed "A Sermon preached on the Thankſgiving appointed to be obſerved the 9th of Oct. for the Suppreſſion of the late unnatural Rebellion." 8vo. 1746. In 1747, appeared his edition of Shakſpeare, and his Preface to Clariſſa; and in the ſame year he publiſhed, I. "A Letter from an Author to a Member of Parliament, concerning Literary Property." 8vo. II. "Preface to Mrs. Cockburn's Remarks upon the Principles and Reaſonings of Dr. Rutherforth's Eſſay on the Nature and Obligations of Virtue," &c. 8vo. III. "Preface to a Critical Enquiry into the Opinions and Practice of the Ancient Philoſophers, concerning the Nature of a Future State, and their Method of teaching by double Doctrine," [by Mr. Towne] 8vo. 1747, 2d edition. In 1748, a third edition of "The Alliance between Church and State: corrected and enlarged." In 1749, a very extraordinary attack was made on the moral character of Mr. Pope, from a quarter where it could be the leaſt expected. His "Guide, Philoſopher, and Friend," Lord Bolingbroke, publiſhed a book which he had formerly lent Mr. Pope in MS. The preface to this work, written by Mr. Mallet, contained an accuſation of Mr. Pope's having clandeſtinely printed an edition of his lordſhip's performance without his leave or knowledge. A defence of the poet ſoon after made its appearance, which was univerſally aſcribed to Mr. Warburton, and was afterwards owned by him. It was called, "A Letter to the Editor of the Letters on the Spirit of Patriotiſm, the Idea of a Patriot King, and the State of Parties, &c. occaſioned by the Editor's Advertiſement," &c. which ſoon afterwards produced an abuſive pamphlet, under the title of "A Familiar Epiſtle to the moſt impudent Man living," 8vo. a performance as hath been truly obſerved, couched in language bad enough to diſgrace even gaols and garrets. About this time the publication of Dr. Middleton's Enquiry concerning the Miraculous Powers gave riſe to a controverſy, which was managed with great warmth and aſperity on both ſides, and not much to the credit of either party. On this occaſion Mr. Warburton publiſhed an excellent performance, written with a degree of candour and temper, which, it is to be lamented, he did not always exerciſe. The title of it was, "Julian; or, A Diſcourſe concerning the Earthquake and Fiery Eruption which defeated that Emperor's attempt to rebuild the Temple at Jeruſalem," 8vo.

8vo. 1750. A second edition of this Discourse, "with additions," appeared 1751; in which year he gave the public his edition of Mr. Pope's Works, with notes, in nine volumes, 8vo. and in the same year printed "An Answer to a Letter to Dr. Middleton, inserted in a pamphlet intitled, The Argument of the Divine Legation fairly stated," &c. 8vo. and "An Account of the Prophecies of Arise Evans, the Welch Prophet, in the last century, the latter of which pieces afterwards subjected him to much ridicule. In 1753, Mr. Warburton published the first volume of a Course of Sermons preached at Lincoln's-Inn, intitled, "The Principles of Natural and Revealed Religion occasionally opened and explained;" and this, in the subsequent year, was followed by a second. After the public had been some time promised, it may, from the alarm which was taken, be almost said threatened with, the appearance of lord Bolingbroke's works, they were about this time printed. The known abilities and infidelity of this nobleman had created apprehensions, in the minds of many people, of the pernicious effects of his doctrines: and nothing but the appearance of his whole force could have convinced his friends, how little there was to be dreaded from arguments against religion so weakly supported. The personal enmity which had been excited many years before between the peer and our author, had occasioned the former to direct much of his reasoning against two works of the latter. Many answers were soon published, but none with more acuteness, solidity, and sprightliness, than "A View of Lord Bolingbroke's Philosophy, in two Letters to a Friend, 1754." The Third and Fourth Letters were published in 1753, with another edition of the two former; and in the same year a smaller edition of the whole; which, though it came into the world without a name, was universally ascribed to Mr. Warburton, and afterwards publicly owned by him. To some copies of this is prefixed an excellent complimentary epistle from the president Montesquieu, dated May 26, 1754. At this advanced period of his life, that preferment which his abilities might have claimed, and which had hitherto been withheld, seemed to be approaching towards him. In September, 1754, he was appointed one of his majesty's chaplains in ordinary, and in the next year was presented to a prebend in the cathedral of Durham, on the death of Dr. Mangey. About the same time the degree of Doctor of Divinity was conferred on him by Dr. Herring, then archbishop of Canterbury; and a new impression of "The Divine Legation" having been called for, he printed a fourth edition of the first part of it, corrected and enlarged, divided into two volumes, with a dedication to the earl of Hardwicke. The same year appeared "A Sermon preached before his grace Charles, duke of Marlborough, President, and the Governors of the Hospital for the Small-pox and for Inoculation, at the Parish Church of St. Andrew, Holborn, on Thursday, April the 24th, 1755," 4to. And in 1756, "Natural and Civil Events the Instruments of God's Moral Government, A Sermon preached on the last public Fast-Day, at Lincoln's-Inn Chapel," 4to. In 1757, a pamphlet was published called "Remarks on Mr. David Hume's Essay on the Natural History of Religion;" which is said to have been composed of marginal observations made by Dr. Warburton, on reading Mr. Hume's book; and which

which gave ſo much offence to the author animadverted upon, that he thought it of importance enough to deſerve particular mention in the ſhort account of his life. On the 11th of October, in this year, our author was advanced to the deanry of Briſtol; and in 1758 republiſhed the ſecond part of "The Divine Legation," divided into two parts, with a dedication to the preſent earl of Mansfield, which deſerves to be read by every perſon who eſteems the well-being of ſociety as a concern of any importance. In one of theſe volumes Dr. Taylor is treated with much ſeverity, in conſequence of a private pique. At the latter end of the next year, Dr. Warburton received the honour, ſo juſtly due to his merit, of being (on the 22d of December) dignified with the mitre, and promoted to the vacant ſee of Glouceſter. He was conſecrated on the 20th of January, 1760; and on the 30th of the ſame month preached before the houſe of lords. In the next year he printed "A Rational Account of the Nature and End of the Sacrament of the Lord's Supper," 12mo. In 1762, he publiſhed "The Doctrine of Grace: or, the Office and Operations of the Holy Spirit vindicated from the Inſults of Infidelity and the Abuſes of Fanaticiſm," 2 volumes, 12mo; and in the ſucceeding year drew upon himſelf much illiberal abuſe from ſome writers of the popular party, on occaſion of his complaint in the houſe of lords, on the 15th of November, 1763, againſt Mr. Wilkes, for putting his name to certain notes on the infamous "Eſſay of Woman." In 1765, another edition of the ſecond part of "The Divine Legation" was publiſhed as volumes III. IV. and V.; the two parts printed in 1755 being conſidered as volumes I. and II. It was this edition which produced the well-known controverſy between him and Dr. Lowth. On this occaſion was publiſhed, "The Second Part of an Epiſtolary Correſpondence between the Biſhop of Glouceſter and the late Profeſſor of Oxford, without an Imprimatur, i. e. without a cover to the violated laws of honour and ſociety, 1766," 8vo. In 1776, he gave a new edition of "The Alliance between Church and State," and a "Sermon preached before the incorporated Society for the Propagation of the Goſpel in Foreign Parts; at the Anniverſary Meeting in the Pariſh Church of St. Mary-le-Bow, on Friday, Feb. 21," 8vo. The next year produced a third volume of his ſermons, dedicated to lady Mansfield; and with this, and a ſingle "Sermon preached at St. Laurence Jewry, on Thurſday, April 30, 1767, before his Royal Highneſs Edward Duke of York, Preſident, and the Governors of the London Hoſpital, &c. 4to." he cloſed his literary labours. His faculties continued unimpaired for ſome time after this period; and in 1769, he gave conſiderable aſſiſtance to Mr. Ruffhead, in his life of Mr. Pope. He alſo transferred 500l. to lord Mansfield, judge Wilmot, and Mr. Charles Yorke, upon truſt, to found a lecture in the form of a courſe of ſermons; to prove the truth of revealed religion in general, and of the Chriſtian in particular, from the completion of the prophecies in the Old and New Teſtament, which relate to the Chriſtian church, eſpecially to the apoſtacy of papal Rome. To this foundation we owe the admirable Introductory Lectures of biſhop Hurd; and the well-adapted continuation of biſhop Halifax and biſhop Bagot. It is a melancholy reflection, that a life ſpent in the conſtant

ſtant purſuit of knowledge, frequently terminates in the loſs of thoſe powers, the cultivation and improvement of which are attended to with too ſtrict and unabated a degree of ardour. This was in ſome degree the misfortune of Dr. Warburton. Like Swift and the great duke of Marlborough, he gradually ſunk into a ſituation in which it was a fatigue to him to enter into general converſation. There were, however, a few old and valuable friends, in whoſe company, even to the laſt, his mental faculties were exerted in their wonted force; and at ſuch times he would appear chearful for ſeveral hours, and on the departure of his friends, retreat as it were within himſelf. This melancholy habit was aggravated by the loſs of his only ſon, a very promiſing young gentleman, who died of a conſumption but a ſhort time before the biſhop himſelf reſigned to fate, in the 81ſt year of his age. A neat marble monument has been lately erected in the cathedral of Glouceſter, with this inſcription:

"To the Memory of
WILLIAM WARBURTON, D. D.
For more than xix. Years Biſhop of this See.
A Prelate
Of the moſt ſublime Genius, and exquiſite
Learning.
Both which Talents
He employed through a long Life,
In the Support
Of what he firmly believed,
The CHRISTIAN RELIGION;
And
Of what he eſteemed the beſt Eſtabliſhment of it,
The CHURCH of ENGLAND.
He was born at Newark upon Trent,
Dec. 24, 1698.
Was conſecrated BISHOP of Glouceſter,
Jan. 20, 1760.
Died at his Palace, in this City,
June 7, 1779,
And was buried near this place."

Beneath the entablature is his head in a medallion.

ANECDOTES of WILLIAM PULTENEY, afterwards EARL of BATH, containing the Secret History of the Change of Administration, in 1741.

[From Bishop NEWTON's Account of his own Life, with Anecdotes of several of his Friends.]

"AT the beginning of the new parlament in 1741, when it appeared by the choice of a chairman for the committee of elections, and by the Westminster election and some other points carried against the court, that Sir Robert Walpole could no longer maintain his power in the house of commons, the duke of Newcastle requested of Mr. Pulteney to give him and the lord chancellor Hardwicke the meeting privately one evening at Mr. Stone's house at Whitehall. Though he had all due respect for those two great persons, yet he prudently declined to give them a private meeting, as in that critical situation of affairs it might give advantage to his enemies, and occasion jealousy in his friends: but he was willing to receive them publicly at his own house, and only desired that as they were two, one other might be joined with him, naming lord Carteret, to which they readily consented. Accordingly they met at Mr. Pulteney's house that evening; and his grace began by saying that they came deputed from his majesty; that his majesty was sensible Sir Robert Walpole could not any longer carry on the business of the house, and therefore his majesty was willing to throw all his affairs into Mr. Pulteney's hands; but upon this express condition, that Sir Robert Walpole should not be prosecuted; for the king could not, consistently with his honor, give him up to the people. Mr. Pulteney replied, that if *that* condition was to be made the foundation of the treaty, the treaty must be at an end before it had begun; for that was a condition that he never would comply with: but even supposing it was his inclination, yet it might never be in his power to fulfil such an engagement; for the heads of parties were somewhat like the heads of snakes, which were urged on by the tail. He therefore neither could, nor ever would accept of such a condition. For his part he would be no *screen*; but if his majesty pleased to have any farther treaty or discourse with him, he was very ready to pay his duty at St. James's, though he had not been there for so many years; but he would not come privately, but publicly and openly at noon-day, to prevent all jealousy and suspicion. And so they broke up, and the meeting ended without effect. Before they parted, some Champagne was called for, and the duke of Newcastle drank "Here's to a happier meeting." Mr. Pulteney immediately replied out of Shakespear's Julius Cæsar,

If we do meet again, why, we shall smile;
If not, why, then this parting was well made.

"A day or two passed, and nothing farther was transacted; but then another meeting was desired at the same place, of the same company, and they met accordingly. The noble duke said that he was now commissioned by his majesty to give up every thing into the honourable gentleman's hands, and without the condition that was mentioned before; but

but only his majeſty begged and entreated of him, if any proſecution ſhould be commenced againſt Sir Robert Walpole, though he might not chooſe to oppoſe it, yet that he would not inflame it: the thing was not inſiſted upon, but was left to his generoſity and good nature. He made anſwer, that he was by no means *a man of blood*; what might be done, or might be proper to be done, he could not undertake to ſay; he muſt take the opinion and advice of his friends; but he thought that ſome parlamentary cenſure at leaſt ought to be inflicted for ſo many years of mal-adminiſtration. The noble duke ſaid farther, by authority from his majeſty, that he hoped the honorable gentleman would not be for diſtreſſing the government, or making too many alterations now in the midſt of a ſeſſion of parlament, but that he and his friends would be content, for the preſent, with the removal of Sir Robert Walpole and a few others. The honourable gentleman was ſo far from ever intending to diſtreſs his majeſty's government, that he had always the moſt dutiful thoughts and affections towards him; and he was ſenſible enough that to make all the changes now in the midſt of the ſeſſion would put too great a ſtop to the public buſineſs, and throw every thing into confuſion. For upon new changes, there muſt of courſe be new writs and new elections: and if the parlament ſhould be adjourned till all the members could be re-choſen, the buſineſs of the nation could not go on, nor the neceſſary ſupplies be raiſed in due time; and if the parlament ſhould not be adjourned, then thoſe who ſhould be *turned out*, would, during the vacancies, be too ſtrong for thoſe who ſhould *come in*, and might undo all that was doing, and ſet every thing aflote again, ſo that there would be little leſs than a civil war in the parlament and in the nation. His moderation, therefore, was as great and conſpicuous as his prudence. He did not inſiſt upon a total change of every perſon belonging to the court: he acknowledged that he had no particular objection (for inſtance) to the noble duke or the lord chancellor: but he ſaid there muſt be an alteration of men as well as of meaſures; and for the preſent, he inſiſted only upon the main forts of government being delivered into their hands as their ſecurity for the reſt; that is, upon a majority in the cabinet council, upon a ſecretary of ſtate for Scotland, upon a board of treaſury and of admiralty, and upon turning out ſome other perſons who were moſt obnoxious. Some of theſe points were controverted; but Mr. Pulteney inſiſting abſolutely upon them, they were at laſt yielded to him. It was not without ſome reluctance that his grace aſſented; and he ſaid that he ſuppoſed the honorable gentleman would chooſe to be himſelf at the head of the treaſury; it was his majeſty's earneſt and repeated deſire that he would be ſo. No, ſaid the honorable gentleman; as the diſpoſition of places is put into my hands, I will accept of none myſelf; I have often declared againſt accepting any place, and will be conſtant to myſelf; and named lord Carteret for to be at the head of the treaſury, who bowed, and was very thankful to him for the honor he had done him, and readily accepted it. He named, likewiſe, Mr. Sandys to be chancellor of the exchequer, under the lord Carteret, and Sir John Ruſhout, and Mr. Gybbon, and Mr. Waller for the other commiſſioners. A new board of admiralty was alſo named, and Sir John Hind Cotton was one of them.

them. The marquis of Tweedale was likewiſe appointed ſecretary of ſtate for Scotland. Theſe and ſome other matters were agreed and adjuſted at this meeting; and before they parted, the honorable gentleman declared, that he was under ſuch engagements with the duke of Argyle, that he muſt acquaint him with all that had paſſed, and neither ſhould he oblige him to ſecrecy, but leave him at liberty to tell lord Cheſterfield, or lord Cobham, or any of his friends, as he ſaw proper or not. The duke of Newcaſtle, with ſome unwillingneſs, conſented to it; and ſo this meeting ended with better effect than the former.

" But during this time lord Cobham and ſeveral others were forming a party among themſelves. For they were offended at lord Carteret's being called to theſe meetings, whom they by no means loved or eſteemed: they reſented and took it ill that he ſhould be ſo much more conſidered and truſted than any of them. And this *unſeaſonable*, and I may ſay, *unreaſonable* jealouſy, aroſe to ſuch a heighth, that when Mr. Pulteney came to talk with his friends, and particularly to Mr. Waller of what he deſigned for him, Mr. Waller heſitated whether he ſhould accept it, and was doubtful and ſcrupulous of coming in, unleſs the party were to come in one and all together. Mr. Pulteney demonſtrated the impracticability of ſuch a ſcheme at preſent; ſhowed him that they ſhould have power enough in their hands to ſecure all the reſt in future; conjured him not to begin a ſchiſm and diviſion among themſelves; entreated him not to give their enemies ſuch an advantage over them: for though they were too ſtrong for the court party now they were united, yet the court party would be too ſtrong for them if they ſhould be divided. Sir John Hind Cotton likewiſe raiſed ſome difficulties, which there is no need particularly to mention. And thus diviſions were growing up apace among thoſe, whoſe greateſt ſtrength conſiſted in their union.

" The ſame party likewiſe got about the prince, and infuſed their notions into him, inſomuch that his royal highneſs deſired Mr. Pulteney to meet ſeveral lords in order to conſider and diſcourſe upon the matter in his preſence. There were to be the duke of Argyle, the earl of Cheſterfield, lord Cobham, lord Gower, lord Bathurſt, and ſome others. It was unequal for one alone to engage ſo many great men; but however, he was ſecure of the goodneſs of his cauſe, and only deſired that the earl of Scarborough might alſo be preſent. They made their objections ſeverally, and he anſwered one and anſwered another. The main of what they urged was, that there ought to be a total change of adminiſtration, that the alterations intended were not ſufficient, that too many of Sir Robert Walpole's friends would be left about the king, and things would ſtill continue under his influence; he would direct and manage all behind the curtain. The honorable gentleman argued, that he could ſee no reaſon for theſe fears and apprehenſions. He could not anſwer indeed but Sir Robert Walpole might continue a greater perſonal favorite with the king than any of them, or than all of them together: but it could not be in Sir Robert Walpole's power to hurt them, if they kept united among themſelves; nothing could hurt them but their own diviſions. They had nothing elſe to fear; for they ſhould have the ſtaff in their own hands, and by the changes which were now to be made, they ſhould have power enough to make any other changes

which

which they might think proper at the end of the ſeſſion. For he had ſtipulated for his grace, and lord Cobham, and lord Gower, the marquis of Tweedale, earl of Winchelſea, lord Carteret, and himſelf, to be of the cabinet council (lord Cheſterfield was omitted for particular reaſons) and they ſeven would make ſo very great a majority, that they ſhould have the direction of every thing there. And then too they ſhould have all the power of the treaſury in their hands, they ſhould have all the power of the admiralty, and ſeveral other conſiderable places. What had they then to fear? If they were to make a thorough change at this time there would be nothing but diſorder and confuſion: but by theſe pledges in their hands at preſent, they ſhould have ſecurity enough for the future: all the reſt would follow of courſe, and they might command them whenever they pleaſed. In ſhort, his royal highneſs declared himſelf ſatisfied with theſe reaſons, and it was unanimouſly agreed that they ſhould all go to court.

"We have leſs occaſion to be particular in relating what paſſed at the Fountain tavern, as it was more public, and is more generally known, how there was a meeting there of lords and commons: how much the ſame objections were made, and much the ſame anſwers returned: how ſome indecent reflections were caſt upon the honorable gentleman, and particularly by the duke of Argyle, who ſaid that a grain of honeſty was worth a cart-load of gold: how the honorable gentleman thought it very hard (as he might well think it very hard) for ſuch reflections to be caſt upon him, who had done every thing for them, and nothing for himſelf: how he thought it ſtill harder for ſuch reflections to proceed from *one*, who had enjoyed ſo many lucrative poſts under Sir Robert Walpole's adminiſtration, who had concurred in all his meaſures for ſo many years together, and conſequently had leſs merit in the oppoſition, having joined in it ſo very lately, after almoſt all the heat and burden of the day: how he aſſured them however of his zeal for the common cauſe, and begged of them to beware of jealouſies as the only thing that could ruin them: how he preſſed unanimity at home, and the ſupport of the war abroad: how he inſiſted that all things would be ſettled to their ſatisfaction, if they did not prevent it by their diviſions: and how the greateſt part were ſatisfied, or ſeemed at leaſt to be ſatisfied, with his arguments and declarations.

"Here were fine advantages given to the adverſe party; and no wonder that at court they remembered the old maxim divide et impera, and reſolved to make uſe of it. For ſeeing and hearing of theſe things, they began now to recover their ſpirits, ſneered at the honorable gentleman, and ſaid ſcoffingly and inſultingly enough, that he could not ſo much as command his own party, that he could not be ſure of his own friends, that his friends were falling off from him, and the like. It was intimated now, that his majeſty did not approve of lord Carteret for the firſt commiſſioner of the treaſury, but was content that he ſhould be ſecretary of ſtate. His majeſty would very willingly have placed the honorable gentleman himſelf at the head of the treaſury; but ſince he had declined it, his majeſty was deſirous that lord Wilmington might ſucceed to it; his majeſty had engaged his royal word to him that he ſhould ſucceed; he was his old and faithful ſervant, and the honorable

gentleman and his friends could have no objection to him. His majeſty alſo himſelf requeſted of Mr. Pulteney to prevail with his friend lord Carteret to deſiſt from his purpoſe, which requeſt he the rather complied with, as he was ſatisfied that lord Wilmington neither could nor would obſtruct their meaſures in the treaſury, and as he knew very well that his friend lord Carteret would excel ſo much more in one capacity than in the other, being more converſant in foreign affairs than in matters relating to the finances. A little afterwards ſome objections were made to the honorable gentleman's liſt of the lords of the admiralty: his majeſty could by no means agree to make them all; and it was inſiſted that ſome of the king's friends (as they were called) ſhould be of the number. A demurrer was likewiſe made to ſome other alterations, which had been ſtipulated and agreed. And thus was the court beginning to reap conſiderable advantages from the diviſions of the country party.

"However the duke of Argyle was reſtored to his places, lord Cobham was reſtored to a regiment, and ſeveral other alterations were made which need not be here enumerated. But at the ſame time the honorable gentleman was ſenſible of the noble duke's warmth of temper, and was afraid that ſome perſons might take advantage of it, and inflame him and hurry him beyond the bounds of moderation. He was likewiſe apprehenſive, that the noble duke might not be looked upon at court with ſo gracious an eye as he might expect; and though he was reſtored to all his places, yet he might not find himſelf reſtored to favor. He conjured him therefore to take no notice of it, as his grace knew the temper there well enough; in a little time he might be received more graciouſly; and he inſiſted upon his grace's word and honor, that he would not reſign his places without firſt acquainting him. His grace promiſed accordingly upon his word and honor. But Mr. Pulteney, tired and almoſt wearied out, went only for a day or two into the country for a little freſh air; and when he came to town again, the firſt thing he heard was, that the duke of Argyle had been at court that morning, and had reſigned all his places. He was heartily vexed, as a more fatal ſtep could not have been taken to undo all that he was doing; and while he was laboring all he could to reconcile the king to the country party, this he was certain would provoke and exaſperate him more againſt it.

"And then, during that unhappy period, when he was confined by the ſickneſs and death of his dearly beloved and only daughter, the oppoſition had a mind to ſhow that they could ſtill be a formidable oppoſition, and carry things without him; and therefore they determined to move for a ſecret committee to be appointed for inquiring into lord Orford's adminiſtration. Here we are ſorry to ſay, that the lords Winchelſea and Carteret did not act the fair and candid part in making uſe of his name without his authority, by intimating to his friends that it would be agreeable to him, if they would not attend any ſuch motion. Accordingly the motion was made, while he was confined at home, and while Mr. Sandys was gone down to Worceſter to be re-elected; and as it is very well known, was loſt by a conſiderable majority againſt it. But as ſoon as ever he could with decency appear again in public, to clear himſelf from all imputations of being the ſcreen that he was unjuſtly ſuppoſed

posed to be; he made the motion himself for a secret committee to examine into lord Orford's conduct for ten years last past, and he carried it: but at the same time desired to be excused from being one of the committee, on account of some expressions which he had thrown out in the heat of opposition. No man was more desirous than he, that the nation should have justice; but then he would not have that justice sullied by any thing that might look like personal pique and private revenge. If this inquiry terminated in nothing more effectual than it did, the defect must be attributed partly to the cold water which had already been thrown upon it, and partly to the want of a bill to indemnify those persons who should confess any corrupt practices, which bill was chiefly by his means carried through the house of commons, but was thrown out of the house of lords; and yet from the report of the secret committee enough appeared to show that something worse lay at the bottom.

"But still jealousies and divisions prevailed more and more in the country party, and the court party not only recovered courage, but regained strength. And the honorable gentleman between both, as it were between two fires, was really in a very unhappy situation; for as on the one side the country suspected him and were falling off from him, because the court did not fulfil their engagements to him; so on the other side the court did not fulfil their engagements to him, because they saw the country were falling off from him. The broad-bottom (as it was called) were now become the subject of derision, and his majesty would suffer no more of them to be placed about him. The tories were treated as little better than Jacobites, and as altogether unfit for his majesty's service. Insomuch that the honorable gentleman at several audiences, and upon several occasions, pressed and urged again and again, that the tories were by no means Jacobites, but to use them as Jacobites was the ready way to make them so; that two thirds of the nation were tories, and several of them were men of great estates and fortunes; and why would his majesty make himself only the head of a party, when he might be king of the whole nation? He was himself a whig, and his most intimate friends and companions were whigs; and he would have the main body of the tree in his majesty's government to consist of whigs, but then he wished to have some tories inoculated and ingrafted upon it. The tories were not many of them masters of numbers or of languages, and consequently could not, and did not expect the first posts in the government: but his majesty by giving a few places at court to some of the most considerable, and by making others lord lieutenants of counties, and by some other marks of his royal favor taking off the heads and leaders of them, might draw the teeth of all the rest, and they could never more unite in opposition to his government. His majesty by these means might abolish all distinction of parties, and would enjoy a peaceable and glorious reign ever after.

"These things the honorable gentleman inlarged and insisted upon at several audiences; and he was determined not to go up into the house of lords, till he could prevail at least in some instances. That there were not more such instances the opposition must thank themselves; for indeed they had used him most hardly, had not only teased and worried him with their private

jealouſies and ſuſpicions, but had ſlandered and reviled him in the moſt public and outrageous manner. It is no wonder therefore, after ſo many provocations, if he grew more indifferent to the party in general, and labored principally to ſerve ſome particular men, for whom he had more perſonal regard, and who had more perſonal regard for him. Lord Gower and lord Bathurſt he conſidered as men of very great figure and intereſt in their reſpective countries; but it was with the utmoſt difficulty that he could carry his point for them and a few others of his friends. Lord Hervey ſtuck like a burr, and there was no bruſhing him off. Lord Hervey in his younger days had a very ſcanty allowance from his father, but being a youth of promiſing parts, he was in good meaſure ſupported by Mr. Pulteney, was long entertained in his houſe, and cheriſhed in his boſom, till like a ſerpent he ſtung him, wrote againſt him, and challenged and fought with him, but was vanquiſhed at both weapons, the pen as well as the ſword, by the one made the general object of ridicule, by the other wounded and diſabled in the ſword arm. He was ſuch a wicked engine at court, that it was an arduous taſk to get him removed, and other changes made in favour of lord Gower and lord Bathurſt. The honorable gentleman was forced to ſtruggle hard, and to gain ground as we may ſay by inches. He was determined however not to accept of a peerage, till he had ſucceeded in theſe inſtances at leaſt; and they all kiſſed hands together.

"His heart was alſo ſet upon promoting and carrying, as far as lay in his power, thoſe popular laws, for which he contended when he was at the head of the oppoſition, and which the nation in a manner demanded and expected. One of theſe popular laws was the place bill, by which were excluded from the houſe of commons the ſeven commiſſioners of the revenue in Ireland, the ſeven commiſſioners of the navy and victualling offices, the clerks of the treaſury, exchequer, admiralty, &c. &c. in all above two hundred officers and placemen of different kinds. If more had been attempted, the whole would have miſcarried: but this was more than the people had ever gained before at any one time, or by any one law of the ſame nature. Another of his popular laws was levelled againſt bribery in elections, and ſubjects every offender in this kind to a penalty of 500l. and this law he himſelf enforced in the firſt inſtance, by a proſecution for bribery at the Heydon election, and there have been other inſtances ſince of the like exemplary puniſhment. Amongſt other popular laws one was much inſiſted upon for the better regulation of elections, as ſeveral notorious abuſes had been committed by returning officers and others at the late general elections. A bill for this purpoſe was brought into the houſe of commons, and he ſupported it with all his eloquence; but it was found to be of too complicated a nature, and the rights of election were ſo various, that they could not all be compriſed and adjuſted in one bill, and therefore it was laid aſide for that time. The next ſeſſion it was thought proper to be divided into three bills, one for Scotland, another for the cities and boroughs in England, and a third for the counties. That for Scotland was paſſed into a law. The other for the cities and boroughs in England paſſed the houſe of Commons, but was thrown out by the houſe of lords. He ſupported it in the houſe of lords, as

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he had done before in the houſe of commons; but he could not command a majority, and he complained upon this, as he had done upon other occaſions, that the government would not do popular things, and then wondered that they were unpopular. No man was ever a truer friend to the Britiſh conſtitution, or wiſhed more ardently than he, that thoſe deficiencies, which were left in it at the Revolution, were ſupplied, and that it was carried to the utmoſt perfection, which any human ſyſtem is capable of receiving. And it was extremely unjuſt, that he ſhould be cenſured by one ſide as if he had power to do every thing, and at the ſame time not be ſuffered by the other to do even thoſe popular things which had been particularly ſtipulated and agreed between them. If he had bargained for himſelf, it would have been another thing; but his bargains were all for the public, for the honor of the king, and for the benefit of the kingdom. He took nothing for himſelf, but what was preſſed upon him again and again, and he certainly obliged them much more by accepting it, than they intended to oblige him by giving it.

"A peerage, though no doubt very deſirable in itſelf for any man of family and fortune, yet could be no particular bribe or temptation to him; for it is what he might have had almoſt at any time, was offered to him at ſeveral times, and particularly by queen Caroline. Her majeſty was one day lamenting, that he was ſuch an enemy to Sir Robert Walpole, and deſired by all means to reconcile and to make them friends. Mr. Pulteney replied, that he had no quarrel with Sir Robert Walpole but upon a public account; he was not an enemy to his perſon, but only to his adminiſtration, as he thought that he adviſed their majeſties to meaſures, which were neither for the intereſt of their family, nor for the good of the kingdom. Her majeſty ſtill expreſſed her deſire to make them friends, and aſked him, why he would not go up into the houſe of lords; he ſhould have any title that he thought proper? He humbly thanked her majeſty; and ſaid that the houſe of commons was the field of action, and there he ſhould deſire to continue as long as he was well able to ſerve his country; but when he found that he could no longer do the good that he would, or when he ſhould be more advanced in years, he might then perhaps be willing enough to end his days in that hoſpital of invalides. The time was now come that he could no longer do the good that he would, through the violence of one party, the artifices of the other, and the falſehood and treachery of both. Both had uſed him extremely ill, and he was glad perhaps to quit both by going into that honorable retirement. We may therefore blame the oppoſition, we may blame the court, but no one can juſtly blame him, unleſs it be for not taking the poſt of prime miniſter: and yet perhaps he choſe the better part. For when there cannot be, as the Roman orator ſays, *negotium ſine periculo*, the next thing to be conſidered is certainly *otium cum dignitate*."

MANNERS OF NATIONS.

Some Particulars with Reſpect to the MANNERS and CUSTOMS of the RUSSIANS.

[From the Memoirs of PETER HENRY BRUCE, Eſq.]

"THE people of rank and faſhion in Moſcow having laid aſide the old cuſtoms and manners of their fathers, now live very gay, dreſs in the French faſhion, and converſe with more freedom than formerly; and as the fair ſex are allowed all manner of freedom in company, they live in a perpetual round of pleaſure and diverſion, ſpending moſt part of their time in balls and entertainments, inviting each other by turns to their houſes; and as they were left lonely by their huſbands, who are for the moſt part employed abroad, the ladies took Swediſh officers who had been taken priſoners at Pultowa into their families; ſome as ſtewards, others as governors to their children, and ſome to teach them muſic and dancing. So that all their balls were made up with Swediſh gentlemen, and other foreigners, of whom they were very fond.

"The Ruſſian women are of a middling ſtature, generally well proportioned, and might paſs for handſome in any part of Europe; their features far from deſpicable, were it not for that prepoſterous cuſtom of painting their faces, which they lay on ſo abundantly, that it may truly be ſaid they uſe it as a veil to hide their beauty.

"As for the ſecond rank of the people, they ſtill retain much of their old manner of living: at their entertainments none but the men appear; the maſter of the houſe waits on his gueſts till the deſert of ſweetmeats comes on the table after dinner, when he takes his ſeat amongſt them, and does all he can to encourage them to drink; for it would be a great reflection upon them if any of the company ſhould get out of the houſe without being drunk. When the gueſts offer to go away, the miſtreſs of the houſe makes her appearance, at a call, and barely enters the room, when turning round to the corner where the family-ſaints are placed, croſſing herſelf, ſhe makes a very low bow, and then pays her reſpects by a bow to the company, without coming a ſtep farther, but remains ſtanding, clad in a looſe gown lined with fur, and a ſable cap on her head, and her face covered over with paint and patches; but her whole body is unconfined, wearing neither ſtays, waiſtcoat, or petticoat, or even garters to her ſtockings, and ſhe wears very high heeled ſlippers. In this ſituation, the landlord introduces all his gueſts to ſalute his ſpouſe, one after another, and a ſervant is ready behind her with a ſalver and four glaſſes filled with brandy, wine, mead, and beer, which every body is obliged to drink to the good health of the lady; after which ſhe retires with-

without ſo much as opening her mouth: after that other females of the family are introduced in the ſame manner, and thus they end their entertainments very drunk.

"In Ruſſia they commonly marry very young: the parents make the match without conſulting the inclinations of their children, who do not ſo much as ſee one another till they are introduced in their bed-chamber. This was alſo cuſtomary among the firſt rank, till the czar put a ſtop to it by allowing young people to pay their addreſſes in perſon, without impoſing a match upon either againſt their inclinations, whereby many fatal marriages were prevented; but the old cuſtom ſtill prevails among the inferior ranks. When the maiden becomes marriageable, the parents ſend for a broker, or match-maker (commonly an old woman), and give her inſtructions to look out a proper huſband for their daughter; delivering her, at the ſame time, an inventory of what they propoſe to give with the damſel, as money, jewels, plate, houſhold-goods, and her cloaths, even to her ſhifts; likewiſe, the number of boors, or vaſſals who are commonly valued at ten rubles each per annum. With this liſt the broker goes from one bachelor to another, whom ſhe deems a ſuitable match for the young lady, telling them if they have an inclination to marry, ſhe can recommend them to a pretty young lady with a handſome fortune; ſhewing them at the ſame time the conditions. If the inventory pleaſes the young man, he ſigns his name to it; and, after ſhe has got ſeveral ſubſcribers, ſhe returns the paper to thoſe who employed her: then the parents of the girl make enquiry into the characters and circumſtances of the ſubſcribers; and having pitched on three or four of the moſt eligible, they are invited by the father to an entertainment, where there is a meeting of friends, upon which occaſion the glaſs goes briſkly about: the mother, daughter, and other female relations, take their ſtations in the houſe, ſo as to ſee the company without being ſeen by them; enquiring of the girl which of them ſhe would chooſe for a huſband, and when the point is ſettled, as to their choice, the company, after a hearty drink, is diſmiſſed, none knowing who is to be the happy man. The next day ſome of the girl's relations are ſent to confer with thoſe of the intended bridegroom. If the match is accepted, two or three women, deputed by the intended bridegroom, are permitted to examine the perſon of his intended ſpouſe, before whom ſhe appears ſtark naked, to ſhew if there be any perſonal defect; after this the friends ſettle the marriage, the intended couple not being allowed to ſee one another till they meet in the bed-chamber."

Some Account of the KALMUCK TARTARS.

[From the ſame Work.]

"THE city of Saratof is ſituated on a very fair large plain, about four werſts from the main river, on a branch of the Wolga; it is inhabited or rather garriſoned, by a great number of Ruſſian ſol-

diers and Coſſacks, who are put here as a guard againſt the incurſions of the Kalmuck Tartars, inhabiting a vaſt territory lying between the Wolga and the river Jaick, toward the Caſpian ſea, and poſſeſs the left ſide of the Wolga from hence near to Aſtrachan, in all which immenſe tract there is not ſo much as one ſingle houſe to be ſeen, as they all live in tents, and remove from one place to another in queſt of paſturage for their large herds of cattle, conſiſting of horſes, camels, cows, and ſheep. They neither ſow, nor reap, nor make hay for their cattle, ſo that they live without bread, or any ſort of vegetable; and in the winter their cattle fare as other wild beaſts. Their food is fleſh (eſpecially that of horſes), fiſh, wild-fowl, and veniſon, and they have a great plenty of milk, butter, and cheeſe; but maye's milk is the moſt eſteemed among them, and from it they make a very ſtrong ſpirit, of which they are very fond; it is clear as water, but I could never learn how it is made. The Kalmucks are divided into an infinite number of hordes, or clans, every one under their own particular chan, and all of thoſe acknowledge the authority of one principal chan, who is called Otchicurti-chan, or the king of kings, and who derives his pedigree from the great Tamerlane. He is a very potent prince, and lives in great ſplendor; is formidable to all the neighbouring Tartars, and to the Ruſſians themſelves, who are obliged to keep conſiderable garriſons on the right-ſide of the river, all the way from Saratof to Aſtrachan, to prevent their excurſions, as the Kalmucks are in poſſeſſion of the oppoſite ſhore, and are alſo under the neceſſity of furniſhing the Negayan Tartars about Aſtrachan with arms to defend themſelves, in the ſummer, againſt the incurſions of the Kalmucks, who formerly uſed to come every ſummer to ravage the country of the Negayans about Aſtrachan, but ſince they have been made ſenſible of the effects of the ſmall arms and cannon now put in their hands by the Ruſſians, they content themſelves with coming once a year to the great plains of Aſtrachan for the conveniency of food for their cattle, at a ſeaſon when their more northern poſſeſſions are quite deſtitute of it. This is commonly done with not leſs than one hundred thouſand men, and they rarely return without having received their accuſtomed preſent of bread, brandy, and tobacco, from the governor of Aſtrachan.

"There is no doubt but the Ruſſians are powerful enough to curb the inſolence of theſe vagabonds, were it not for the conſideration of a benefit ariſing from the traffic for their furs and horſes, which they bring every year in great abundance to Aſtrachan; and alſo for the ſervice they are of to the Ruſſians in their wars with the Turks and Crim-Tartars, being accounted the moſt alert at pitching and removing their tents of any people in the world, which they are accuſtomed to by their conſtant incurſions to ſome or other of the neighbouring countries. It is principally from this view that the Ruſſians looked upon it as a piece of policy rather to allay their fierceneſs by ſome preſents, which, however, by continuance of time, they now demand as an obligation, than to engage in a war againſt a multitude of vagabonds who have ſo little to loſe; having neither houſe nor fixed reſidence in all their dominions, but live the year round in tents covered with felts, in which, however, both for neatneſs and convenience, they far exceed all the

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neighbouring nations, even thoſe who live in fixed habitations.

"The Kalmucks, as well as the other nations of Great Tartary, are Pagans. As to their perſons, they are of a low ſtature, and generally bow-legged, occaſioned by their being ſo continually on horſeback, or ſitting with their legs below them; their faces are broad and flat, with a flat noſe, and little black eyes, diſtant from each other like the Chineſe; they are of an olive-colour, and their faces full of wrinkles, with very little or no beard; they ſhave their heads, leaving only a tuft of hair on the crown. The better ſort of them wear coats of ſtuff or ſilk, above which they wear a large wide fur coat of ſheep-ſkins, and a cap of the ſame: in the time of war, they cover their head and body with iron net-work, which they call a pantzer, the links of which are ſo cloſe, that it is proof againſt any kind of weapons except fire-arms, as a bullet will break it, and generally carries ſome broken pieces into the wound, which makes them ſtand in great awe of fire-arms. Their only weapons are the ſcymitar, lance, and bow and arrow; but they are coming into the uſe of fire-arms, which, in time, will make them more formidable. Their cattle are large, and their ſheep are of the largeſt kind, having great fat tails, weighing from twenty-ſix to thirty pounds; their ears hanging down like our dogs, and inſtead of wool they have ſoft curled hair, ſo that their ſkins are all converted into fur coats. Their horſes are but ſmall and of a bad ſhape, but ſwift, hardy, and ſtrong, and many of them pace naturally, and trot at an incredible rate. They eat the fleſh of camels, cows, and ſheep, but univerſally give the preference to that of the horſe.

"They are, in their own way, the happieſt people on the earth, being fatigued with no kind of labour, but diverting themſelves with fiſhing and hunting; and I can conceive nothing preferable to their way of living in the ſummer: but in winter they are obliged to croſs the river, and live on the bare plain of Aſtrachan, where their only firing is the dried dung of the cattle, and the cattle themſelves ſtarving on the ſcanty produce of a barren deſart. Here they remain till the ſpring, when their former habitation, on the eaſt ſide of the river, is overflowed for near a month to a vaſt extent by the melting of the ſnow, and their country appears one continued ſea over-grown with trees: as ſoon as this ſubſides, they return with great joy, ſwimming their loaded camels and cattle over the river, where the interwoven iſlands make their paſſage eaſieſt. It is to be obſerved, that the Kalmucks, when they go upon any expedition, have no regard either to bridges or boats: they no ſooner come to a river, than in they plunge with their horſes, and ſliding from their backs, hold faſt by the manes till they get over, and then immediately mount again, and ſo proceed."

Short

Short Account of the MANNERS and RELIGION of the CIRCASSIANS.

[From the ſame Work.]

"I Cannot here omit giving ſome farther deſcription of Circaſſia, and its inhabitants. Terki, the principal city, is ſeated in a very ſpacious plain, very ſwampy towards the ſea-ſide, in 43 deg. 23 min. north latitude: it is about three werſts in compaſs, well fortified with ramparts and baſtions in the modern ſtyle, well ſtored with cannon, and has always a conſiderable garriſon in it, under the command of a governor. The Circaſſian prince who reſides here, is allowed five hundred Ruſſians for his guard, but none of his own ſubjects are permitted to dwell within any part of the fortifications. Ever ſince the reduction of thoſe parts to the obedience of Ruſſia, they have put in all places of ſtrength, not only Ruſſian garriſons and governors, but magiſtrates, and prieſts for the exerciſe of the Chriſtian religion; yet the Circaſſian Tartars are governed by their own princes, lords, and judges, but theſe adminiſter juſtice in the name of the emperor, and in matters of importance, not without the preſence of the Ruſſian governors, being all obliged to take the oath of allegiance to his imperial majeſty. The apparel of the men of Circaſſia is much the ſame with that of the Nagayans, only their caps are ſomething larger, and their cloaks being likewiſe of coarſe cloth or ſheep-ſkins, are faſtened only at the neck with a ſtring, and as they are not large enough to cover the whole body, they turn them round according to the wind and weather. The men here are much better favoured than thoſe of Nagaya, and the women extremely well ſhaped, with exceeding fine features, ſmooth clear complexions, and beautiful black eyes, which with their black hair hanging in two treſſes, one on each ſide the face, give them a moſt lovely appearance: they wear a black coif on their heads, covered with a fine white cloth tied under the chin. During the ſummer they all wear only a ſmock of divers colours, and that open ſo low before, that one may ſee below their navels: this, with their beautiful faces always uncovered, (contrary to the cuſtom of moſt of the other provinces in theſe parts), their good humour and lively freedom in converſation, altogether render them very deſirable: notwithſtanding which they have the reputation of being very chaſte, though they ſeldom want opportunity; for it is an eſtabliſhed point of good manners among them, that as ſoon as any perſon comes in to ſpeak to the wife, the huſband goes out of the houſe; but whether this continency of their's proceeds from their own generoſity, to recompence their huſbands for the confidence they put in them, or has its foundation only in fame, I pretend not to determine. Their language they have in common with the other neighbouring Tartars, although the chief people among them are alſo not ignorant of the Ruſſian: their religion is Paganiſm, for notwithſtanding they uſe circumciſion among them, they have neither prieſt, alcoran, or moſque, like other Mahometans.

Every

Every body here offers his own ſacrifice at pleaſure, for which, however, they have certain days, eſtabliſhed rather by cuſtom than any poſitive command: their moſt ſolemn ſacrifice is offered at the death of their neareſt friends, upon which occaſion both men and women meet in the field to be preſent at the offering, which is an he-goat; and having killed, they flay it, and ſtretch the ſkin with the head and horns on, upon a croſs at the top of a long pole, placed commonly in a quickſet hedge, (to keep the cattle from it), and near the place the ſacrifice is offered by boiling and roaſting the fleſh, which they afterwards eat. When the feaſt is over, the men riſe, and having paid their adoration to the ſkin, and muttered over ſome certain prayers, the women withdraw, and the men conclude the ceremony with drinking a great quantity of aqua vitæ, and this generally ends in a quarrel before they part."

A Short History of the COSSACKS.

[From the ſame Work.]

"HAVING had frequent occaſion to mention the Coſſacks, employed both in our armies and garriſons, I ſhall endeavour to give ſome ſhort account of their origin. They were at firſt no more than a band of free-booters, compoſed of a wild barbarous rabble, moſtly boors, from the provinces of Poliſh Ruſſia, Volhinia, and Podolia. Having left their native habitations, they ſettled themſelves on ſome iſlands in the river Boriſthenes, below Kiovia, where they ſubſiſted by robbery and plunder. They acquired the name of Coſſacks from their agility, the word *Coſſa* ſignifying as much in the Poliſh language: they were particularly remarkable for their dexterity in paſſing between the great number of ſmall iſlands, ſituated in the mouth of the Boriſthenes: their piracies early became terrible to the Turkiſh gallies on the Black-Sea, and they grew formidable to Natolia itſelf, when they not only plundered Trebiſond and Sinope, but even the ſuburbs of Conſtantinople did not eſcape them, and they returned in ſafety to their habitations, with their priſoners and plunder.

"The fame of their exploits againſt the Turks gained them ſuch reputation with the Poles, that Stephen Batori, prince of Tranſilvania and king of Poland, conſidering that theſe Coſſacks might be of great uſe to the crown of Poland, not only againſt the incurſions of the neighbouring Crim Tartars, but alſo might ſerve as a conſiderable addition to the ſtrength of the Poliſh army, which conſiſting for the moſt part of horſe, would be rendered more formidable when augmented by ſo conſiderable a number of foot, reſolved to put theſe vagabond ſoldiers into good order and diſcipline; which he effected by granting them very conſiderable privileges, and putting them under a general of their own, called by them hetman, who had the power of naming his own

own officers. Having thus reduced them into one body, he gave them the city of Techimerof, on the Boriſthenes, with all the territory belonging to it, which they made their capital magazine, and reſidence of their hetman; and by this means, all that tract of deſart country which extends itſelf along the Boriſthenes, from Bar, Braclaw, and Kiow, to the Black-Sea, became a populous country, filled with towns and cities, and is now called the Ukrain. As this body has been of very great ſervice to the crown of Poland, by ſecuring its frontiers on that ſide againſt the incurſions of the Crim Tartars; ſo, after ſome time, it proved very dangerous, having ſeveral times taken arms againſt the republic, which was occaſioned by ſeveral Poliſh lords, who, becauſe the boors (their vaſſals) could never be well ſecured as long as the Coſſacks enjoyed their privileges, repreſented them to the king as dangerous to the republic, by reaſon of the great numbers of peaſants that daily ran over to them. It was reſolved to build a fort at a place called Kudak, on a point of land formed by the influx of the river Swamer to the Boriſthenes, which was choſen from its ſituation, as a proper place to bridle the Coſſacks, being at no great diſtance from the place of their ordinary rendezvous. The Coſſacks, however, penetrating the deſign of the Poles, were reſolved not to ſuffer the bridle to be put over their heads; and having defeated two hundred men who were left to ſee the fort perfected, under the command of a colonel, they aſſembled a conſiderable body of forces, to prevent the Poliſh general in his deſign; and from that time there were diviſions and perpetual wars between the Poles and the Coſſacks. During theſe troubles, great numbers of the Coſſacks retired, with their families to the river Don, or Tanais, and ſettled between the Don and the Wolga, where they ſubſiſted a long time by their piracies on the Wolga.

"In the year 1653, being greatly oppreſſed by the Poles, they joined the Ruſſians, who, in the year following, with their aſſiſtance, took the cities of Smolinſko and Wilna; ſo that it was chiefly owing to the valour of the Coſſacks, that the provinces of Smolinſko and Severia with the palatinate of Kiovia, were annexed to the Ruſſian empire, and which were all confirmed to them by the treaty of peace in 1666, made at Oliva. About that period the Coſſacks in general put themſelves under the protection of Ruſſia, and are ſtill diſtinguiſhed by the Ukrain and Donſki Coſſacks, the former of which ſerve moſtly on foot, the latter all on horſeback. It was the Donſki Coſſacks who were employed on our expedition at this time, and were put in garriſon in all our frontier towns, and are in regular pay, and forage allowed them for their horſes. They have now left off robbing, except when they are ſent into an enemies country; then all the booty they make is their own, as alſo the priſoners they take, whom they may ſell or retain as their ſlaves.

"The Coſſacks in general are tall, ſtrong, well ſet, and remarkably active; they are liberal even to profuſion, placing no great value in riches, but are great lovers of their liberty, which they look upon as a thing ineſtimable: they are hardy, indefatigable, brave, but great dunkards, and very treacherous. Their chief employment is hunting and fiſhing, yet they apply themſ-

themſelves both to agriculture and arms; their language is a dialect of the Ruſſian and Poliſh tongues, but more ſmooth and agreeable than either: they profeſs the Greek religion in the ſame manner as it is eſtabliſhed in Ruſſia.

Some PARTICULARS concerning the MANNERS of the HINDOOS.

[From the Travels in EUROPE, ASIA, and AFRICA.]

"IN this celebrated land, ſo abundant in objects of curioſity, a ſtranger is particularly ſtruck with cuſtoms, manners, and opinions, whoſe origin lies buried in the depths of an unfathomable antiquity. But the moſt ſtriking features in the character of the Hindoos, are their ſuperſtition, and veneration for the inſtitutions and tenets of their forefathers. In India, the dominion of religion extends to a thouſand particulars, which in other countries are governed either by the civil laws, or by taſte, cuſtom, or faſhion. Dreſs, food, the common intercourſes of life, marriages, profeſſions, all are under the juriſdiction of religion. There is ſcarcely any thing which is not regulated by ſuperſtition. It preſcribes rules of conduct in all circumſtances and ſituations; nor is there any thing almoſt ſo trifling or minute as to be conſidered as a matter of indifference. The original government of the Hindoos, was in reality an hierarchy; for among that religious people, the higheſt authority was poſſeſſed by the prieſthood, or the Brahmin caſt, a tribe of prieſts like that of Levi among the Jews. Nor is it in this inſtance only, that we find a reſemblance between the natives of India and that ſingular people I have juſt now mentioned. Not only were the governments of both nations hierarchical, but in both there was a vaſt variety of religious obſervances and ceremonies extending to many particulars, which in other countries are matters of choice or of indifference; and both entertained the moſt profound reſpect and veneration for their anceſtors.

"In European nations there is a love of novelty, and an ardour of improvement, which leads to a contempt of paſt times, and an high eſtimation of the preſent. In Aſia, particularly in India, both on this ſide and beyond the Ganges, there is a ſcrupulous tenacity of ancient cuſtoms and manners; and the object of emulation is, not to invent any thing new, but to preſerve in their original purity, the uſages and the doctrines of the moſt remote antiquity. I know not whether there be not a certain connexion between this diſpoſition, and that turn which prevails in India, not towards invention or deſign, but to imitation. In arts of this laſt kind, the Hindoos are ſo dextrous, that the original model is not to be diſtinguiſhed from the new production, in any kind of cloth, earth, metal, wood, or ſtone. For works of imitation, their nature ſeems peculiarly fitted, by that patient perſeverance which ſo eminently diſtinguiſhes them; and by another quality, if it be another, which is, that they are wholly occupied and abſorbed in the preſent object. No diſtraction of thought, no wandering of imagination: the force of their mind, by means of fixed

fixed attention, is brought to bear, as it were, againſt one place; it is brought to a centre of percuſſion. And with all this perſeverance and ſtraining of attention, they preſerve an evenneſs of ſpirits, which are never very much elevated but by the power of opium, or other intoxicating herbs, but never depreſſed by ſuch labour as is ſuited to their bodily frames and conſtitutions. The tranquillity of their minds, even in the moſt trying circumſtances, is expreſſed by a conſtant ſmile that ſits gracefully on their placid countenances."

ACCOUNT of the WEDDING of a PERSEE.

[From the ſame Work.]

"THE Perſee at whoſe wedding I was a gueſt, many weeks before-hand, ſent invitations to his numerous friends and acquaintance, to aſſemble at the fixed time, at a ſpacious hall erected for the occaſion in a beautiful field. It was the dry ſeaſon, when the air was conſtantly mild and ſerene, and the whole vegetable world breathed a delightful fragrance. The hall was formed by bamboos, connected together, as is uſual in that country, and covered with cloth. It was a medium between a houſe and a tent, being leſs ſolid than the former, but more ſubſtantial than the latter. Here the company aſſembled after the heat of the day was over, to the number of ſeveral hundreds. After a rich repaſt, which was ſerved with great regularity, we ſet out to meet the bride, meſſengers having arrived at the hall to announce her approach. The young Perſee was mounted on a camel richly capariſoned, himſelf adorned with a multitude of jewels, and highly perfumed. A number of ſlaves walked by the ſide of the camel, holding an umbrella over the head of their maſter, while others fanned his face. The company had, as uſual, their palanquins. In the mean time we were entertained by a band of muſic, conſiſting of pipers, blowing very loud on the great pipe with their mouths, and playing with their fingers on another; trumpeters, and a kind of drummers, beating on what they call *tam tams*. The muſic was dreadfully loud, but to my ear not very pleaſant. There was only one tune; nor did I ever hear another during theſe ſix years I have been in India. We arrived at a village, where we were met by the bride, attended by an infinite number of female acquaintance, her near male relations, and a crowd of ſervants. A gentleman's carriage in the ſervice of the Company was borrowed for the bride. It was an open phaeton, drawn in ſlow proceſſion, by four beautiful Arabian horſes. The practice of borrowing Engliſh equipages, on matrimonial occaſions, is very common; and they are always lent with great good-humour. As to the reſt of the ladies, ſome rode on camels, ſome in carriages drawn by ſpotted buffaloes and bullocks, whoſe horns were tipt with ſilver, and their heads adorned with flowers bound by ribbands. The bride was a tall and comely young creature; her long black hair falling down over her ſhoulders, and then turned up in wreaths, elegantly adorned with embroidered ribbands and precious ſtones. It was at that moment, when

when her husband gave her the *salam*, in a modest and respectful manner, and at a small distance, when she stood up in the phaeton, veiled only by an umbrella, that I, who had the honour of being near the bridegroom, had a full view of his lovely bride.

"At the end of the village an accident happened, which interrupted, for a short time, the joy of the day, and filled the minds of hundreds with the most alarming apprehensions. The men, as well as the women, gave a loud shriek, and ran in a distracted manner, not knowing what they did: even the bride was for a moment deserted by those of her own religion and kindred, and left to the care of her European drivers. Some unlucky wag had, on purpose, set some swine adrift, that were kept by Portuguese families; and it was the fear of being touched by these odious and unclean animals, that turned, for a few minutes, a day of joy into a day of lamentation. It is impossible to describe the horror that both Persees and Gentoos express at the sight of a sow. The very form of that animal is offensive to them, and makes them shudder. It appears as loathsome to them as a toad does to an European: and you may imagine the horror you would feel at the approach of a toad of the size of a sow.

"The swine being beat back (in effecting which repulse, I may justly boast that I was myself the principal hero) we proceeded in joyful procession to the hall; which, spacious as it was, was now insufficient to contain our increased numbers: wherefore, many of the company were seated on the grassy plain, lamps being hung among shrubbery on poles of bamboos, fixed without much difficulty in the soft and deep soil. The hall, illuminated without and within, displayed on both sides, various pictures of elephants and other animals, and also of men. The young Persee's uncle, who shewed great attention to myself and the other Europeans, informed us, that the portraits we saw were Persian emperors.—There is Koresh, said he; and after naming a number of other princes, he pointed to Nadir Scha, and Kerim Khan the present emperor.—I cannot think that they could, either from tradition, painting, or statuary, have any accurate notion, if any at all, of the particular stature, shape, and countenance of Cyrus. The artist must have been guided merely by fancy.

"Various kinds of refreshments having been, after short intervals, presented to the company, we were at last entertained with a ball, which lasted all night. The ladies were placed by themselves on one side of the hall, and the gentlemen by themselves on the other. The women wore their veils; but these were not drawn so closely over the face, but that we could get a peep at their eyes and noses. When their veils were drawn back, in order that they might enjoy the refreshment of being fanned, we could discover their necks and their fine hair. Indeed, on occasion of weddings, the veil, as I have been assured, sits more loosely on the ladies than at other times. There was not the least communication between the men and the women; no not a whisper. The men conversed among themselves; and the women observed a profound silence, looking straight forward, with inexpressible sweetness and modesty.

"But now appears a spectacle which commands silence among the gentlemen as well as the ladies, and

draws

draws the attention of every part of the hall. A company of ſtrolling dancing girls from Surat, appear on a platform raiſed about two feet above the floor. Violins were now added to the band of muſic, and preſently the dance began. The *balladieres* (for that is the name by which the dancing girls are diſtinguiſhed on this ſide of Hindoſtan) are dreſſed in the gaudieſt manner that the luxuriant fancy of the Eaſt can conceive. Their long black hair falling over their ſhoulders in flowing ringlets, or braided and turned up, is loaded with precious ſtones, and ornamented with flowers. Their necklaces and bracelets are enriched in the ſame manner; even their noſe-jewels, which at firſt ſight appear ſhocking to an European, have ſomething pleaſing, after cuſtom has worn off the effect of prejudice, and by a certain ſymmetry, ſet off all the other ornaments. Nothing can equal the care they take to preſerve their breaſts, as the moſt ſtriking mark of beauty. In order to prevent them from growing large or ill-ſhaped, they encloſe them in caſes made of exceeding light wood, which are joined together, and faſtened with buckles of jewels behind. Theſe caſes are ſo ſmooth and pliant, that they give way to the various attitudes of the body without being flattened, and without the ſmalleſt injury to the delicacy of the ſkin. The outſide of theſe caſes is covered with a leaf of gold, and ſtudded with diamonds. They take it off and put it on again with ſingular facility. This covering of the breaſt conceals not from the amorous eye, palpitations, heavings, various tender emotions, nor aught that can contribute to excite deſire: while at the ſame time it leaves ſomething for the ſpectator to gueſs. The balladieres imagine that they heighten the beauty of their complexion, and the impreſſion of their countenances, by tracing black circles round their eyes, with a hair bodkin dipped in the powder of antimony. On their ankles, beſides jewels, they wear bells, which they think have a good effect; but which, I confeſs, I do not admire.

"The balladieres, it muſt be obſerved, are not all of the ſame rank or condition. It is only the higher ranks among them, who, I have been told, are conſecrated to the uſe of the Bramins, the firſt caſt in this ſuperſtitious country, that can afford to have a load of diamonds. Nor do the balladieres of this claſs ſtroll through the country. But if the common dancing girls are not uſually adorned with diamonds, they have other precious ſtones and ornaments that ſtrike with equal effect. In every other reſpect, their dreſs reſembles that of the balladieres of the firſt rank.

"When theſe girls dance, they do not hop, cut, and ſkip like our actreſſes in Europe; they never lift their feet high. Their dances would not be ſuffered, it muſt be owned, in an aſſembly of European ladies. They expreſs, by mute action, all the raptures and extravagancies of the paſſion of love, when in deep retirement, concealed from every prying eye, the happy lovers throwing aſide all reſtraint, yield to the irreſiſtible impulſe of the moſt ardent deſire of nature. Nor is mute action the whole of this ſcene. The girls accompany their wanton attitudes with laſcivious ſongs, until, overcome by the power of imagination, and the ſtrength of perfumes, their voices die away, and they become motionleſs; which is the concluſion of this *opera*, ſhall I call it, or *pantomime?*—The ball

laſted

laſted until morning. Refreſhments were preſented to the company at ſhort intervals during the night. The bride was accompanied to the houſe of her huſband only by her neareſt relations. The Hindoo ladies were in like manner taken care of by their huſbands or kindred. As to the balladieres, they were eſcorted home by Europeans."

The MANNER in which the DAY is commonly ſpent by an ENGLISHMAN in BENGAL.

[From the ſame Work.]

"ABOUT the hour of ſeven in the morning, his durvan (porter or door-keeper) opens the gate, and the viranda (gallery) is free to his circars, peons (footmen) harcarrahs (meſſengers or ſpies) chubdars (a kind of conſtables) huccabadars and conſumas (or ſteward and butler) writers and ſolicitors. The head-bearer and jemmadar enter the hall, and his bed room at eight o'clock. A lady quits his ſide, and is conducted by a private ſtaircaſe, either to her own apartment, or out of the yard. The moment the maſter throws his legs out of bed, the whole poſſé in waiting ruſh into his room, each making three ſalams, by bending the body and head very low, and touching the forehead with the inſide of the fingers, and the floor with the back part. He condeſcends, perhaps, to nod or caſt an eye towards the ſolicitors of his favour and protection. In about half an hour after undoing and taking off his long drawers, a clean ſhirt, breeches, ſtockings, and ſlippers, are put upon his body, thighs, legs, and feet, without any greater exertion on his own part, than if he were a ſtatue. The barber enters, ſhaves him, cuts his nails, and cleans his ears. The chillumjee and ewer are brought by a ſervant, whoſe duty it is, who pours water upon his hands, to waſh his hands and face, and preſents a towel.—The ſuperior then walks in ſtate to his breakfaſting parlour in his waiſtcoat; is ſeated; the conſumah makes and pours out his tea, and preſents him with a plate of bread or toaſt. The hair-dreſſer comes behind, and begins his operation, while the huccabadar ſoftly ſlips the upper end of the ſnake or tube of the houcca into his hand. While the hair-dreſſer is doing his duty, the gentleman is eating, ſipping, and ſmoaking by turns. By and bye, his banian preſents himſelf with humble ſalams, and advances ſomewhat more forward than the other attendants. If any of the ſolicitors are of eminence, they are honoured with chairs.—Theſe ceremonies are continued perhaps till ten o'clock; when, attended by his cavalcade, he is conducted to his palanquin, and preceded by eight to twelve chubdars, harcarrahs, and peons, with the inſignia of their profeſſions, and their livery diſtinguiſhed by the colour of their turbans and cumberbands (a long muſlin belt wrapt round the waiſt;) they move off at a quick amble; the ſet of bearers, conſiſting of eight generally, relieve each other with alertneſs, and without incommoding the maſter. If he has viſits to make, his

his peons lead and direct the bearers; and if buſineſs renders his preſence only neceſſary, he ſhews himſelf, and purſues his other engagements until two o'clock, when he and his company ſit down, perfectly at eaſe in point of dreſs and addreſs, to a good dinner, each attended by his own ſervant. And the moment the glaſſes are introduced, regardleſs of the company of ladies, the houccabadars enter, each with a houcca, and preſents the tube to his maſter, watching behind and blowing the fire the whole time. As it is expected that they ſhall return to ſupper, at four o'clock they begin to withdraw without ceremony, and ſtep into their palanquins; ſo that in a few minutes, the maſter is left to go into his bed-room, when he is inſtantly undreſſed to his ſhirt, and his long drawers put on; and he lies down on his bed, where he ſleeps till about ſeven or eight o'clock: then the former ceremony is repeated, and clean linen of every kind, as in the morning, is adminiſtered; his huccabadar preſents the tube to his hand, he is placed at the tea table, and his hair-dreſſer performs his duty as before. After tea, he puts on a handſome coat, and pays viſits of ceremony to the ladies: returns a little before ten o'clock; ſupper being ſerved at ten. The company keep together till between twelve and one in the morning, preſerving great ſobriety and decency; and when they depart, our hero is conducted to his bed-room, where he finds a female companion, to amuſe him until the hour of ſeven or eight next morning.—With no greater exertions than theſe, do the Company's ſervants amaſs the moſt ſplendid fortunes."

Some ACCOUNT of the INHABITANTS of O'WHY'HEE, the largeſt of the SANDWICH ISLANDS.

[From ELLIS's Authentic Narrative of a Voyage performed by Captain COOK and Captain CLERKE.]

"THE inhabitants of O'why'hee are very numerous: during our cruize off the north part, the hills (for the ſhore on that ſide is in general ſteep and lofty) were almoſt covered with them, and when we anchored in Karacacooah Bay, the number was almoſt incredible. A'tou'wi is well populated, and O'neehow, though ſmall, has many inhabitants. However, all the iſlands produce a much greater quantity of proviſions than the natives can conſume.

"The men are above the middle ſize, ſtout, well made, and fleſhy, but not fat. Corpulency is not altogether ſo great a mark of diſtinction in theſe as in the Society Iſles; and tallneſs, for which the Otaheiteans have great partiality, is alſo overlooked. Their colour is in general brown olive. The women are in general maſculine, though there are ſome delicately made, and the voice of them all is ſoft and feminine. The hair both of the head and beard is black; that of the head the men wear in the form of a helmet, that is, a long frizzled ridge from the forehead to the neck, the ſides being much ſhorter. This faſhion

fhion ſeems to prevail only among the principal people, that of the inferior ſort being of an equal length in every part. Moſt of them were very deſirous of parting with their beards, which, they ſaid, were diſagreeable and troubleſome, and were fond of being ſhaved by our people. Some of the prieſts wore their beards long, and would not on any account part with them. The women wear their long hair before, but very ſhort behind, which is not the moſt becoming mode; and, like thoſe of the Friendly Iſles, they have a way of rendering it of different colours, red, yellow, and brown. The features of both ſexes are good, and we ſaw ſome of the females who might really be called fine women. Their teeth are even and perfectly white. In general, they ſeem to be very healthy, and we obſerved ſeveral who appeared to be of great age. As to diſeaſes, we ſaw none who laboured under any during our ſtay, except the venereal complaint; coughs and colds, indeed, were pretty general, and one man died. From what we could learn of his diſorder from the natives, it was a violent griping or colic.

"Both men and women appeared to be of a good diſpoſition, and behaved to each other with the tendereſt regard: when they did fall out, which ſometimes was the caſe, occaſioned by the upſetting of a canoe, or ſome ſuch trifling accident, they only ſcolded a little, and this was ſoon over and forgotten. We never ſaw them ſtrike each other upon any occaſion. They are all thieves, from the aree to the tou-tou, but not quite ſo expert at it as our Otaheitee friends.

"The cuſtom of tattowing prevails greatly among theſe people, but the men have a much larger ſhare of it than the women: many (particularly ſome of the natives of Mow'whee,) have one half their body, from head to foot, marked in this manner, which gives them a moſt ſtriking appearance. It is done with great regularity, and looks remarkably neat: ſome have only an arm marked in this manner, others a leg; ſome again have both arm and leg, and others only the hand. The women are the moſt part marked upon the hand, and ſome upon the tip of their tongue, but of theſe we ſaw but few. Both ſexes have a particular mark, according to the diſtrict in which they live, or it is rather the mark of the aree, or principal man, under whoſe juriſdiction they more immediately are. We never ſaw the operation of tattowing performed, nor could we procure a ſight of the inſtruments uſed upon this occaſion, but it is likely they are much the ſame as thoſe of the Friendly and Society Iſles.

"Both men and women are very cleanly in their perſons; the latter waſh their whole bodies in freſh water, twice, and ſometimes three times a-day; but the women of Otaheitee have the advantage of them in one point of cleanlineſs, which is eradicating the hairs from under the arm-pits. This is a cuſtom we obſerved no where but at the Society Iſles.

"There are no people in the world who indulge themſelves more in their ſenſual appetites than theſe: in fact, they carry it to a moſt ſcandalous and ſhameful degree, and in a manner not proper to be mentioned. The ladies are very laviſh of their favours, but are far from being ſo mercenary as thoſe of the Friendly or Society Iſles, and ſome of their attachments ſeemed purely the effect of affection. They are

initiated into this way of life at a very early period; we ſaw ſome, who could not be more than ten years old.

"Their cloathing conſiſts of cloth of different kinds: that worn by the men, which is called marro, is about half a yard wide, and four yards long; that of the women, three quarters of a yard wide, and of the ſame length as the men's; this they call pah-onwa; they both wear it round their middle, but the men paſs it between their legs. This is the general dreſs of both ſexes, but the better ſort ſometimes throw a large piece looſely over their ſhoulders. Beſides the marro, they have ſeveral other kinds of cloth, which derive their names either from the different uſes they are applied to, or their different texture and pattern; all, however, as far as we could learn, are made from the Chineſe paper mulberry tree. The principal of theſe is the cappa, which is about ten or twelve feet long, and nearly as many wide, and is thick and warm; they wrap themſelves up in this when they retire to ſleep. They have another kind, which is white, and much thinner; this, as has been before obſerved, they throw looſely over their ſhoulders; it is ſometimes twenty or thirty yards long, and wide in proportion. The marro and pah-o'uwa are curiouſly painted of various patterns, but the others are generally white, or dyed red, black, and yellow.

"The principal ornaments of the men, are the feather-caps and cloaks; ſome of the latter reach down to their heels, and have a moſt magnificent appearance. They are made for the moſt part of red and yellow feathers, which are tied upon fine net work; the caps are compoſed of the ſame kind of feathers, which are ſometimes intermixed with black; they are ſecured upon a kind of baſket-work, made in the form of a helmet. Both caps and cloaks are made of various patterns and ſizes. The cloaks are not all compoſed of the ſame kind of feathers, but are ſometimes varied with the long tail feathers of the cock, with a border of yellow or red, and ſometimes with thoſe of the tropick bird. Both caps and cloaks, however, are only to be ſeen in the poſſeſſion of the principal people. They have alſo a kind of fly-flap, made of a bunch of feathers fixed to the end of a thin piece of ſmooth and poliſhed wood: they are generally made of the tail feathers of the cock, but the better ſort of people have them of the tropick birds feathers, or thoſe belonging to a black and yellow bird called mo-ho'. The handle is very frequently made of one of the bones of the arm or leg of thoſe whom they have killed in battle, curiouſly inlaid with tortoiſe-ſhell: theſe they deem very valuable, and will not part with them under a great price. This ornament is common to the ſuperiors of both ſexes.

"The women too have their ſhare in the ornamental way: that which they value moſt is the erài. This is a kind of ruff or necklace, made of red, green, black, and yellow feathers, curiouſly put together, and in moſt elegant patterns, which really do honour to the fancy of the ladies, whoſe buſineſs it is to make them. They never think themſelves dreſſed without one or two of theſe round their necks, and thoſe who can afford it wear many. Others again are compoſed of ſmall variegated ſhells, diſpoſed in a very neat manner; and ſome conſiſt of ſeveral rows of twiſted hair, with a piece of carved wood or bone, highly poliſhed, the bottom

tom part forming a curve. The higher the quality of the wearer, the greater is the ſize of the wood or bone, and the quantity of the twiſted hair. The next thing is the poo-remah or bracelet; the moſt valuable are made of boar's tuſks faſtened together ſide by ſide with a piece of ſtring, by means of a hole drilled through the middle; the larger the tuſks, the greater the value. Sometimes two ſhells tied round the wriſts with twiſted or braided hair, ſerve the purpoſe of bracelets, but even in this caſe they ſhew great nicety, being particularly careful to match them as near as poſſible. They were prodigiouſly fond of thoſe we gave them, which were only a few beads, ſecured by thread upon a ſtrip of ſcarlet cloth, and made to button round the wriſt. So much did they at firſt value them, that a ſmall hatchet and one of theſe would purchaſe a hog, which without it could not have been bought for three large hatchets. The women were perpetually teazing the men to diſpoſe of their various articles for theſe bracelets; at leaſt, one of them was always to make a part of the price."

Some farther PARTICULARS concerning the MANNERS and CUSTOMS of the INHABITANTS of the SANDWICH ISLES.

[From the ſame Work.]

"THEIR food is principally vegetable; though the chiefs indulge themſelves more frequently in the uſe of pork, than we ever obſerved at the Friendly and Society Iſles; and the prieſts come in for a ſhare, for we never ſaw them without it at their meals, but then they are moderate in the quantity they eat.

"We obſerved a ſingular ceremony among the prieſts before they eat, which ſeems peculiar to their profeſſion. They always addreſs themſelves to one of their deities in a kind of prayer, which is generally ſung by two or three of the eldeſt in company, the reſt ſtriking their hands gently together: this continues for the ſpace of five or ſix minutes, when one of them cuts off a few ſlices of pork, which, with ſome potatoes, tarrow, &c. is offered to the deity, during which only one ſpeaks, and that in a very different tone and manner from the former. After this is ended, they all make reſponſes, and he who offered the things begins again in the ſame ſinging tone as at firſt, after which the reſponſes are made as before. Two of the old people then drink a cup of awa, another repeating ſomething at the ſame time, which appears to be a kind of bleſſing: after they have done, he alſo drinks, one or both of the others repeating the ſame words as before; they then begin their repaſt. In ſome of the prieſts houſes we obſerved a difference in the manner of the firſt prayer; the former was delivered in a ſinging tone, the other in a plaintive one; but the remaining parts of the ceremony correſponded exactly with each other.

"They have great abundance of fiſh, which the women are particularly fond of: they eat them raw, guts, ſcales, and all; and uſe an

immoderate quantity of ſalt with them.

" Tarrow, bread-fruit, and ſweet potatoes, are univerſally uſed among them, and are plentiful to a degree: coco nuts and ripe plaintains are rather ſcarce, on which account the women are forbid to eat them.

" Their method of cooking is much the ſame as at the Friendly and Society Iſles. Of potatoes, tarrow, and bread-fruit, they make a kind of thin pudding, which they call poey: this is done by maſhing the potatoes, &c. very ſmall after they are baked, and mixing them with water.

" Their general drink is water, or the milk of the coco nut; but all the chiefs uſe the a'wa, and ſome of them to exceſs, as was very evident from their ſkins, which were as rough and parched as can well be conceived, and their eyes red and inflamed. This appearance they are all very fond of, and (ſo prevailing is cuſtom) eſteem it as a particular mark of diſtinction. The women were not averſe to eating with us, though the men were preſent, and would frequently indulge themſelves with pork, plaintains, and coco nuts, when ſecure from being ſeen by them.

" Though one would ſuppoſe that the heat of the climate would naturally induce theſe people to ſleep much, particularly after their meals; yet this cuſtom is not ſo prevalent as at the Society and Friendly Iſles. The women employ themſelves in their various occupations of making mats, painting and glazing cloth, &c. and the men, in making ſpears, clubs, fiſh-hooks, and canoes.

" Their amuſements are boxing, wreſtling, ſinging, dancing, playing at bowls, and ſome other games, which we did not know the meaning of. The two former are upon the ſame plan as at the Friendly and Society Iſles, and conducted with as great good nature on both ſides. Their ſongs are not various; they are ſung nearly in the ſame tone as at Otaheitee, but their dances are different from any we have yet ſeen. They have none of thoſe graceful movements which are ſo peculiar to the natives of Anamooka, Amſterdam, &c. nor the lewd motions which characterize the people of the Society Iſles. Whenever they can collect ſeven or eight girls together, they generally ſtrike up a dance, which is an amuſement they are very partial to. They firſt begin by repeating, or rather ſinging ſeveral words, which appear to be in rhyme, all of them at the ſame time, ſlowly moving their legs and ſtriking their breaſts gently with their right hands; this being finiſhed, they all jump in a violent manner, but in exact time, ſtriking their breaſts or ſides much harder than before, and repeating the word he'ora; thoſe who continue this exerciſe the longeſt, are allowed to be the beſt dancers. This, with very little variation, was the only dance we ſaw, except one, which was performed by an old woman, and accompanied with a drum. The movements were ſomething like thoſe of our hornpipes; ſhe had bracelets compoſed of dog's teeth, fixed upon a kind of netting, round her ancles, which by the continual motion her legs were in, made no diſagreeable muſic. The drum was beat by a man, who at the ſame time accompanied it with a ſong.

" Theſe drums were the only muſical inſtruments that were obſerved among them. Their manner of playing at bowls is nearly like our's: the bowls are about two inches and half in diameter, an inch in thickneſs, and flatted on the ſides,

but

but broadeſt at the center. They ſeem to be a compoſition of lime, or ſomething ſimilar to it, and very neatly and exactly formed.

" Their manufactures are cloth, mats, ropes, and lines of various ſizes. The former is the produce of the ſame tree as that of Otaheitee and the Friendly Iſles, and their manner of making it varies but little from that of thoſe iſlands, with this difference only, that in general its width does not exceed three quarters of a yard, and its texture is very thick and ſtrong; but in thoſe pieces which are wider, it is manufactured conſiderably thinner. They ſuffer the trees to grow to a larger ſize than we obſerved before; the inſtrument they uſe to beat out the bark, is upon the ſame conſtruction as at Otaheitee, but the grooves or channels are much wider.

" After the pieces are brought to their proper width, and ſewed together, they are laid out to bleach; after which they are ready for the next proceſs, which is painting or dying them. The colours uſed upon this occaſion are red, black, and yellow: the latter is ſeldom uſed, except when they dye whole pieces.

" Their language is a mixture of that of the Society and Friendly Iſles, but the former moſtly predominates.

" Of the manner in which they diſpoſe of their dead, and the forms and ceremonies uſed upon that occaſion, we can ſcarcely ſay any thing, as only one inſtance that we knew of occurred during our ſtay. Immediately upon the death of the perſon, his friends and relations aſſembled together and deplored his loſs, with loud lamentations and expreſſions of grief, which continued till the following day, when they threw his body into the ſea. They told us, they always burn the bodies of their chiefs; and the night after that unhappy affair of captain Cook, we obſerved ſeveral fires upon the hills, which we at that time were unable to account for, but upon enquiry afterwards, they told us they had been conſuming the bodies of thoſe chiefs who were killed in that ſkirmiſh.

" Their morais or burying places are erected in different forms: that in the neighbourhood of our obſervatories conſiſted of an area or platform, about one hundred yards in length and forty in breadth, which was conſiderably elevated above the ſurface of the earth by vaſt heaps of ſtones, and ſurrounded with wooden pales about four feet high, upon which were fixed a number of human ſkulls, belonging to thoſe who had at different times been ſacrificed to their deities. The area was divided into two parts: in the firſt, on the left hand ſide, was a wooden image, repreſenting (as they told us) their great God, whom they diſtinguiſhed by the appellation of eatua arònah, which ſignifies the chief of the gods. A quantity of cloth was wrapped round this deity, and a number of coco nuts, plaintains, &c. were placed before it as offerings.

" Oppoſite to this was another deity, but of an inferior rank; and behind this were the remains of an old houſe, in which were four rude carvings of wood, which repreſented other of their deities.

" In the ſecond part, at the end of the area, was a large pile of ſtones, upon which were fixed many long poles, but eight in particular far exceeded the reſt in length; between the poles, a number of others were placed acroſs and lengthwiſe. Before the pile, were twelve of their inferior deities, which they call cawhì, repreſented by carved wood-

en images, with monſtrous faces, and exceeding large mouths beſet with teeth.

" Theſe ſtand in a ſemicircular form, at ſome little diſtance from the pile, extending beyond it both to the right and left hand. The place where they were fixed was about two feet higher than the reſt, and covered with ſtraw. At a ſmall diſtance from theſe, and in front of the pile, was a kind of ſmall ſcaffolding, which conſiſted of four poles, with ſeveral others tied acroſs, to ſtrengthen the whole. It appeared to be erected for the purpoſe of placing the various offerings to their gods, for the bottom of it was covered with plaintains, coco nuts, and the remains of a pig. Behind this, and oppoſite to the pile, was another houſe, equally as ruinous as the former, but without any deities in it.

" On the left hand, at ſome little diſtance from the morai, were three or four houſes, which are inhabited ſolely by prieſts, under whoſe care this morai ſeems wholly to be. Before each of their houſes one of theſe carved images is placed, wrapped round with cloth, and near it a ſmall pole is erected, upon which they place plaintains, coco nuts, pigs, and dogs, killed for that purpoſe, which ſometimes emit a moſt diſagreeable ſtench, for they hang till they decay and drop to pieces.

" We remarked that no one ever preſumed to enter the houſes of the prieſts, except their own families, nor did we ſee a woman amongſt them. Whether they are prohibited marrying, we cannot pretend to determine, but there were ſeveral boys who lived with them, and ſome not exceeding five or ſix years old.

" Of their religion we can ſay nothing, except that they appear to have no veneration or reſpect for particular birds, as at the Friendly and Society Iſles.

Their weapons are ſlings, ſpears, wooden daggers, which they call pah'ow-wa, and clubs. They are not ſo dextrous in the uſe of ſlings as at the Society Iſles; for though they throw ſtones with great force, they very frequently miſs the object. The mats are an exellent defence againſt the ſtones, and even ſpears; they uſually dip them in water before they put them on, which renders them tough, and of courſe not ſo liable to be penetrated.

" Their ſpears are maces of wood, and are from ten to fourteen feet in length, gradually tapering from within ſeven inches of the point (which is furniſhed with five rows of barbs) to the other extremity. The pahow-was are generally about twenty inches or two feet in length, and are alſo made of wood; the blade is ſomewhat rounded in the middle, the ſides are ſharp, and terminate in a point. In the handle is made a hole, through which they put a ſtrong piece of line, which they ſecure round their wriſt, ſo that it is almoſt impoſſible to diſarm them. This weapon is intended for cloſe engagements, and in their hands is a moſt deſtructive one.

" The form of government, from what few obſervations we could make, ſeems to be much the ſame as at the other tropical iſlands; and, from many enquiries, we have reaſon to ſuppoſe that the crown is hereditary. The natives informed us, that it has been in the poſſeſſion of the preſent king's family for five generations paſt."

SITU-

SITUATION, FEELINGS, and PLEASURES, of an AMERICAN FARMER.

[From the AMERICAN FARMER'S LETTERS.]

"WHEN young I entertained ſome thoughts of ſelling my farm. I thought it afforded but a dull repetition of the ſame labours and pleaſures. I thought the former tedious and heavy, the latter few and inſipid; but when I came to conſider myſelf as diveſted of my farm, I then found the world ſo wide, and every place ſo full, that I began to fear leſt there would be no room for me. My farm, my houſe, my barn, preſented to my imagination, objects from which I adduced quite new ideas; they were more forcible than before. Why ſhould not I find myſelf happy, ſaid I, where my father was before? He left me no good books it is true, he gave me no other education than the art of reading and writing; but he left me a good farm, and his experience; he left me free from debts, and no kind of difficulties to ſtruggle with. I married, and this perfectly reconciled me to my ſituation; my wife rendered my houſe all at once chearful and pleaſing; it no longer appeared gloomy and ſolitary as before; when I went to work in my fields I worked with more alacrity and ſprightlineſs; I felt that I did not work for myſelf alone, and this encouraged me much. My wife would often come with her knitting in her hand, and ſit under the ſhady trees, praiſing the ſtraightneſs of my furrows, and the docility of my horſes; this ſwelled my heart and made every thing light and pleaſant, and I regretted that I had not married before. I felt myſelf happy in my new ſituation, and where is that ſtation which can confer a more ſubſtantial ſyſtem of felicity than that of an American farmer, poſſeſſing freedom of action, freedom of thoughts, ruled by a mode of government which requires but little from us? I owe nothing, but a pepper corn to my country, a ſmall tribute to my king, with loyalty and due reſpect; I know no other landlord than the lord of all land, to whom I owe the moſt ſincere gratitude. My father left me three hundred and ſeventy-one acres of land, forty-ſeven of which are good timothy meadow, an excellent orchard, a good houſe, and a ſubſtantial barn. It is my duty to think how happy I am that he lived to build and to pay for all theſe improvements: what are the labours which I have to undergo, what are my fatigues when compared to his, who had every thing to do, from the firſt tree he felled to the finiſhing of his houſe? Every year I kill from 1;00 to 2000 weight of pork, 1200 of beef, half a dozen of good wethers in harveſt: of fowls my wife has always a great ſtock: what can I wiſh more? My negroes are tolerably faithful and healthy; by a long ſeries of induſtry and honeſt dealings, my father left behind him the name of a good man; I have but to tread his paths to be happy and a good man like him. I know enough of the law to regulate my little concerns with propriety, nor

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do I dread its power; theſe are the grand outlines of my ſituation, but as I can feel much more than I am able to expreſs, I hardly know how to proceed. When my firſt ſon was born, the whole train of my ideas were ſuddenly altered; never was there a charm that acted ſo quickly and powerfully; I ceaſed to ramble in imagination through the wide world; my excurſions ſince have not exceeded the bounds of my farm, and all my principal pleaſures are now centered within its ſcanty limits: but at the ſame time there is not an operation belonging to it in which I do not find ſome food for uſeful reflections. This is the reaſon, I ſuppoſe, that when you was here, you uſed, in your refined ſtile, to denominate me the farmer of feelings; how rude muſt thoſe feelings be in him who daily holds the axe or the plough, how much more refined on the contrary thoſe of the European, whoſe mind is improved by education, example, books, and by every acquired advantage! Thoſe feelings, however, I will delineate as well as I can, agreeably to your earneſt requeſt. When I contemplate my wife, by my fire-ſide, while ſhe either ſpins, knits, darns, or ſuckles our child, I cannot deſcribe the various emotions of love, of gratitude, of conſcious pride which thrill in my heart, and often overflow in involuntary tears. I feel the neceſſity, the ſweet pleaſure of acting my part, the part of a huſband and father, with an attention and propriety which may entitle me to my good fortune. It is true theſe pleaſing images vaniſh with the ſmoke of my pipe, but though they diſappear from my mind, the impreſſion they have made on my heart is indelible. When I play with the infant, my warm imagination runs forward, and eagerly anticipates his future temper and conſtitution. I would willingly open the book of fate, and know in which page his deſtiny is delineated: alas! where is the father who in thoſe moments of paternal extacy can delineate one half of the thoughts which dilate his heart? I am ſure I cannot; then again I fear for the health of thoſe who are become ſo dear to me, and in their ſickneſſes I ſeverely pay for the joys I experienced while they were well. Whenever I go abroad it is always involuntary. I never return home without feeling ſome pleaſing emotion, which I often ſuppreſs as uſeleſs and fooliſh. The inſtant I enter on my own land, the bright idea of property, of excluſive right, of independence, exalts my mind. Precious ſoil, I ſay to myſelf, by what ſingular cuſtom of law is it that thou waſt made to conſtitute the riches of the freeholder? What ſhould we American farmers be without the diſtinct poſſeſſion of that ſoil? It feeds, it clothes us, from it we draw even a great exuberancy, our beſt meat, our richeſt drink, the very honey of our bees comes from this privileged ſpot. No wonder we ſhould thus cheriſh its poſſeſſion, no wonder that ſo many Europeans who have never been able to ſay that ſuch portion of land was theirs, croſs the Atlantic to realize that happineſs. This formerly rude ſoil has been converted by my father into a pleaſant farm, and in return it has eſtabliſhed all our rights; on it is founded our rank, our freedom, our power as citizens, our importance as inhabitants of ſuch a diſtrict. Theſe images I muſt confeſs I always behold with pleaſure, and extend them as far as my imagination can reach: for this is what may be called the true and the only philo-

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ſophy of an American farmer. Pray do not laugh in thus ſeeing an artleſs countryman tracing himſelf through the ſimple modifications of his life; remember that you have required it; therefore with candor, though with diffidence, I endeavour to follow the thread of my feelings, but I cannot tell you all. Often when I plough my low ground, I place my little boy on a chair which ſcrews to the beam of the plough—its motion and that of the horſes pleaſe him, he is perfectly happy and begins to chat. As I lean over the handle, various are the thoughts which croud into my mind. I am now doing for him, I ſay, what my father formerly did for me; may God enable him to live that he may perform the ſame operations for the ſame purpoſes when I am worn out and old! I relieve his mother of ſome trouble while I have him with me, the odoriferous furrow exhilarates his ſpirits, and ſeems to do the child a great deal of good, for he looks more blooming ſince I have adopted that practice: can more pleaſure, more dignity be added to that primary occupation? The father thus ploughing with his child, and to feed his family, is inferior only to the emperor of China ploughing as an example to his kingdom. In the evening when I return home through my low grounds, I am aſtoniſhed at the myriads of inſects which I perceive dancing in the beams of the ſetting ſun. I was before ſcarcely acquainted with their exiſtence; they are ſo ſmall that it is difficult to diſtinguiſh them; they are carefully improving this ſhort evening ſpace, not daring to expoſe themſelves to the blaze of our meridian ſun. I never ſee an egg brought on my table but I feel penetrated with the wonderful change it would have undergone but for my glutony; it might have been a gentle uſeful hen leading her chickens with a care and vigilance which ſpeaks ſhame to many women; a cock perhaps, arrayed with the moſt majeſtic plumes, tender to its mate, bold, courageous, endowed with an aſtoniſhing inſtinct, with thoughts, with memory, and every diſtinguiſhing characteriſtic of the reaſon of man. I never ſee my trees drop their leaves and their fruit in the autumn, and bud again in the ſpring, without wonder; the ſagacity of thoſe animals which have long been the tenants of my farm aſtoniſhes me: ſome of them ſeem to ſurpaſs even men in memory and ſagacity. I could tell you ſingular inſtances of that kind. What then is this inſtinct which we ſo debaſe, and of which we are taught to entertain ſo diminutive an idea? My bees, above any other tenants of my farm, attract my attention and reſpect.

"I draw a great fund of pleaſure from the quails which inhabit my farm; they abundantly repay me, by their various notes and peculiar tameneſs, for the inviolable hoſpitality I conſtantly ſhew them in the winter. Inſtead of perfidiouſly taking advantage of their great and affecting diſtreſs, when nature offers nothing but a barren univerſal bed of ſnow, when irreſiſtible neceſſity forces them to my barn doors, I permit them to feed unmoleſted; and it is not the leaſt agreeable ſpectacle which that dreary ſeaſon preſents, when I ſee thoſe beautiful birds, tamed by hunger, intermingling with all my cattle and ſheep, ſeeking in ſecurity for the poor ſcanty grain which but for them would be uſeleſs and loſt. Often in the angles of the fences where the motion of the wind prevents the ſnow from ſettling, I carry them both chaff and grain; the one to feed them, the other

other to prevent their tender feet from freezing faſt to the earth as I have frequently obſerved them to do. I do not know an inſtance in which the ſingular barbarity of man is ſo ſtrongly delineated, as in the catching and murthering thoſe harmleſs birds, at that cruel ſeaſon of the year. Mr. ****, one of the moſt famous and extraordinary farmers that have ever done honour to the province of Connecticut, by his timely and humane aſſiſtance in a hard winter, ſaved this ſpecies from being entirely deſtroyed. They periſhed all over the country, none of their delightful whiſtlings were heard the next ſpring, but upon this gentleman's farm; and to his humanity we owe the continuation of their muſic. When the ſeverities of that ſeaſon have diſpirited all my cattle, no farmer ever attends them with more pleaſure than I do; it is one of thoſe duties which is ſweetened with the moſt rational ſatisfaction. I amuſe myſelf in beholding their different tempers, actions, and the various effects of their inſtinct now powerfully impelled by the force of hunger. I trace their various inclinations, and the different effects of their paſſions, which are exactly the ſame as among men; the law is to us preciſely what I am in my barn yard, a bridle and check to prevent the ſtrong and greedy, from oppreſſing the timid and weak. Conſcious of ſuperiority they always ſtrive to encroach on their neighbours; unſatisfied with their portion, they eagerly ſwallow it in order to have an opportunity of taking what is given to others, except they are prevented. Some I chide, others, unmindful of my admonitions, receive ſome blows. Could victuals thus be given to men without the aſſiſtance of any language, I am ſure they would not behave better to one another, nor more philoſophically than my cattle do. The ſame ſpirit prevails in the ſtable; but there I have to do with more generous animals, there my well known voice has immediate influence, and ſoon reſtores peace and tranquillity. Thus by ſuperior knowledge I govern all my cattle as wiſe men are obliged to govern fools and the ignorant.

"It is my bees, however, which afford me the moſt pleaſing and extenſive themes; let me look at them when I will, their government, their induſtry, their quarrels, their paſſions, always preſent me with ſomething new; for which reaſon, when weary with labour, my common place of reſt is under my locuſt-trees, cloſe by my bee-houſe. By their movements I can predict the weather, and can tell the day of their ſwarming; but the moſt difficult point is, when on the wing, to know whether they want to go to the woods or not. If they have previouſly pitched in ſome hollow trees, it is not the allurements of ſalt and water, of fennel, hickory leaves, &c. nor the fineſt box, that can induce them to ſtay; they will prefer thoſe rude, rough habitations to the beſt poliſhed mahogany hive. When that is the caſe with mine, I ſeldom thwart their inclinations; it is in freedom that they work: were I to confine them, they would dwindle away and quit their labour. In ſuch excurſions we only part for a while; I am generally ſure to find them again the following fall. This elopement of theirs only adds to my recreations: I know how to deceive even their ſuperlative inſtinct; nor do I fear loſing them, though eighteen miles from my houſe, and lodged in the moſt loſty trees, in the moſt impervious of our foreſts. I once took you along with me in one

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of thoſe rambles, and yet you inſiſt on my repeating the detail of our operations: it brings back into my mind many of the uſeful and entertaining reflections with which you ſo happily beguiled our tedious hours.

"After I have done ſowing, by way of recreation, I prepare for a week's jaunt in the woods, not to hunt either the deer or the bears, as my neighbours do, but to catch the more harmleſs bees. I cannot boaſt that this chaſe is ſo noble, or ſo famous among men, but I find it leſs fatiguing, and full as profitable; and the laſt conſideration is the only one that moves me. I take with me my dog, as a companion, for he is uſeleſs as to this game; my gun, for no man you know ought to enter the woods without one; my blanket, ſome proviſions, ſome wax, vermillion, honey, and a ſmall pocket compaſs. With theſe implements I proceed to ſuch woods as are at a conſiderable diſtance from any ſettlements. I carefully examine whether they abound with large trees; if ſo, I make a ſmall fire on ſome flat ſtones, in a convenient place; on the fire I put ſome wax; cloſe by this fire, on another ſtone, I drop honey in diſtinct drops, which I ſurround with ſmall quantities of vermillion, laid on the ſtone; and then I retire carefully to watch whether any bees appear. If there are any in that neighbourhood, I reſt aſſured that the ſmell of the burnt wax will unavoidably attract them; they will ſoon find out the honey, for they are fond of preying on that which is not their own; and in their approach they will neceſſarily tinge themſelves with ſome particles of vermillion, which will adhere long to their bodies. I next fix my compaſs, to find out their courſe, which they keep invariably ſtrait, when they are returning home loaded. By the aſſiſtance of my watch, I obſerve how long thoſe are returning which are marked with vermillion. Thus poſſeſſed of the courſe, and, in ſome meaſure, of the diſtance, which I can eaſily gueſs at, I follow the firſt, and ſeldom fail of coming to the tree where thoſe republics are lodged. I then mark it; and thus, with patience, I have found out ſometimes eleven ſwarms in a ſeaſon; and it is inconceivable what a quantity of honey theſe trees will ſometimes afford. It entirely depends on the ſize of the hollow, as the bees never reſt nor ſwarm till it is all repleniſhed; for like men, it is only the want of room that induces them to quit the maternal hive. Next I proceed to ſome of the neareſt ſettlements, where I procure proper aſſiſtance to cut down the trees, get all my prey ſecured, and then return home with my prize. The firſt bees I ever procured were thus found in the woods, by mere accident; for at that time I had no kind of ſkill in this method of tracing them. The body of the tree being perfectly ſound, they had lodged themſelves in the hollow of one of its principal limbs, which I carefully ſawed off, and with a good deal of labour and induſtry brought it home, where I fixed it up again in the ſame poſition in which I found it growing. This was in April; I had five ſwarms that year, and they have been ever ſince very proſperous. This buſineſs generally takes up a week of my time every fall, and to me it is a week of ſolitary eaſe and relaxation."

CLASSICAL AND POLITE CRITICISM.

Upon the PREFERENCE of DISTINCT and CIRCUMSTANTIAL IMAGES in COMPOSITION, to DESCRIPTIONS of a more general Nature.

[From the Second Volume of Dr. JOSEPH WARTON'S ESSAY ON THE GENIUS AND WRITINGS OF POPE.]

"AMONG the other fortunate circumſtances that attended Homer, it was not one of the leaſt, that he wrote before general and abſtract terms were invented. Hence his Muſe (like his own Helen ſtanding on the walls of Troy) points out every perſon, and thing, accurately and forcibly. All the views and proſpects he lays before us, appear as fully and perfectly to the eye, as that which engaged the attention of Neptune, when he was ſitting (Iliad, b. 13. v. 12.)

Ὑψοῦ ἐπ' ακροτατης κορυφης Σαμου ὑλησσης,
Θρηικιης· ενθεν γαρ εφαινετο πασα μεν Ιδη,
Φαινετο δε Πριαμοιο πολις, και νηες Αχαιων.

Thoſe who are fond of generalities, may think the number of natural, little circumſtances, introduced in the beautiful narration of the expedition of Dolon and Diomed (Book the 10th) too particular and trifling, and below the dignity of Epic poetry. But every reader of a juſt taſte will always admire the minute deſcription of the helmet and creſt, at verſe the 257th; the clapping of the wings of the heron which they could not ſee; the ſquatting down among the dead bodies till Dolon had paſſed; Ulyſſes hiſſing to Diomed as a ſignal; the ſtriking the horſes with his bow, becauſe he had forgotten to bring his whip with him; and the innumerable circumſtances which make this narration ſo lively, ſo dramatic, and ſo intereſting. Half the Iliad and the Odyſſey might be quoted as examples of this way of writing. So different from the unfiniſhed, half-formed figures, preſented to us by many modern writers. How much is the pathetic heightened by Sophocles, when, ſpeaking of Deianira determined to deſtroy herſelf, and taking leave of her palace, he adds, a circumſtance that Voltaire would have diſdained!

—— Κλαιε δ' οργανων οτε
Ψαυσειεν, ὁις εχρηζο δειλαια παρος.

Among the Roman poets, Lucretius will furniſh many inſtances of this ſort of ſtrong painting. Witneſs his portrait of a jealous man; Book the 4th, v. 1130.

Aut quod in ambiguo verbum jaculata requit;
Aut nimium jactare oculos, aliumve tueri
Quod putat, in vultûque videt veſtigia riſûs.

Of

Of Iphigenia going to be ſacrificed, at the moment, when,

—— mæſtum ante aras aſtare parentem
Senſit, & hunc propter ferrum celare miniſtros.

Of Fear, in book iii. v. 155.

Sudorem itaque & pallorem exiſtere toto
Corpore; & infringi linguam; vocemque aboriri;
Caligare oculos; ſonare aures; ſuccidere artus.

"Without ſpecifying the various ſtrokes of nature, with which Virgil has deſcribed the prognoſtics of the weather in his firſt Georgic, let us only conſider with what energy he has enumerated and particularized the geſtures and attitudes of his dying Dido. No five verſes ever contained more images, or images more diſtinctly expreſſed.

Illa graves oculos conata attollere, rurſus
Deficit; infixum ſtridet ſub pectore vulnus:
Ter ſeſe attollens, cubitoque innixa levavit,
Tor revoluta toro eſt: oculiſque errantibus, alto
Quæſivit cælo lucem, ingemuitque repertâ.

The words of Virgil have here painted the dying Dido, as powerfully as the pencil of Reynolds has done, when ſhe is juſt dead.

"But none of the Roman writers has diſplayed a greater force and vigour of imagination than Tacitus; who was in truth a great poet. With what an aſſemblage of maſterly ſtrokes has he exhibited the diſtreſs of the Roman army under Cæcina, in the firſt book of the annals! Nox per diverſa inquies; cum barbari feſtis epulis, læto cantu, aut truci ſonore, ſubjecta vallium ac reſultantes ſaltus, complerent. Apud Romanos, invalidi ignes, interruptæ voces, atque ipſi paſſim adjacerent vallo, oberrarent tentoriis, inſomnes magis quam pervigiles, ducemque terruit dira quies. And what a ſpectre he then immediately calls up, in the ſtyle of Michael Angelo! Nam Quintillium Varum, ſanguine oblitum, & paludibus emerſum, cernere & audire viſus eſt, velut vocantem, non tamen obſecutus, & manum intendentis repuliſſe.

"A celebrated foreigner, the count Algarotti, has paſſed the following cenſure on our poetry, as deficent in this reſpect.

"La poeſia dei populi ſettentrionali pare a me, che, generalménte parlando, conſiſta più di penſieri, che d'immagini, ſi compiaccia delle rifleſſione equalmente che dei ſentimenti: non ſia coſi particolareggiata, e pittoreſca come e la noſtra. Virgilio a cagione d'eſempio rappreſentando Didone quando eſce alla caccio fa una tal deſcrizione del ſuo veſtimento, che tutti i ritrattiſti, leggendo quel paſſo, la veſtirebbono a un modo:

Tandem progreditur, magnâ ſtipante caterva,
Sidoniam picto chlamydem circumdata limbo;
Cui pharetra ex auro, crines nodantur in aurum,
Auream purpuream ſubnectit fibula veſtem.

Non coſi il Miltono quando deſcrive la nuda bellezza di Eva:

Grace was in all her ſteps, heav'n in her eye,
In every geſture, dignity and love.

Con quella parole generale, e aſtratte idee di grazia, cielo, amore, e maeſtà non pare a lei che ognuno ſi formi in mente una Eva a poſta ſua?"

"It muſt indeed be granted, that this paſſage gives no diſtinct and particular idea of the perſon of Eve; but in how many others has Milton drawn

drawn his figures, and expreſſed his images, with energy and diſtinctneſs?

Under a coronet his flowing hair
In curls on either cheek play'd; wings he wore
Of many a colour'd plume ſprinkled with gold;
His habit fit for ſpeed ſuccinct, and held
Before his decent ſteps a ſilver wand.
Dire was the toſſing, deep the groans; Deſpair
Tended the ſick, buſieſt from couch to couch;
And over them triumphant Death his dart
Shook, but delay'd to ſtrike.
From his ſlack hand the garland, wreath'd for Eve,
Down dropt, and all the faded roſes ſhed;
Speechleſs he ſtood and pale.

And Spencer, the maſter of Milton, ſo much abounds in portraits peculiarly marked, and ſtrongly created, that it is difficult to know which to ſelect from this copious magazine of the moſt lively painting. The ſame may be ſaid of Shakeſpeare; whoſe little touches of nature it is no wonder Voltaire could not reliſh, who affords no example of this beauty in his Henriade, and gives no proofs of a pictureſque fancy, in a work that abounds more in declamation, in moral and political reflections, than in poetic images; in which there is little character and leſs nature, and in which the author himſelf appears throughout the piece, and is himſelf the hero of his poem.

"I have dwelt the longer on this ſubject, becauſe I think I can perceive many ſymptoms, even among writers of eminence, of departing from theſe true and lively, and minute, repreſentations of nature, and of dwelling in generalities. To theſe I oppoſe the teſtimony of, perhaps, the moſt judicious and elegant critic among the ancients. Proculdubio qui dicit expugnatam eſſe civitatem, complectitur omnia quæcunque talis fortuna recipit: ſed in affectus minus penetrat brevis hic velut nuntius. At ſi aperias hæc quæ verbo uno incluſa erant, apparebunt effuſæ per domos ac templa flammæ, & ruentium tectorum fragor, & ex diverſis clamoribus unus quidem ſonus; aliorum fuga incerta; alii in extremo complexû ſuorum cohærentes, & infantium fæminarumque ploratus, & malè uſque in illum diem ſervati fato ſenes; tum illa profanorum ſacrorumque direptio, efferentium prædas, repetentiumque diſcurſus, & acti ante ſuum quiſque prædonem catenati, & conata retinere infantem ſuum mater, & ſicubi majus lucrum eſt, pugna inter victores. Licet enim hæc omnia, ut dixi, complectatur everſio, Minus eſt tamen totum dicere, quam omnia."

OBSERVATIONS ON DRYDEN.

[From the ſame Work.]

IT is to his fables, though written in his old age, that Dryden will owe his immortality, and among them, particularly, to Palamon and Arcite, Sigiſmunda and Guiſcardo, Theodore and Honoria; and to his muſic ode. The warmth and melody of theſe pieces, has never been excelled in our language, I mean in rhyme. As general and unexemplified criticiſm is always uſeleſs and abſurd, I muſt beg leave to ſelect a few

few paſſages from theſe three poems, and the reader muſt not think any obſervations on the character of Dryden, the conſtant pattern of Pope, unconnected with the main ſubject of this work. The picture of Arcite in the abſence of Emilia, is highly expreſſive of the deepeſt diſtreſs, and a complete image of anguiſh.

He rav'd with all the madneſs of deſpair,
He roar'd, he beat his breaſt, he tore his hair.
Dry ſorrow in his ſtupid eyes appears,
For wanting nouriſhment, he wanted tears:
His eye-balls in their hollow ſockets ſink,
Bereft of ſleep he loaths his meat and drink;
He withers at his heart, and looks as wan,
As the pale ſpectre of a murder'd man.

"The image of the Suicide is equally pictureſque and pathetic.

The ſlayer of himſelf yet ſaw I there,
The gore congeal'd was clotted in his hair:
With eyes half-clos'd and gaping mouth he lay,
And grim, as when he breath'd his ſullen ſoul away.

This reminds me of that forcible deſcription in a writer whoſe fancy was eminently ſtrong. "Catilina vero, longe a ſuis, inter hoſtium cadavera repertus eſt, paululum etiam ſpirans; ferociamque animi, quam habuerat vivus, in vultu retinens." Nor muſt I omit that affecting image in Spenſer, who ever excels in the pathetic,

And him beſides there lay upon the graſs
A dreary corſe, whoſe life away did paſs,
All wallow'd in his own, yet lukewarm blood,
That from his wound yet welled freſh, alas;
In which a ruſty knife faſt fixed ſtood,
And made an open paſſage for the guſhing flood.

When Palamon perceived his rival had eſcaped,

——He ſtares, he ſtamps the ground;
The hollow tow'r with clamour rings around:
With briny tears he bath'd his fetter'd feet,
And dropp'd all o'er with agony of ſweat.

Nor are the feelings of Palamon leſs ſtrongly impreſſed on the reader, where he ſays,

The rage of Jealouſy then fir'd his ſoul,
And his face kindled like a burning coal:
Now cold Deſpair ſucceeding in her ſtead,
To livid paleneſs turn'd the glowing red.

"If we paſs on from deſcriptions of perſons to thoſe of things, we ſhall find this poem equally excellent. The temple of Mars, is ſituated with propriety, in a country deſolate and joyleſs; all around it,

The landſcape was a foreſt wide and bare;
Where neither beaſt nor human kind repair;
The fowl, that ſcent afar, the borders fly,
And ſhun the bitter blaſt, and wheel about the ſky.
A cake of ſcurf lies baking on the ground,
And prickly ſtubs inſtead of trees are found.

The temple itſelf is nobly and magnificently ſtudied; and, at the ſame time, adapted to the furious nature of the God to whom it belonged; and carries with it a barbarous and tremendous idea.

The frame of burniſh'd ſteel that caſt a glare
From far, and ſeem'd to thaw the freezing air.
A ſtrait long entry to the temple led,
Blind with high walls and horror overhead:
Thence iſſued ſuch a blaſt and hollow roar,
As threaten'd from the hinge to heave the door,
In through the door a northern light there ſhone,
'Twas all it had, for windows there were none.
The gate of adamant, eternal frame,
Which hew'd by Mars himſelf from Indian quarries came.

This ſcene of terror is judiciouſly contraſted by the pleaſing and joyous imagery of the temples of Venus and Diana. The figure of the

laſt goddeſs, is a deſign fit for Guido to execute.

The graceful goddeſs was array'd in green;
About her feet were little beagles ſeen,
That watch'd with upward eyes the motions of their queen.

But above all, the whole deſcription of the entering the liſts, and of the enſuing combat, which is told at length, in the middle of the third book, is marvellouſly ſpirited; and ſo lively, as to make us ſpectators of that intereſting and magnificent tournament. Even the abſurdity of feigning ancient heroes, ſuch as Theſeus and Lycurgus, preſent at the liſts and a modern combat, is overwhelmed and obliterated amidſt the blaze, the pomp, and the profuſion of ſuch animated poetry. Frigid and phlegmatic muſt be the critic, who could have leiſure duly and ſoberly to attend to the anachroniſm on ſo ſtriking an occaſion. The mind is whirled away by a torrent of rapid imagery, and propriety is forgot.

"The tale of Sigiſmonda and Guiſcardo is heightened with many new and affecting touches by Dryden. I ſhall ſelect only the following picture of Sigiſmonda, as it has the ſame attitude in which ſhe appears in a famous piece of Correggio.

Mute, ſolemn ſorrow, free from female noiſe,
Such as the majeſty of grief deſtroys:
For bending o'er the cup, the tears ſhe ſhed
Seem'd by the poſture to diſcharge her head,
O'erfill'd before; and oft (her mouth apply'd
To the cold heart) ſhe kiſs'd at once and cry'd.

There is an incomparable wildneſs in the viſion of Theodore and Honoria, that repreſents the furious ſpectre of "the horſeman ghoſt that came thundering for his prey," and of the gaunt maſtiffs that tore the ſides of the ſhrieking damſel he purſued; which is a ſubject worthy the pencil of Spagnoletti, as it partakes of that ſavageneſs which is ſo ſtriking to the imagination. I ſhall confine myſelf to point out only two paſſages, which relate the two appearances of this formidable figure: and I place them laſt, as I think them the moſt lofty of any part of Dryden's works.

Whilſt liſt'ning to the murm'ring leaves he ſtood,
More than a mile immers'd within the wood,
At once the wind was laid—the whiſp'ring ſound
Was dumb—a riſing earthquake rock'd the ground:
With deeper brown the grove was overſpread,
And his ears tingled, and his colour fled.

The ſenſations of a man upon the approach of ſome ſtrange and ſupernatural danger, can ſcarcely be repreſented more feelingly. All nature is thus ſaid to ſympathize at the ſecond appearance of

——The felon on his ſable ſteed
Arm'd with his naked ſword that urg'd his dogs to ſpeed.

Thus it runs ——

The fiend's alarm began; the hollow ſound
Sung in the leaves, the foreſt ſhook around,
Air blacken'd, roll'd the thunder, groan'd the ground.

"But to conclude this digreſſion on Dryden. It muſt be owned, that his ode on the power of muſic, which is the chief ornament of this volume, is the moſt unrivalled of his compoſitions. By that ſtrange fatality which ſeems to diſqualify authors from judging of their own works, he does not appear to have valued

valued this piece, becauſe he totally omits it in the enumeration and criticiſm he has given, of the reſt, in his preface to the volume. I ſhall add nothing to what I have already ſaid on this ſubject; but only tell the occaſion and manner of his writing it. Mr. St. John, afterwards lord Bolingbroke, happening to pay a morning viſit to Dryden, whom he always reſpected, found him in unuſual agitation of ſpirits, even to a trembling. On enquiring the cauſe, "I have been up all night, replied the old bard; my muſical friends made me promiſe to write them an ode for their feaſt of St. Cæcilia: I have been ſo ſtruck with the ſubject which occurred to me, that I could not leave it till I had completed it; here it is, finiſhed at one ſitting." And immediately he ſhewed him this ode, which places the Britiſh lyric poetry above that of any other nation. This anecdote, as true as it is curious, was imparted by lord Bolingbroke to Pope, by Pope to Mr. Gilbert Weſt, by him to the ingenious friend who communicated it to me. The rapidity, and yet the perſpicuity of the thoughts, the glow and the expreſſiveneſs of the images, thoſe certain marks of the firſt ſketch of a maſter, conſpire to corroborate the truth of the fact."

On the juſt IDEAS and good TASTE of POPE and MILTON, with with Reſpect to GARDENING.

[From the ſame Work.]

"POPE has given not only ſome of our firſt, but our beſt rules and obſervations on architecture and gardening, but particularly on the latter of theſe uſeful and entertaining arts, on which he has dwelt more largely, and with rather more knowledge of the ſubject. The following is copied verbatim from a little paper which he gave to Mr. Spence. "Arts are taken from nature, and, after a thouſand vain efforts for improvements, are beſt when they return to their firſt ſimplicity. A ſketch or analyſis of the firſt principles of each art, with their firſt conſequences, might be a thing of moſt excellent ſervice. Thus, for inſtance, all the rules of architecture might be reducible to three or four heads; the juſtneſs of the openings; bearings upon bearings; the regularity of the pillars, &c. That which is not juſt in buildings is diſagreeable to the eye (as a greater upon a leſſer, &c.) and this may be called the reaſoning of the eye. In laying out a garden, the firſt and chief thing to be conſidered is the genius of the place. Thus at Riſkins, now called Piercy Lodge, lord **** ſhould have raiſed two or three mounts, becauſe his ſituation is all a plain, and nothing can pleaſe without variety."

"Mr. Walpole, in his elegant and entertaining Hiſtory of Modern Gardening, has clearly proved that Kent was the artiſt to whom the Engliſh nation was chiefly indebted for diffuſing a taſte in laying out grounds, of which the French and Italians have no idea. But he adds, much to the credit of our author, that Pope undoubtedly contributed to form Kent's taſte. The deſign

of the prince of Wales's garden at Carlton-Houſe, was evidently borrowed from the poet's at Twickenham. There was a little affected modeſty in the latter, when he ſaid of all his works he was moſt proud of his garden. And yet it was a ſingular effort of art and taſte to impreſs ſo much variety and ſcenery on a ſpot of five acres. The paſſing through the gloom from the grotto to the opening day, the retiring and again aſſembling ſhades, the duſky groves, the larger lawn, and the ſolemnity of the termination at the cypreſſes that lead up to his mother's tomb, are managed with exquiſite judgment; and tho' lord Peterborough aſſiſted him,

> To form his quincunx and to rank his vines,

thoſe were not the moſt pleaſing ingredients of his little perſpective. I do not know whether the diſpoſition of the garden at Rouſham, laid out for general Dormer, and in my opinion the moſt engaging of all Kent's works, was not planned on the model of Mr. Pope's, at leaſt in the opening and retiring "ſhades of Venus's Vale."

"It ought to be obſerved, that many years before this epiſtle was written, and before Kent was employed as an improver of grounds, even ſo early as the year 1713, Pope ſeems to have been the very firſt perſon that cenſured and ridiculed the formal, French, Dutch, falſe and unnatural, mode in gardening, by a paper in the Guardian, Number 173, levelled againſt capricious operations of art, and every ſpecies of verdant ſculpture, and inverted nature; which paper abounds with wit as well as taſte, and ends with a ridiculous catalogue of various figures cut in ever-greens. Neither do I think that theſe four lines in this epiſtle,

> Here Amphytrite ſails thro' myrtle bow'rs;
> There gladiators fight, or die, in flowers:
> Un-water'd ſee the drooping ſea-horſe mourn,
> And ſwallows rooſt in Nilus' duſty urn;

do at all excel the following paſſage in his Guardian:

"A citizen is no ſooner proprietor of a couple of yews, but he entertains thoughts of erecting them into giants, like thoſe of Guildhall. I know an eminent cook, who beautified his country ſeat with a coronation dinner in greens, where you ſee the champion flouriſhing on horſeback at one end of the table, and the queen in perpetual youth at the other."

"But it was the vigorous and creative imagination of Milton, ſuperior to the prejudices of his times, that exhibited in his Eden, the firſt hints and outlines of what a beautiful garden ſhould be; for even his beloved Arioſto and Taſſo, in their luxuriant pictures of the gardens of Alcina and Armida, ſhewed they were not free from the unnatural and narrow taſte of their countrymen; and even his maſter, Spenſer, has an artificial fountain in the midſt of his bowre of bliſs.

"I cannot forbear taking occaſion to remark in this place, that, in the ſacred drama, intitled, L'Adamo, written and publiſhed at Milan in the year 1617, by Gio. Battiſta Andreini, a Florentine, which Milton certainly had read, (and of which Voltaire has given ſo falſe and ſo imperfect an account, in his Eſſay on the Epic Poets) the prints that are to repreſent Paradiſe are full of clipt hedges, ſquare parterres, ſtrait walks, trees uniformly lopt, regular knots and carpets of flowers, groves nodding at groves, marble fountains, and

and water-works. And yet theſe prints were deſigned by Carlo Antonio Proccachini, a celebrated landſchape painter of his time, and of the ſchool of the Carraches: many of thoſe works are ſtill admired at Milan. To every ſcene of this drama is prefixed a print of this artiſt's deſigning. And, as the book is very curious and uncommon, I intend to give a ſpecimen and analyſis of it in the Appendix to this volume.

"It hence appears, that this enchanting art of modern gardening, in which this kingdom claims a preference over every nation in Europe, chiefly owes its origin and its improvements to two great poets, Milton and Pope. May I be ſuffered to add, in behalf of a favourite author, and who would have been a firſt-rate poet, if his ſtyle had been equal to his conceptions, that the Seaſons of Thomſon have been very inſtrumental in diffuſing a general taſte for the beauties of nature and landſchape?

To build, to plant, whatever you intend,
To rear the column, or the arch to bend,
To ſwell the terrace, or to ſink the grot;
In all, let Nature never be forgot.
But treat the goddeſs like a modeſt fair,
Nor over-dreſs, nor leave her wholly bare;
Let not each beauty ev'ry where be ſpy'd,
When half the ſkill is decently to hide.
He gains all points who pleaſingly confounds,
Surpriſes, varies, and conceals the bounds.

The beſt comments that have ever been given on theſe ſenſible and ſtriking precepts are, Painſhill, Hagley, the Leaſowes, Perſefield, Woborn, Stourhead, and Blenheim; all of them exquiſite ſcenes in different ſtyles, and fine examples of practical poetry.

Conſult the Genius of the place in all,
That tells the waters, or to riſe or fall;
Or helps th' ambitious hill the heav'ns to ſcale,
Or ſcoops in circling theatres the vale;
Calls in the country, catches op'ning glades,
Joins willing woods, and varies ſhades from ſhades,
Now breaks, or now directs th' intending lines,
Paints as you plant, and as you work deſigns."

The INTRODUCTION of POLITE LITERATURE into this COUNTRY not to be aſcribed to FRANCE, but to ITALY.

[From the ſame Work.]

"POPE has alſo failed in aſcribing that introduction of our polite literature to France, which Horace attributes to Greece among the Romans. It was to Italy, among the moderns, that we owed our true taſte in poetry. Spenſer and Milton imitated the Italians, and not the French. And if he had correctneſs in his view, let us remember, that in point of regularity and correctneſs, the French had no dramatic piece equal to the Silent Woman of Ben Johnſon, performed 1609. At which time Corneille was but three years old. The rules of the drama are as much violated in the Cid, 1637, beautiful as it is, as in the Macbeth, Lear, and Othello, all written before Corneille was born; whoſe firſt comedy, Melite, which is now never acted, was repreſented 1625. The pieces of the very fertile Hardy (for he

he wrote ſix hundred) the immediate predeceſſor of Corneille, are full of improbabilities, indecorums, and abſurdities, and by no means comparable to Melite. As to the correctneſs of the French ſtage, of which we hear ſo much, the rules of the three unities are indeed rigorouſly and ſcrupulouſly obſerved; but the beſt of their tragedies, even ſome of thoſe of the ſweet and exact Racine, have defects of another kind, and are what may be juſtly called, deſcriptive and declamatory dramas; and contain the ſentiments and feelings of the author or the ſpectator, rather than of the perſon introduced as ſpeaking. "After the Reſtoration, ſays Pope in the margin, Waller, with the earl of Dorſet, Mr. Godolphin, and others, tranſlated the Pompey of Corneille; and the more correct French poets began to be in reputation." But the model was unfortunately and injudiciouſly choſen; for the Pompey of Corneille is one of his moſt declamatory tragedies. And the rhyme tranſlation they gave of it, is performed pitifully enough. Even Voltaire confeſſes, that Corneille is always making his heroes ſay of themſelves, that they are great men. It is in this paſſage that Pope ſays of two great maſters of verſification;

Waller was ſmooth; but *Dryden* taught to join
The varying verſe, the full-reſounding line,
The long majeſtic march, and energy divine.

"What! did Milton contribute nothing to the harmony and extent of our language? nothing to our national taſte, by his noble imitations of Homer, Virgil, and the Greek tragedies? Surely his verſes vary, and reſound as much, and diſplay as much majeſty and energy, as any that can be found in Dryden. And we will venture to ſay, that he that ſtudies Milton attentively, will gain a truer taſte for genuine poetry, than he that forms himſelf on French writers. His name ſurely was not to be omitted on this occaſion."

On the ORIGIN of the ITALIAN LANGUAGE.

[From the Second Volume of Dr. BURNEY's General Hiſtory of Muſic.]

"FROM the intimate connection and cloſe union of the arts, it is hardly poſſible to trace the progreſs of muſic in Italy without ſpeaking of its language; which has long been univerſally allowed to be more favourable to ſinging than any one that the numerous combinations of letters in all the alphabets of modern times have produced. And if the French, Provençal, and Spaniſh dialects can be deduced from the Latin, how much more eaſy is it to trace the Italian from that ſource; which is itſelf frequently ſo near pure and claſſical Latin, that no other change or arrangement of words ſeems to have been made, than what contributed to its ſweetneſs and facility of utterance.

"That the Italian tongue is derived from the vulgar language of the ancient Romans, ſeems the opinion of the beſt critics; but to diſcover and point out by what degrees it

it was ſmoothed and poliſhed to the ſtate in which Dante, Petrarca, and Boccacio found it in the fourteenth century, would require more time, and occupy more ſpace in this chapter than the ſubject ſeems neceſſarily to require. However, as the Italian language has been truly called by Metaſtaſio muſica ſteſſa, and is ſo favourable to vocal purpoſes as to be more muſical in itſelf, when merely ſpoken with purity, than any other in Europe, an enquiry into the cauſes of its mellifluence and natural melody does not ſeem foreign to a hiſtory of that art, which has been brought to ſuch perfection by the natives of Italy, that their refinements are adopted and rendered the criterion of grace and elegance in every other country where muſic is cultivated.

"Muratori has given innumerable paſſages from authors, of the eighth and ninth centuries, to prove, that after the Franks and Germans were ſettled in Italy, articles were uſed in the Latin language, inſtead of pronouns and changes of termination, in order to ſave the trouble of inflecting the caſes in nouns; but pretends not to ſay what this vulgar language was, or whether the clergy preached to the common people, or merchants carried on their correſpondence, in Latin or Italian.

"The learned Maffei allows the Provençal, French, Spaniſh, and Italian languages to be deſcendants from the Latin, but denies that the ancient inhabitants of Italy adopted any words from the Goths or Huns who invaded them. The genius of the German, Francic, or Teutonic language, which was ſpoken by the Lombards, was ſo diametrically oppoſite to that of the Italians, that it ſeems incredible there ſhould have been any exchange or union of dialects between them: the one being as remarkable for its numerous conſonants and harſh termination, as the other for its open vowels and melliſluous endings. As it is the opinion of this profound critic that the Romans had always a vulgar dialect, leſs grammatical and elegant than that of the ſenate and of books, he ſuppoſes the French, Spaniſh, and Italian languages to have been different modifications of this ruſtic, plebeian dialect. But it is as difficult to aſſign a reaſon for all theſe daughters of one common mother being ſo diſſimilar, as it is to account for the little reſemblance that is frequently found between other children of the ſame parents. And why the French language ſhould have ſo many naſal endings; the Spaniſh ſo many ſibillating, and the Italian alone have none but vocal terminations can only have been occaſioned by ſome particular and radical tendency in the vulgar and plebeian language of each country, from very high antiquity.

"The Romans had two words for moſt purpoſes, the one elegant and uſed by writers and perſons of education, and the other vulgar and common. The word caput, for inſtance, was an elevated expreſſion for the head, and teſta, uſed by Auſonius, an ignoble expreſſion for the ſame thing. Os, the mouth, according to Plautus and Juvenal, was called bucca by the common people; whence the word bocca in Italian. Equus, a horſe, according to Horace and Perſeus, was called caballus and caballinus by the plebeians, which the Italians have ſoftened into cavallo. The learned author has collected a great number of proofs in confirmation of his opinion that the Romans had at all times two languages; the one elegant, grammatical, and uſed by the patricians and

the learned; and the other mean, vulgar, inaccurate, and uſed only by the plebeians. That this vulgar language was more the parent of the Provençal, French, Spaniſh, and Italian languages than pure Latin, appears by the examples he has furniſhed; but the Italian was not only derived from the trivial and vulgar words in the Latin language, but from grammatical ſoleciſms and popular inaccuracies of pronunciation. It is not to be imagined that the common people of Rome, at any period, ſpoke ſuch correct and elegant language as their beſt authors have left us in their writings. Ever eager to convey their meaning, and to arrive at the true end of ſpeech by the ſhorteſt road, they hate the trouble of polyſyllables, and have a natural propenſity to abbreviate them. Of this the Marquis Maffei has likewiſe furniſhed innumerable examples in the Latin tongue, of very high antiquity. As *ſis* for *ſi vis*; *ain* for *aiſne*; *ſire nipſe* for *ſimilis re ipſa*; and *cauneas* for *cave ne eas*. But eliſions of conſonants were ſtill more frequent: as *per hoc* was ſoftened into *però*, *ſic* into *ſi*; and by the omiſſion of the *m* final in the accuſative caſe ſingular of nouns, as *amore* for *amorem*, *fama* for *famam*, &c. innumerable words in the Latin language inſenſibly became Italian; and as it was impoſſible for the common people, ignorant of grammar, to know all the neceſſary inflexions of nouns, it was natural for them to take greater liberties with the accuſative and ablative caſes than any other, and it is from theſe two caſes that the genius of the Italian language is chiefly derived.

"The learned marquis goes through all the caſes of nouns and tenſes of verbs; ſhews the formation of adverbs, and the mutation of letters, in order to remove harſhneſs and facilitate utterance. And it appears that the Roman ſoldiers and common people, totally loſt the terminations *um*, *ur*, and *us*, which rendered the article neceſſary to diſtinguiſh caſes, numbers, and perſons, as well as auxiliary verbs. It was the opinion of Muratori, that theſe changes and corruptions were occaſioned by the barbarians who invaded Italy; but both Maffei and Severino have proved that the Romans had introduced them long before the Goths, Franks, or Vandals had invaded them.

"This language continued long to partake of its barbarous origin, remaining rude, unformed, and without rules, as long as the uſe of Latin was preſerved in courts of juſtice, public acts, and polite converſation; and it was not till the twelfth century that the Muſes honoured the vulgar language of Italy ſo far as to admit it into their concerts.

"The ſuperiority of the Tuſcan dialect over all the others of Italy is aſcribed by Gravina to the ancient democratic form of government at Florence, which, before the Medici family had uſurped the ſovereignty, furniſhed the citizens with frequent opportunities of ſpeaking in public, and encouragement for poliſhing their language "in order to bring the people over to their opinions, by the ſweetneſs of their eloquence."

"That every language of a learned and commercial people is greatly changed in the courſe of a few centuries, is well known. Horace complains of the want of permanence in that of the Romans; Quintilian tells us that in his time ſcarcely any of the ancient language was left; and in the time of Juſtinian new inflexions and modes of ſpeech, neglect of ſyntax, abbreviations, and vulgar barbariſms, were

leading

leading to a new language. But like the provincial dialects of moſt countries, this language was many ages merely colloquial, and never admitted into books.

"It was the faſhion for the learned to write their familiar letters in Latin, even to women, ſo late as the time of Petrarca, when it was ſtill cuſtomary to preach in that language; but preaching was then leſs frequent than at preſent. Even ſo late as the year 1500, the biſhops and dignified clergy, after preaching in Latin to a ſelect congregation of well educated perſons, had their ſermons repeated the next day to the common people by the friars in the vulgar tongue. The ſermons of theſe early periods, by St. Francis, St. Anthony of Padua, Bernardino da Siena, and many others that have been preſerved, are all in Latin. But it is a curious circumſtance, that after this period many ſermons are found in half Latin and half Italian; for the preachers, accommodating themſelves by degrees to the vulgar, avoided the trouble of a regular tranſlation, by interlining the Latin with fragments of Italian. But this is ſtill leſs extraordinary than the barbariſm of our Engliſh ſermons, which not many years ago were almoſt half Latin. An Italian congregation, from the affinity of the two languages, was likely to underſtand a conſiderable part of what was uttered in Latin, which was not the caſe with the Engliſh. The ſermons of the famous Jeremy Taylor, in the time of Charles the Firſt, are crowded with Greek in every page.

"When Dante wrote his Vita Nuova, in the beginning of the fourteenth century, he ſaid that the Italian language had not ſubſiſted more than one hundred and fifty years; and that it was at firſt uſed by ſome poet for the ſake of his miſtreſs, by whom the verſes addreſſed to her in Latin began to be underſtood with great difficulty."

"And Muratori furniſhes a ſpecimen of Italian rhymes from the Moſaic in the cathedral of Ferrara, ſo early as 1135.

Il mile cento trempta cinque nato
Fo queſto tempio a Zorzi conſecrato,
Fo Nicolao Scolptore,
E Glielmo fo l'Autore.

"Corticelli in his Eloquenza Toſcana aſſerts, that "in Italy, lyric verſes preceded all other poetry; and ſo general is the love for this ſpecies of verſification, that there is no nation, however barbarous, without it." And this author imagined that lyric poetry had its riſe in Tuſcany about the year 1184, upon the following occaſion: the emperor Frederic Barbaroſſa being hunting in Mugello, a delightful country of Tuſcany, and a ſtag paſſing precipitately by him, Ubaldino Ubaldini, a valiant Florentine knight, ſeized him by the horns, and held him while the emperor ſlew him; for which bold and dexterous ſervice the emperor gave him the ſtag's head, with a permiſſion to aſſume it in his family arms. Ubaldino compoſed an inſcription to commemorate this event, which is ſtill to be ſeen engraved on marble at Florence, and though written like proſe, it conſiſts of ſhort verſes, in rhyme, with a mixture of Latin words; and is ſuppoſed to have been the firſt attempt at lyric poetry in Tuſcany; but he believes that the firſt ſongs in modern languages were written in Sicily: whence the art paſſed into Provence among the Troubadours, of whom the Italians learned it about the thirteenth century.

"Few

"Few other veſtiges of poetry are to be found before the year 1200. Rhymes written upon the ſubject of love, by the emperor Frederic the Second, who was born in 1194, are among the moſt ancient that have been preſerved.

"Though the French began to write in their own dialect much ſooner than the Italians, yet their language was brought to no perfection before the laſt century; but the writings of the Italians, of the fourteenth century, are ſtill regarded as models of perfection, with reſpect to diction and conſtruction.

"According to Creſcimbeni, the Italian written language was not wholly formed till the thirteenth century, though it was colloquially uſed much earlier. Many verſes and memorials ſtill remain of the Italian tongue during this period. But the Sicilians, ſays the ſame writer, were the firſt who committed to paper verſes in Italian, whoſe ſucceſs excited other poets in Italy, eſpecially the Tuſcans, to imitate them; and Petrarca was in doubt whether the Sicilians imitated the Provençals, or the Provençals the Sicilians in their poetical compoſitions. But as both theſe countries were long under the ſame ſovereigns, the inhabitants would naturally cultivate and encourage the ſame arts and language. If the Sicilians were the firſt poets in a vulgar tongue, they were at leaſt very negligent in preſerving ſufficient examples of their ancient poetry to aſcertain its title to priority. Indeed Muratori ſays, that the moſt ancient ſonnets in the Italian language were written by the Sicilians; but he neither gives ſpecimens, nor names the authors of them.

"Creſcimbeni, however, confeſſes, as Bembo, Redi, and many Italian writers of eminence had done before, that the Provençals were regarded by his countrymen as the fathers of their poetry; and that Dante, Cino da Piſtoia, Guido Cavalcante, Petrarca, and Boccaccio, allowed them to have formed their own language, and produced an infinite number of poems, long before the Italians could boaſt of either. Indeed by a compariſon of the moſt ancient Italian poems now ſubſiſting with thoſe of Provence, it appears that they imitated the forms and ſtructure of the poetical compoſitions of the ancient Troubadours, who furniſhed them likewiſe with their poetical terms of art which are the ſame in both languages."

On the Prevailing TASTE for POETRY.

[From the laſt improved Edition of Mr. KNOX's Eſſays, Moral and Literary.]

"SWEET poeſy! thou loveliеſt object of intellectual purſuit. —But I am running into a rhapſody, when I intended only a diſſertation. It is, indeed, difficult not to be tranſported beyond the limits of cool criticiſm, in contemplating the beauties which the magic hand of the poet raiſes around, with all the creative power of a real enchantment. From the cares of gain, the toils of ambition, the noiſe, the hurry, the vexation of a diſordered world, we riſe on the wings of poeſy

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to ethereal regions, where all is sublime and tranquil; or are wafted to visionary scenes, in which are displayed all the delicious sweets of a paradise and an elysium. Away, ye sordid objects; ye pollutions and incumbrances of the pure spirit! Man is not tied down to you. Providence, in compassion to wretched mortals, has given them a power of forsaking this low orb, and soaring awhile, all mind, all spirit, all extasy, in the car of the swan, on the wings of the eagle.

"Reason alone, with all her pretensions, is seldom sufficient to soothe our cares, and compose our passions; but melody and fancy united with her, are capable of pouring balm into the wounded heart. In all nations, and in all ranks of the people, some species of poetry has been cultivated; and a taste for it was undoubtedly implanted in our nature, that the sore evils of reality might often be alleviated by the sweets of fiction. When Pandora's box was opened on mankind, and misery diffused on every side, fancy as well as hope, kindly lingered for our consolation.

"While we are tracing the love of song from the favoured isles of the Southern Ocean to the regions of Iceland, we are naturally tempted to dwell, with particular attention, on the poetical taste of our own country, and our own times.

"I think it is not difficult to perceive, that the admirers of English poetry are divided into two parties. The objects of their love are, perhaps, of equal beauty, though they greatly differ in their air, their dress, the turn of their features, and their complexion. On one side are the lovers and imitators of Spenser and Milton; and on the other, those of Dryden, Boileau, and Pope.

"Now it happens, unfortunately, that those who are in love with one of these forms, are, sometimes, so blind to the charms of the other, as to dispute their existence. The author of the Essay on Pope, who is himself a very agreeable poet, and of what I call the old school of English poetry, seems to deny the justice of Mr. Pope's claim to the title of a true poet, and to appropriate to him the subordinate character of a satyrical versifier. On the other hand, the authors of the Traveller, and of the Lives of the English poets, hesitate not to strip the laurels from the brow of the Lyric Gray.

"Goldsmith, in his Life of Parnell, has invidiously compared the Night Piece on Death to Gray's Elegy; and in a manner, which betrays a little jealousy of a living poet's fame, given the preference to Parnell. There is also a little censure thrown on the elegy, in a collection which Goldsmith published under the title of the Beauties of English poetry. I remember to have heard Goldsmith converse, when I was very young, on several subjects of literature, and make some oblique and severe reflections on the fashionable poetry. I became a convert to his opinion, because I revered his authority. I took up the odes of Gray with unfavourable prepossessions, and in writing my remarks on them, joined in the censure. I have since read them with great delight, and on comparing their style, and even their obscurity, with many of the finest pieces of lyric composition in all antiquity, I find a very great resemblance. I am not ashamed to retract my former opinion, and to pay the tribute of applause to those elegant friends, Gray and Mason. At the same time, while it is easy to discern that they differ greatly from the

the ſchool of Dryden and Pope, it is no derogation from their merit to aſſert, that they are the genuine diſciples of Spenſer and Milton. Such alſo are the very elegant and learned brothers, one of whom preſides, with ſo much honour, over the ſchool at Wincheſter, and the other has written an elegant and elaborate hiſtory of that Engliſh poetry in which himſelf excels.

"Goldſmith's Traveller is certainly a beautiful poem, and ſo are Dr. Johnſon's Imitations of Juvenal; but they, and a thouſand others of the ſame ſpecies, are of a different ſtamp from the Engliſh antique. They are excellent productions in one kind, but not leſs ſo are thoſe of Gray and Maſon in another. Let both ſchools flouriſh and receive their due applauſe, nor let thoſe who have only acquired a taſte for one, treat the other with contempt. Spenſer and Milton drew not from a Gothic model, but from the poliſhed Italians, who, though they had loſt ſome of the purity and ſimplicity of ancient Rome, yet retained much of her elegance. I cannot help thinking that his poetical talents are confined, who has not obſerved with delight, the ſweet lines, the ſweet language of Spenſer; and who has not been alſo charmed with the ſmaller pieces of Milton. All taſtes, however various, allow Shakſpeare's claim to poetry; but it cannot be denied, that ſome of his beſt deſcriptions, and eſpecially thoſe delicious morſels which occur in the form of ſongs or ſonnets, partake much more of the ancient than of the modern ſchool, either Engliſh or French; for we may call it Engliſh, if we attribute its origin to Pope, and French, if to Boileau.

"There ſeems to be an unreaſonable prejudice entertained againſt blank verſe, by thoſe who wiſh to dictate on the ſubject of criticiſm. It is ſufficient, in the idea of many, to condemn a poem that is written in blank verſe. Though one may prefer rhyme upon the whole; yet, as blank verſe is ſuſceptible of great variety of muſic, and of every ornament of diction, it is ſurely abſurd to involve it in any general cenſure. It may, however, be attributed to this idle prepoſſeſſion, that Mr. Maſon's Engliſh Garden ſeems to be neglected. There is, indeed, a general prejudice againſt all works which appear to come from that ſchool, and the very ſevere criticiſms of the late biographical preface to the works of Gray, will, perhaps, contribute to explode a moſt delightful ſtyle of pure poetry; of poetry, converſant ſolely in the regions of fancy, and clothed in a luminous and muſical diction, appropriated to itſelf, and moſt remote from all that is proſaic. Very high commendations are due to Mr. Anſtey, to the author of a poetical epiſtle to Sir William Chambers, to Mr. Hayley, and to ſeveral others, who are well known to fame for their ſucceſsful labours in the ſchool of Pope; but, at leaſt, an equal ſhare of praiſe ought to be paid to the ſcholars of Milton and Spenſer;—ſuch as Mr. Maſon, and the two poetical brothers. With reſpect to Gray, he has received his tribute of applauſe from a diſcerning public, and has certainly deſerved it. The heart and the imagination have given it him; and they who can ſee no beauty in his verſe, may probably ſucceed in writing a lampoon; but would probably fall far ſhort of the poet whom they cenſure, in lyric and elegiac poetry.

"None can entertain a higher veneration for our late Prefatory Biographer of the poets than myſelf, and I was therefore greatly concern-

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ed to ſee him expoſed to cenſure by an uncandid, not to ſay injudicious, piece of criticiſm on the poems of Gray. He indeed allows the merit of the elegy, but examines and cenſures the odes with every appearance of wanton malignity. Who but muſt lament that the ſolid critic and moraliſt ſhould have been ſo much under the influence of envy and jealouſy, as to treat the fame of his cotemporary, the illuſtrious Gray, with ſingular harſhneſs, in a work which contains very candid accounts of a Sprat and a Yalden, a Duke and a Broome, and of others, with whom, if Gray is compared, he will appear, as Shakſpeare ſays, like Hyperion to a Satyr.

"The late collection of poets has reſtored to temporary life many a ſickly and dying poet, who was haſtening to his proper place, the tomb of oblivion. Why was any more paper waſted on Dorſet, Halifax, Stepney, Walſh, and Blackmore? How can a work pretend to the comprehenſive title of the Body of Engliſh Poetry, in which the works of Spenſer and Shakſpeare are omitted, to make room for ſuch writers as King or Ambroſe Philips? The writer of the prefaces is, indeed, ſufficiently willing to throw the blame from himſelf on the compilers, whom he was not permitted, or did not endeavour to controul. A ſelection, formed under the direction of true taſte, would have anſwered the two great ends of the publication which it has now fruſtrated; it would have amply paid the bookſellers, and reflected honour on Engliſh literature. Then ſhould we have ſeen, in the place of Roſcommon and Rocheſter, Pomfret and Fenton, the works of Goldſmith, of Glover, of Maſon, of Aikin, of Carter, of Beattie, of the Wartons, of Anſtey, and of many others, who would ſhine among the Hughes's, Pitts, and Savages, like the moon among the diminiſhed conſtellations.

"Upon the many and excellent living writers of poetry, we may obſerve, that though the diſtreſsful times of war and political animoſity are unfavourable to the gentle arts of verſe; yet the active and poliſhed genius of this nation ſeems capable of ſurmounting all obſtacles in letters, as its manly ſpirit has ultimately borne all before it in the unhappy conteſts of war."

On the POEMS attributed to ROWLEY.

[From the Same Work.]

"THERE are many truths which we firmly believe, though we are unable to refute every argument which the extreme ſubtilty of refined learning may advance to invalidate them. When I read the reſearches of thoſe learned antiquaries who have endeavoured to prove, that the poems attributed to Rowley were really written by him, I obſerve many ingenious remarks in confirmation of their opinion, which it would be tedious, if not difficult, to controvert. But I no ſooner turn to the poems, than the labours of the antiquaries appear only a waſte of time and ingenuity, and I am involuntarily forced to join

join in placing that laurel, which he ſeems ſo well to have deſerved, on the brow of Chatterton.

"The poems bear ſo many marks of ſuperior genius, that they have deſervedly excited the general attention of polite ſcholars, and are conſidered as the moſt remarkable productions in modern poetry. We have many inſtances of poetical eminence at an early age; but neither Cowley, Milton, nor Pope, ever produced any thing, while they were boys, which can juſtly be compared to the poems of Chatterton. The learned antiquaries do not indeed diſpute their excellence. They extol it in the higheſt terms of applauſe. They raiſe their favourite Rowley to a rivalry with Homer; but they make the very merit of the works an argument againſt the real author. It is impoſſible, ſay they, that a boy could produce compoſitions ſo beautiful and ſo maſterly. That a common boy ſhould produce them is not poſſible; but that they ſhould be produced by a boy of an extraordinary genius, ſuch a genius as is that of Homer and Shakſpeare; ſuch a genius as appears not above once in many centuries; though a prodigy, is ſuch an one as by no means exceeds the bounds of rational credibility.

"That Chatterton was ſuch a genius, his manners and his life in ſome degree evince. He had all the tremulous ſenſibility of genius, all its eccentricities, all its pride, and all its ſpirit. Even his death, unfortunate and wicked as it was, diſplayed a magnitude of ſoul, which urged him to ſpurn a world, where even his exalted genius could not vindicate him from contempt, indigence, and contumely.

"Againſt the opinion of his ſuperiority of genius, the miſcellanies which he publiſhed in a periodical pamphlet, are triumphantly produced. But what proof is there, that all which are attributed to him were really his own? They are collected after his death; collected, I ſuppoſe, by conjecture, and publiſhed in a ſeparate volume, with all the typographical errata of the haſty pamphlets from which they are reprinted. But in many of the pieces which were confeſſedly written by him, there are marks of genius, not indeed equal to thoſe of the counterfeit Rowley, but ſuch as prove, that the boy who wrote them could write better. In compoſing the ancient poems, all his attention had been exerted. It was the firſt, and ſeems to have been the greateſt, object of his life, to raiſe himſelf to future eminence by the inſtrumentality of a fictitious poet of a former age. Nights, if not days, were devoted to the work; for we have it on record, that he uſed to ſit awake in his chamber during the ſilence of midnight. But the little compoſitions which he wrote for the magazines, were either written in a careleſs mood, when he relaxed his mind from his grand work, or in a moment of diſtreſs, when an extemporary eſſay or copy of verſes was neceſſary to procure him a half-penny roll and a draught of ſmall beer. When he found that the editors were more deſirous of quantity than quality, and amidſt the numerous volunteers in their ſervice, ſeemed backward to engage with one who wanted a ſtipend, he foreſaw that even the little which nature wanted would not be ſupplied—He ſaw, and reſigned his indignant ſpirit.

"Unfortunate boy! ſhort and evil were thy days, but thy fame ſhall be immortal. Hadſt thou been known to the munificent patrons of genius—But waſt thou not known

to one? If fame report thy treatment truly, it was not kind of thee, Horatio; it was not like thyſelf, for thou art gentle in thy nature. Waſt thou not conſidered as the oracle of taſte, the inveſtigator of all that is curious in arts and literature?—It was then, at laſt, thy only pride and pleaſure to bring to light a catalogue of royal and noble authors.—What hadſt thou to do with reptiles? with a poor, friendleſs, and obſcure charity-boy? Beſides, exclaims Horatio, it was a forgery,—a horrid, a vile forgery—Impoſtors are not to be encouraged.—But let us aſk thee, Didſt not thou put a falſe name to thy own romance,—to thy own poor production, for ſuch it is when compared with the ſublime excellence of Chatterton? If, indeed, thy neglect of the poor boy aroſe from miſtake or inadvertency, and I think it might, the generous public freely forgives thee;—but if from pride and inſolence, the preſent and all future times will probably reſent an omiſſion, which haſtened one of the greateſt genuiſes which England ever knew, at the age of a boy, to that bourne from which no traveller returns.

"Unfortunate boy! poorly waſt thou accommodated during thy ſhort ſojourning among us;—rudely waſt thou treated,—ſorely did thy feeling ſoul ſuffer from the ſcorn of the unworthy; and there are, at laſt, thoſe who wiſh to rob thee of thy only meed, thy poſthumous glory. Severe too, are the cenſures of thy morals. In the gloomy moments of deſpondency, I fear thou haſt uttered impious and blaſphemous thoughts, which none can defend, and which neither thy youth, nor thy fiery ſpirit, nor thy ſituation can extenuate. But let thy more rigid cenſors reflect, that thou waſt literally and ſtrictly but a boy. Let many of thy bittereſt enemies reflect what were their own religious principles, and whether they had any, at the age of fourteen, fifteen, and ſixteen. Surely it is a ſevere and an unjuſt ſurmiſe, that thou wouldeſt probably have ended thy life as a victim of the laws, if thou hadſt not finiſhed it as thou didſt; ſince the very act by which thou durſt put an end to thy painful exiſtence, proves, that thou thoughteſt it better to die, than to ſupport life by theft or violence. The ſpeculative errors of a boy who wrote from the ſudden ſuggeſtions of paſſion or deſpondency, who is not convicted of any immoral or diſhoneſt act in conſequence of his ſpeculations, ought to be excuſed and conſigned to oblivion. But there ſeems to be a general and inveterate diſlike to the boy, excluſively of the poet; a diſlike which many will be ready to impute, and, indeed, not without the appearance of reaſon, to that inſolence and envy of the little great, which cannot bear to acknowlege ſo tranſcendent and commanding a ſuperiority in the humble child of penury and obſcurity.

"Malice, if there was any, may ſurely now be at reſt; for "Cold he lies in the grave below." But where were ye, O ye friends to genius, when ſtung with diſappointment, diſtreſſed for food and raiment, with every frightful form of human miſery painted on his fine imagination, poor Chatterton ſunk in deſpair? Alas! ye knew him not then, and now it is too late,——

> For now he is dead;
> Gone to his death-bed,
> All under the willow-tree.

So ſang the ſweet youth, in as tender an elegy as ever flowed from a feeling heart.

"In return for the pleaſure I have received from thy poems, I pay

pay thee, poor boy, the trifling tribute of my praiſe. Thyſelf thou haſt emblazoned; thine own monument thou haſt erected. But they whom thou haſt delighted, feel a pleaſure in vindicating thine honours from the rude attacks of detraction. Thy ſentiments, thy verſe, thy rhythm, all are modern, all are thine. By the help of gloſſaries and dictionaries, and the peruſal of many old Engliſh writers, thou haſt been able to tranſlate the language of the preſent time into that of former centuries. Thou haſt built an artificial ruin. The ſtones are moſſy and old, the whole fabric appears really antique to the diſtant and the careleſs ſpectator; even the connoiſſeur, who pores with ſpectacles on the ſingle ſtones, and inſpects the moſſy concretions with an antiquarian eye, boldly authenticates its antiquity; but they who examine without prejudice, and by the criterion of common ſenſe, clearly diſcover the cement and the workmanſhip of a modern maſon.

"But though I cannot entertain a doubt but that the poems were written by Chatterton, yet I mean not to dictate to others, nor will I engage in controverſy. I have expreſſed my feelings as thoſe of a reader, who, though he reſpects the ſtudy of antiquities, diſlikes the blind prejudices of the mere antiquary. I leave the weapons of controverſy to be wielded by thoſe powerful champions in the cauſe of Chatterton, a Tyrwhit and a Warton. I give a ſingle vote for Chatterton; but I can make no intereſt in his favour."

CRITICAL OBSERVATIONS relating to VIRGIL's ECLOGUES.

[From Dr. STEDDMAN's LÆLIUS and HORTENSIA.]

"AS a beginning to theſe critical obſervations, I ſhall attempt a vindication of Donatus, in a circumſtance which he mentions concerning the ſixth Eclogue. This author, in his life of Virgil, ſays, that, when ſome verſes of that paſtoral were rehearſed from the theatre by Cytheris, Cicero was ſo much pleaſed with them, that he wiſhed afterwards to hear the whole; and that, having heard them, he called out, "*Magnae ſpes altera Romae.*" The commentators and critics have generally condemned this as a flagrant anachroniſm, particularly Peter Ramus, Vavaſſeuer, du Verdier, and Bayle. Mr. Dryden ſeems to have intentionally avoided an examination of any thing relating to the chronology of Virgil's life.

"The four authors juſt mentioned obſerve, that the firſt paſtoral was not compoſed till after the diviſion of the lands about Mantua and Cremona, when Auguſtus gave them to his veterans, which was about five years after Cicero's death.

"To conſider this matter properly, it muſt be obſerved, that Virgil was born in the year of Rome 683, and died in 734 or 735. Some make both his birth and his death one year later, which, in the preſent enquiry, is of little importance. Cicero was put to death in the year of Rome 711. Virgil, therefore, at Cicero's death, was twenty-eight years of age,

age, and, at the diviſion of the lands about Mantua thirty-three or thirty-four.

" The criticiſm relating to Donatus would be a juſt one, could it be aſcertained that the Tityrus was the eclogue firſt compoſed; but it can hardly be believed that a mind ſo well informed, and a genius ſo refined as that of Virgil, would remain inactive till thirty-four, or even till twenty-eight years of age; nor is it probable that the Tityrus was Virgil's firſt compoſition. That it was placed firſt by Virgil himſelf, is obvious from the two laſt verſes of the fourth Georgic, and from ſome paſſages of contemporary authors. But, farther, the ſixth eclogue hath much the appearance of having been Virgil's firſt paſtoral compoſition. Whoever reads the twelve verſes which make the opening to it, can ſcarcely doubt of the truth of this obſervation. Beſides, the ſubject of this eclogue having occupied Virgil's mind during his juvenile ſtudies, had probably then, or ſoon thereafter, been digeſted into the order in which they now ſtand; for theſe mythological fables were commonly taught in their ſchools, and were ſometimes made ſubjects of declamation.

" Had not Virgil compoſed any of his paſtorals till the expulſion of the Mantuan peaſants, that is, till thirty-three or thirty-four years of age, he could hardly have ſaid with propriety,

Carmina qui luſi paſtorum *audaxque Juventa*, &c.

" That the Tityrus, though not the firſt paſtoral compoſition, ſhould, nevertheleſs, have the firſt place, is not ſurpriſing, when we conſider the important occaſion on which it was written, and likewiſe, that it contains the praiſes of Auguſtus; nor doth there appear any good reaſon why Donatus and Servius ſhould have mentioned the ſixth eclogue, as having been known to Cicero preferable to any other, the compoſition of which may be ſuppoſed to have preceded his death, had not theſe two authors been ſupported by ſome good authority. Upon the whole, when theſe circumſtances are compared together, it appears no way improbable that Cicero had heard this paſtoral, and likewiſe, conſidering the vanity to which this great man was naturally ſubject, that he uttered the expreſſion aſcribed to him, which Virgil afterwards inſerted in the Æneid.

" Servius, in his note upon *Nos patriæ fines*, &c. Eclogue 1ſt, hath fallen into an anachroniſm, which ſeems to have eſcaped the animadverſion of the commentators. He would make the diſtribution of the Mantuan lands among Auguſtus's ſoldiers not to have happened till after Antony's defeat at Actium. This battle was fought in the year of Rome 721 or 722, at which time Virgil was thirty-eight or thirty-nine years of age, a period in which Servius ſays, in another place, he had finiſhed both his Paſtorals and Georgics.

" It may be alleged, that, by *victo Antonio*, Servius may mean the battle of Mutina, where Antony ſuffered a defeat. But this cannot be, ſince Auguſtus did not reward his veterans till after the battle of Philippi, which was four or five years poſterior to that of Mutina; and in the battle of Philippi the ſoldiers were more properly Antony's than Cæſar's, the honour of that victory being chiefly aſcribed to Antony. This Servius himſelf allows in his note upon *Impius Miles*, where he ſays, *qui pro Antonio arma portavit*.

"The commentators have been embarraſſed in endeavouring to explain who and how many were thoſe known by the name of Varus or Varius, for whom Horace and Virgil expreſs ſo great eſteem and affection. Some, without regard to the order of time, ſeek no farther than Quintilius Varus, who, with his legions, was killed in Germany, or Varius the epic poet. Catullus, in his tenth epigram, mentions one Varus, whom Muretus notwithſtanding his uſual accuracy, would make this Quintilius. The diſaſter of Quintilius did not happen till the year of Rome 762. So that, conſidering the diſtance of time, if theſe two, being of the ſame family, were likewiſe in the ſame line of deſcent, Quintilius might have been grandſon of the other, or, perhaps, a degree farther removed. There were ſo many eminent men of the Varian family in the time of Auguſtus, that it becomes difficult, perhaps impoſſible, to determine which of them it was whom Virgil mentions with ſo much applauſe in his ſixth eclogue. It is abundantly evident, that Virgil cannot mean the Varus killed in Germany, ſince that event happened upwards of fifty years after the compoſition of this paſtoral, and nearly thirty years after Virgil's death. Now, as the Varus, celebrated by Virgil had diſtinguiſhed himſelf in the military line, before the writing of that paſtoral, he may be ſuppoſed, at that time, thirty years of age, or upwards, and, conſequently, between eighty and ninety when the maſſacre in Germany happened. It is not a little ſurpriſing, that both C. Stephanus and Mr. Ainſworth have fallen into the ſame miſtake with Muretus, in their hiſtorical dictionaries, in ſuppoſing either the Varus of Catullus or of Virgil to have lived to ſo late a period.

"Others have made the Varus, who was originally a cobler in Cremona, and afterwards a noted civilian, the patron of Virgil. But a moderate attention to chronology will diſcover this to be a falſe notion; for this Varus was elected conſul in the year of Rome 754, that is, about twenty years after Virgil's death. A man, therefore, of an extract ſo low, and who had been in a line of life ſo mean, cannot be ſuppoſed to have had it in his power to patroniſe Virgil ſo early as 711. Nor is it probable, that Varus the civilian ever appeared in arms, or diſtinguiſhed himſelf in that way. It is ſtill leſs probable that Attius Varus, who was deeply engaged with the Pompeian faction, could be Virgil's patron, as ſome have alleged; for this Varus, having had a conſiderable command in Africa, paſſed over into Spain, and was killed at the battle of Munda, which happened at leaſt three years earlier than the compoſition of the ſixth eclogue.

"There are ſtill two of the name of Varus, one of whom was probably Virgil's patron, who is celebrated in this paſtoral. The one is Quintilius Varus, taken by Cæſar in Corfinium at the beginning of the civil war, who was a warm friend to the republican cauſe, and ſealed it with his blood after the battle of Philippi; the other is that Varus who got the command of the provinces beyond the Po, had the direction of the partition of the Mantuan lands, and is ſaid to have been inſtrumental in ſaving Virgil's farm. Some have given the *prænomen* of Alphenus or Alfenus, others of Quintilius, to this Varus, which hath proved the cauſe of confuſion and uncertainty. There is little room to doubt that the Varus mentioned in the ninth eclogue is the epic poet."

PHILOSOPHICAL PAPERS.

OBSERVATIONS on the BILLS of MORTALITY at YORK. By Dr. White.

[From the Philosophical Transactions.]

"FAITHFUL and accurate registers of the number of births and deaths kept in different places are of great importance to the community. The ſtateſman, the philoſopher, and the phyſician, are equally intereſted in inquiries which infallibly ſhew us the real ſtate of the nation, as to population, healthfulneſs, and as connected with the latter, virtue and temperance.

"It muſt give great pleaſure to a reflecting mind, to find, from undeniable proofs, that this nation appears to be, in the above reſpects, in a general and progreſſive ſtate of improvement. The births have become more numerous, the deaths fewer in proportion, in almoſt every place where the regiſters have been conſulted: for proof of this I refer to the Tranſactions of the Royal Society, vol. LVII. LIX. LXI. LXIV. LXV. &c. and to a publication of Mr. Wales, F. R. S. intituled, An Inquiry into the preſent State of Population in England and Wales, lately publiſhed.

"It would not perhaps be difficult, and as a phyſician I could with pleaſure attempt the inveſtigation, to diſcover the various cauſes to which ſuch effects may be attributed; but here a wide field offers itſelf to our examination. It will, however, be neceſſary juſt to point out ſuch as affect this city in particular, in a ſubſequent part of this paper.

"Mr. Drake, F. R. S. in his Antiquities of York, has given us the number of births and burials for 7 years, from Auguſt 5, 1728, to Auguſt 5, 1735, incluſive. This gave a favourable opportunity of comparing our preſent ſtate after an elapſe of 45 years. In order to this, the different pariſh regiſters were carefully examined from January 1, 1770, to December 31, 1776, incluſive: I added the number of males and females for the latter term, which Mr. Drake omitted.

Table I. The number of births and burials in York, from Auguſt 5, 1728, to Auguſt 5, 1735.

The different Pariſhes:	Births.	Burials.
All Saints, Pavement,	123	218
All Saints, North-ſtreet,	101	111
St. Crux,	132	159
St. Cuthbert's,	55	80
St. Dyonis,	92	106
St. Helen's,	113	122
St. John's,	136	173
St. Laurence,	60	77
Martin's, Conyngs-ſtreet,	73	110
Michael le Belfray,	310	327
Carried over,	1195	1483

The different Parishes.	Births.	Burials.
Brought forward,	1195	1483
St. Mary's, Castle-gate, -	150	221
St. Michael, Spur-rier-gate, -	198	216
St. Martin's, Mickle-gate, -	92	117
Bishophill the elder,	103	117
Bishophill the younger,	57	73
St. Maurice, -	55	158
St. Margaret's, -	118	147
St. Olave's, -	147	181
St. Saviour's, -	70	103
St. Sampson's, -	188	228
Christ Church, -	140	119
Trinity, Goodram-gate, -	143	144
Trinity, Mickle-gate,	129	152
Dissenters, -	18	29
	2803	3488

The burials, therefore, exceeded the births 685 in 7 years, or 98 annually.

TABLE II. The number of births and burials from January 1, 1770, to December 31, 1776, inclusive.

The different Parishes.	Births.	Burials.
All Saints, Pavement,	240	153
All Saints, North-street, -	96	88
St. Crux, - -	146	109
Carried forward,	482	350
Brought forward,	472	360
St. Cuthbert's, -	102	126
St. Dyonis, - -	109	96
St. Helen's, -	96	76
St. John's, -	183	124
St. Laurence, -	97	83
Martin's, Conyngs-street, -	104	74
Michael le Belfray,	297	298
St. Mary's, Castle-gate, -	159	210
St. Michael's, Spur-rier-gate, -	151	113
Martin's, Mickle-gate,	82	98
Bishophill the elder,	124	151
Bishophill the younger,	121	92
St. Maurice, -	76	138
St. Margaret's, -	182	142
St. Olave's, -	234	296
St. Saviour's, -	96	108
Sampson's, -	174	184
Christ Church, -	147	110
Trinity, Goodram-gate -	161	118
Trinity, Mickle-gate,	122	164
Dissenters, -	24	24
	3323	3175

Decreased in burials 313, or $44\frac{5}{7}$ annually.

Births increased 520, or $74\frac{2}{7}$ ditto.

Births exceed the burials 148, or $21\frac{1}{2}$, ditto.

TABLE III. The number of births and burials, with the proportion of males and females, annually, from January 1, 1770, to December 31, 1776.

	Births.	Males.	Females.	Burials.	Males.	Females.
1770	467	237	230	417	203	214
1771	451	225	226	485	225	260
1772	490	238	252	508	220	288
1773	474	244	232	499	241	258
1774	453	214	239	382	173	209
1775	490	255	243	488	237	251
1776	498	255	243	396	177	219
	3323	1668	1665	3175	1476	1699

Num-

Number of males born in 7 years 1666, or 238 annually.

Number of males buried in 7 years 1476, or $210\frac{6}{7}$ annually.

Number of females born in 7 years 1657, or $236\frac{4}{7}$ annually.

Number of females buried in 7 years 1699, or $242\frac{5}{7}$ annually.

TABLE IV. Mortality of the Seasons.

Winter.		Spring.		Summer.		Autumn.	
Jan.	320	Apr.	277	July	220	Oct.	237
Feb.	282	May	265	Aug.	237	Nov.	230
Mar.	316	June	274	Sept.	225	Dec.	292
	918		816		682		759

"In order to find the number of inhabitants in any place, where, either from its bulk, or other reasons, a numerical survey cannot be obtained, two methods may be made use of. The first is, multiplying the number of houses by the medium of inhabitants in each. The second is, one recommended by Monsr. Mohean, in a work, intituled, *Recherches et Considerations sur la Population de la France*. He found, by very laborious calculations, that the number of inhabitants may be known by the births, the latter being to the former as nearly 1 to 27.

"By an account given into the House of Commons in March 1781, the number of houses in York subject to the new house-tax was 2285; if to those be added such as were too small to come under the tax, which may probably amount to one-third more, the total of the houses in York will be about 3000. This number multiplied by $4\frac{1}{4}$, which is nearly the medium of people in a house, gives 12,750 for the number of inhabitants.

"By the second rule we have 12,798 for the number of inhabitants, which is the result of 474, the average annual births, multiplied by 27.

"The remarkable coincidence of the above methods of calculation makes it very probable, that if we estimate the number of inhabitants at 12,800, we shall not be far from the truth.

"However this may be as to the exact number of inhabitants, it affects not the principal end of the present inquiry, which is to shew how we are improved in population and healthfulness within 40 years past.

"In order to prove this, we must find the number of inhabitants in the year 1735, from tab. I. We there find the average annual births to be 400; this multiplied by 27 gives 10,800 for the number at that time. This number divided by the average annual deaths 498, gives the proportion of deaths 1 in $21\frac{3}{4}$. Such was the state of this city as to mortality 46 years ago.

"Very different from this is our present situation, the proportion of deaths being now decreased to 1 in $28\frac{1}{4}$, which is the quotient of 12,800, the number of inhabitants divided by 453, the present average of annual deaths. This is certainly a great rise in the scale of healthiness. From being near as fatal as London we have become less so than many country places, as will appear from the following comparative view of the proportion of deaths in different places.

	Dies every year.
At Vienna, -	1 in $19\frac{1}{2}$
London, -	1 in $20\frac{3}{4}$
Edinburgh,	1 in $20\frac{2}{5}$
Berlin, -	1 in 21
Rome, -	1 in 22
Amſterdam,	1 in 22
Dublin, -	1 in 22
Leeds, -	1 in 22
Northampton,	1 in 26
Shrewſbury,	1 in 26
Liverpool,	1 in $27\frac{7}{10}$
Mancheſter,	1 in 28
York, -	1 in $28\frac{1}{4}$

"Hence in 1735, at York it would require $21\frac{3}{4}$ years to bury a number equal to that of its inhabitants; but in 1776, $28\frac{1}{4}$ years would be required for the ſame. One third leſs die yearly now than in the former period; and we are certainly advancing ſtill higher, for in 1777 the births were more than in any former year, being 516, the burials 464.

"As there is no ſettled manufactory here, there is little increaſe or decreaſe of the people by acquiſition or emigration, and probably what may happen in either caſe is nearly balanced by the other.

"It appears from tab. IV. that the ſummer ſeaſon is by much the healthieſt at York; autumn the next; then the ſpring; winter being by far the moſt fatal. Dr. Percival found much the ſame to be the caſe at Mancheſter. At Cheſter, Dr. Haygarth ſays November was the moſt ſickly month. The differences in the regiſters make it impoſſible to give the diſeaſes of which the individuals died; yet a general idea of this may be obtained from the ſame table. By the care and attention of the preſent archbiſhop of this province, this may be eaſily perfected in future periods.

"It appears from hence, that our diſeaſes are chiefly of the inflammatory kind, which phyſicians know to be the general attendants of the winter and ſpring months. The diſorders of the ſummer and autumn are more particularly ſuch as ariſe from putreſcency and acrimony, ſuch as ſlow and remitting fevers, dyſenteries, cholera's, and the like, thoſe then being with us the healthieſt ſeaſons ſhew that we are not ſubject to putrid diſeaſes. Dr. Wintringham has given us an account of the weather and the correſponding diſeaſes at York for ſixteen years ſucceſſively, in his Commentarium Noſologicum, to which learned work I refer the curious reader for farther ſatisfaction upon this ſubject.

"Among the general cauſes of our increaſing population and healthineſs we may enumerate the introduction of inoculation, which has been the means of ſaving a number of lives: improvements in the treatment and cure of ſeveral diſorders, the cool regimen in fevers, the admiſſion of freſh air, the general uſe of antiſeptic medicines and diet, have doubtleſs had a ſalutary and extenſive influence upon the health of mankind, and have much obviated the malignity of ſome of our moſt dangerous diſeaſes. To theſe may be added a general improvement and greater attention to nature in the management of infants.

"After the general cauſes of healthineſs, ſuch as are particular, or of a more local nature, come under conſideration. In this reſpect the city of York has been much improved within a few years paſt. The ſtreets have been widened in many places, by taking down a number of old houſes built in ſuch a manner as almoſt to meet in the upper ſtories, by which the ſun and air were almoſt excluded in the ſtreets and inferior apartments. They have alſo been new paved, additional drains

drains made, and, by the preſent method of conducting the rain from the houſes, are become much drier and cleaner than formerly. The erection of the locks, about four miles below the city, has been a great advantage to it: for, before this, the river was frequently very low, leaving quantities of ſludge and dirt in the very heart of the city, alſo the filth of the common ſewers, which it was unable to waſh away. The lock has effectually prevented this for the future, by the river being kept always high, broad, and ſpacious; and has thus contributed to the ſalubrity as well as beauty of York. In the above improvements, in others that are intended to take place, in the care and expence neceſſary to keep in proper repair the public walks about the city, the magiſtrates have exerted much public ſpirit, and have added to the health as well as conſulted the convenience of its inhabitants."

EXPERIMENTS with CHINESE HEMP SEED. In a Letter from KEANE FITZGERALD, Eſq. to Sir JOSEPH BANKS, Bart. P. R. S.

[From the ſame Work.]

SIR,

"EVERY thing extraordinary in art or nature falls, in ſome meaſure, within the views of the Royal Society; but how far the following account of what appeared to me an extraordinary production may be worthy of being communicated to that learned body, is ſubmitted entirely to your conſideration.

"A few grains of Chineſe hemp-ſeed had been given to me by the late Mr. Elliot, brother to general Elliot, who had formerly reſided for ſome time in China. He told me, the hemp in that country was deemed ſuperior to that of any other, both for fineneſs and ſtrength, and wiſhed I would try whether it would come to maturity in this kingdom. He gave me between thirty and forty grains of ſeed for the purpoſe, which I laid by, as I thought, carefully, with intent of ſowing them the ſpring following, which is the uſual time of ſowing hemp in this country; but I had unluckily forgotten where I laid them, and did not find them till the beginning of laſt June, by which time I imagined them to be very unfit for vegetation; but as I concluded they would be ſtill more ſo by keeping them till the ſucceeding April, I had them ſowed the 4th day of that month, and was much ſurpriſed to find that thirty-two of the ſeeds had vegetated ſtrongly, and grown to an amazing ſize, ſeveral of the plants meaſuring in height more than fourteen feet, and ſeven inches nearly in circumference, by the middle of October following, at which time they came into bloom. There were from thirty to forty lateral branches on a plant; theſe were ſet off in pairs, one on each ſide of the ſtem pointing horizontally; the others at about five or ſix inches diſtance from them, pointing in different directions, and ſo on to the top, the bottom branches of ſome meaſuring more than five feet, the others decreaſing gradually in length towards

the top, ſo as form a beautiful cone when in flower, which were unluckily nipped by a few nights froſt that happened to be pretty ſharp towards the end of the month; and the plants began to droop at the beginning of November, at which time I had them pulled up by the roots.

"As I was but little acquainted either with the cultivation of the ſeed, or preparing the plants afterwards for the production of hemp, and as theſe plants were very different in their ſize from any I had ever ſeen, the beſt method that occurred to me was, that of ſteeping them in water, where I let them remain for a fortnight, and then placed them in an upright poſition againſt a ſouth wall to dry and bleach.

"On trying whether the hemp could be eaſily ſeparated from the woody part, I was agreeably ſurpriſed to find, that on peeling a few inches longitudinally from the root, the whole rind, from the bottom to the top, not only of the ſtem but alſo of all the lateral branches, ſtripped off cleanly, without breaking any one of them. The toughneſs of the hemp ſeemed to be extraordinary, and upon drying and beating divides into an infinity of tough fibres. The plants when ſtripped are quite white, and when the lateral branches are cut off, appear like handſome young poles. They are perforated in the middle, but the perforation is not larger than that of a gooſe quill, in a ſtem of more than two inches diameter. The woody parts ſeems pretty ſubſtantial, and if they ſhould be found of any duration, might be applied to many uſeful purpoſes; or if not, I ſhould imagine they would produce plenty of good aſhes by burning.

"The rough hemp that has been pealed from the thirty-two plants, when thoroughly dried, weighed three pounds and a quarter; but I do not think it had come to full maturity, though I can hardly doubt but the plants would have come to perfection if the ſeed had been ſown in the proper ſeaſon. The ſummer was remarkably dry, notwithſtanding which, although the ſituation they were placed in was very warm, and the ground not rich, I found, on meaſuring the plants at different times, that they had grown nearly eleven inches per week.

"As the culture of ſo valuable a kind of hemp as this promiſes to produce, appears to be of conſequence to a maritime and commercial kingdom, I have applied to the Directors of the Eaſt India Company, to give proper orders to their factors and ſuper-cargoes in China, to procure ſome of the beſt ſeed that can be obtained; and ſend, even a ſmall parcel, by each of their returning ſhips, which they have very obligingly promiſed; and from what has already appeared, there can be no doubt of its continuing in a ſtate fit for vegetation for a much longer time than is uſually required for that voyage.

"If the ſeed ſhould arrive in ſafety, I can hardly doubt of obtaining the aſſiſtance of the Society eſtabliſhed for the Encouragement of Arts, Manufactures, and Commerce; and ſhould expect, from their wonted aſſiduity and liberal diſpoſition of proper rewards for the culture and manufacture of ſo valuable a commodity, to ſee it as ſucceſsfully carried to perfection as ſeveral other branches have happily attained by their care and protection; and ſhall think myſelf very happy in being any ways inſtrumental in forwarding ſo good a purpoſe.

"As you did me the favour of examining the plants in a growing ſtate, I need not trouble you with any

any ſpecimens from them; but if they ſhould be deemed worthy of being laid before the Society, I ſhall ſend ſome of the hemp in the ſtate it was peeled, and a piece of the ſtem it was peeled from, as alſo ſpecimens of the leaf and flower, for their examination.

I am, &c.

On the NATURE of PHLOGISTON.

[From Mr. KIRWAN's Continuation of the EXPERIMENTS and OBSERVATIONS on the SPECIFIC GRAVITIES and ATTRACTIVE POWERS of various SALINE SUBSTANCES.]

[In the ſame Work.]

"IT is allowed on all hands, that fixed air, or the aërial acid, as it is more properly called, is capable of exiſting in two ſtates; the one fixed, concrete, and unelaſtic, as when it is actually combined with calcareous earth, alkalies, or magneſia; the other, fluid, elaſtic, and aëriform, as when it is actually diſengaged from all combination. In its concrete and unelaſtic ſtate it can never be produced ſingle and diſengaged from other ſubſtances; for the moment it is ſeparated from them, it aſſumes its aërial and elaſtic form. The ſame thing may be ſaid of phlogiſton: it can never be produced in a concrete ſtate, ſingle and uncombined with other ſubſtances; for the inſtant it is diſengaged from them, it appears in a fluid and elaſtic form, and is then commonly called inflammable air. Theſe different ſtates of the ſame ſubſtance ariſe, according to the immortal diſcoveries of Dr. Black, from the different portions of elementary fire contained in ſuch ſubſtance, and abſorbed by it, whilſt its ſenſible heat remains the ſame, and hence is called its ſpecific fire. For want of attention to theſe different ſtates, the very exiſtence of phlogiſton as a diſtinct principle has been frequently called in queſtion, and chemiſts have been required to exhibit it ſeparate in its fixed ſtate, without recollecting, that neither can fixed air be ſhewn ſeparate in a concrete ſtate, nor that phlogiſton may alſo be in the ſame predicament; while others have totally miſtaken the nature of inflammable air, and imagined it to be a combination of acid and phlogiſton. The reaſon why fixed air cannot be ſeparated from any ſubſtance in a concrete ſtate is, becauſe when it is ſeparated, for inſtance, by means of an acid, there is always a double decompoſition. the acid yielding its ſpecific quantity of fire to the concrete fixed air, which then aſſumes an aërial form, while the fixed air yields the ſubſtance it was combined with to the acid. This is ſo true, that though a ſolution of lime in the nitrous acid yields a conſiderable quantity of heat, yet a ſolution of chalk in that acid ſcarcely yields any; for all the fire that is ſet looſe, and rendered ſenſible in the firſt caſe, is abſorbed by the fixed air in the ſecond caſe, being preciſely that which converts it into an aërial form. The ſeparation of phlogiſton from a metallic earth in the form of in-

inflammable air, arises from the same cause, the dissolving acid yielding its fire to the phlogiston, which then assumes an aërial form, while the phlogiston yields the metallic earth to the acid. It is true, that much sensible heat is produced on this occasion, for which three substantial reasons may be assigned; first, the proportion of fixed air in a given weight of rude calcareous earth, is much greater than that of phlogiston in any metal, as will hereafter be shewn, it being in the former one-third of the whole, and that of phlogiston in the latter for the most part not even one-sixth. Secondly, much of the phlogiston combines with the acid itself during the solution, and expels part of the specific quantity of fire, as Dr. Crawford has shewn, and as I have since experienced; and this fire must occasion sensible heat. Thirdly, much of the phlogiston, during solution, unites to the surrounding atmosphere, expelling also part of its specific fire, and this also must occasion sensible heat; and hence it is, that metallic solutions *in vacuo* are generally attended with less heat, though with a more violent effervescence than in open air. The solution of metallic calces is not attended with as much heat as that of their respective metals, not only because neither the dissolving acids nor the surrounding air is much phlogisticated; but also because they contain an elastic fluid in a concrete state, which absorbs much of the fire given out by the dissolving acids, as it acquires an aërial state.

"The origin and formation of inflammable air being thus explained, I now proceed to shew its identity and homogeneity with phlogiston. By phlogiston is generally understood that principle in combustible bodies on which their inflammability principally depends; that principle to which metals owe their malleability and splendor; that which combined with vitriolic acid forms sulphur; that which diminishes, respirable air. Now inflammable air is that very principle which alone is truly inflammable, as Mr. Volta has elegantly shewn. In effect, combustible substances are either animal or vegetable, as horns, hair, grease, wood, &c. from all of which Dr. Hales has extracted inflammable air; or charcoal, from which Mr. Fontana has extracted it, as did Dr. Priestley from resins, spirit of wine, and æther, in all which it is the only principle that is inflammable, and they are inflammable only in proportion as they yield it; or phosphorus, from whose acid Dr. Priestley has obtained this air by means of minium, for it was the acid and not the minium, that contained it, as Dr. Priestley rightly conjectured, the acid obtained by deliquescence being never thoroughly dephlogisticated until heated and vitrified, as Mr. Margraaf has shewn; or they are mineral substances, as sulphur, from which inflammable air has been separated by means of fixed alkalies, and, according to Dr. Priestley, also by means of marine air, or bitumens or bituminous substances, all of which may be made to yield it; or metallic substances, as zinc and regulus of arsenic, both of which are inflammable; but neither of them is so when deprived of its inflammable air: this is, therefore, the true and only principle of inflammability in any substance. I acknowledge that the inflammable air, proceeding from almost all these substances, is exceeding impure; that it contains from some a mixture of aërial acid or of oil, and from all some part of the substance which yields it or expels it,

it, and hence its ſmell is different, according to the claſs of the ſubſtances from which it is extracted; but it is equally true, that none of theſe ſubſtances contribute to its inflammability; on the contrary, it is ſo much the leſs inflammable (that is, requires ſo much more air to be mixed with it before it flames) as it contains more of theſe heterogeneous ſubſtances. Hence inflammable air of the moraſſes is never totally conſumed; and, on the contrary, inflammable air, from metals which is the pureſt of all, is alſo the moſt inflammable.

"Secondly, Inflammable air is alſo the principle which reduces metallic earths to a metallic ſtate, and gives them their metallic ſplendor. This has been proved analytically and ſynthetically, and therefore may be ſaid to be as completely demonſtrated as any thing in natural philoſophy: thus Dr. Prieſtley has extracted inflammable air from iron and zinc by heat alone; and the iron, thus ſtripped of its phlogiſton, loſt its ſplendor, and was of a black colour, which is that which iron, ſlightly dephlogiſticated, always aſſumes, as appears by martial æthiops: ſo alſo zinc and regulus of arſenic, when once inflamed, loſe their metallic appearance: ſo alſo a mixture of lead and tin inflames in a moderate heat, and then both are converted into a calx deſtitute of ſplendor and malleability. On the other hand, if a current of inflammable air, in the act of combuſtion, be directed on the calces of iron, lead, or mercury, they are immediately revived and reſtored to their metallic form, as appears by the experiment of Mr. Chauſſier. The following experiment is ſtill more concluſive: if a poliſhed plate of iron be put into a ſaturate and dilute ſolution of copper in the vitriolic or marine acids (I mention theſe becauſe they are commonly uſed for the production of inflammable air, though the reſult is the ſame when other acids are uſed), no effervescence will ariſe, no inflammable air will be caught; but the iron will be diſſolved, and the copper precipitated in its metallic form. Here inflammable air muſt be produced as uſual, for the acid quits the copper and diſſolves the iron; but this inflammable air inſtantly loſes its aërial form, and unites to the copper, juſt as fixed air leaves alkalies to unite to lime without any effervescence; and by this ſame inflammable air is the copper evidently reduced, acquiring ſplendor, malleability, and every other metallic property. But if the ſolution of copper be not ſaturated with copper, a ſmall quantity of inflammable air may be caught, as the exceſs of acid will diſengage more of it from the iron than the calx of copper can take up. Inflammable air is then the principle that metallizes metallic earth; and if metals contain only a ſpecific earth and phlogiſton, inflammable air certainly contains nothing elſe but phlogiſton. If iron and the arſenical acid be digeſted together, no inflammable air is produced; but the arſenical acid is, in great meaſure, converted into white arſenic, as Mr. Bergman has obſerved, and alſo Mr. Scheele: what reaſon can be aſſigned why inflammable air is not produced by this as well as by all other acids; but that this metallic acid received it, and was by it reduced to a ſemimetallic form, as by pure phlogiſton? Yet this acid produces inflammable air, from zinc becauſe zinc gives out more phlogiſton than the regulus of arſenic can take up; but it attracts and is metallized by a part of it, and it is only the exceſs that appears in the form of inflammable

mable air, as Mr. Scheele has remarked. This inflammable air, indeed, is not pure, for it holds some of the regulus in solution; but this portion of regulus does not enter into its composition, as is very evident.

"Thirdly, Inflammable air is the substance which, with vitriolic acid, forms sulphur, for it is the very substance which the vitriolic acid separates from metals; and this substance, so separated, when in sufficient quantity, and in proper circumstances, unites to it in such proportion as to form common sulphur. Thus sulphur is formed by distilling concentrated vitriolic acid with iron or bismuth, or by distilling tartar vitriolate with regulus of antimony. It is this also that diminishes respirable air, as Dr. Priestley has clearly shewn in the 5th vol. of his Observations, p. 84; for though in its complete aërial state, after it has absorbed that large quantity of fire requisite to its aërial form, it difficultly and slowly unites to respirable air in the heat of the atmosphere, their points of contact through their difference of density being very small, and there being no substance at hand to receive the large portion of elementary fire they both contain, and of which they must lose a large proportion before they can combine together; yet while inflammable air is (as Dr. Priestley elegantly expresses it) in its *nascent* state, before it acquires its whole quantity of specific fire, respirable air easily unites to it, and is diminished in proportion to its purity; but if to a mixture of both, igneous particles of sufficient density to be visible be introduced, a degree of heat is excited, which, as it rarifies the dephlogisticated part of respirable air to a greater degree than it can inflammable air, brings both into nearer contact, increases their attraction to each other, and both uniting give out their fire, or in other words inflame, when in proper proportion to each other, without any decomposition of either, unless the loss of a great part of their specific fire be called a decomposition, which loss is not usually called a decomposition; for water is never said to be decomposed when it becomes ice, nor metals when they become solid on cooling.

"In answer to all this it will be said, that inflammable air undoubtedly contains phlogiston, which produces all the before mentioned effects; but that the phlogiston it contains is united to some other substance, which some will have to be an acid, some an earth, and others respirable air. To these hypotheses I shall oppose one general observation, which is, that since inflammable air, when pure, that is, when disengaged from all heterogeneous substances which no way contribute to its inflammability, has always the same properties; it must, if it consists of phlogiston combined with any other substance, be always united to the same specific substance; that is, if this be an acid, it must be always the same species of acid, or if an earth, it must be always the same species of earth; for we find, that substances, which are only generically the same, always produce, with any other given substance, compounds whose properties are very different from each other. Thus we see that the different species of alkalies, or earths, or metals, produce with one and the same species of acid compounds essentially different. This is a rule which, as far as I know, admits of no exception: and if we apply it to the above mentioned suppositions it will entirely destroy them; for it is impossible to think,

think, that the phlogiſton can in every ſubſtance, that produces inflammable air, meet either the ſame acid, or earth, or any reſpirable air.

" But to be more particular, the following reaſons demonſtrate that an acid of any ſort cannot be the baſis of inflammable air. 1ſt, Inflammable air has been, by Dr. Prieſtley, ſeparated from metals by mere heat. Now metals contain no acid, except perhaps their dephlogiſticated calx, which thoſe eminent chemiſts, Bergman and Scheele, ſuſpect to be of an acid nature; but theſe calces cannot enter into the compoſition of inflammable air, otherwiſe the inflammable air of each different metal would have different properties, as already ſhewn: nor indeed are theſe the acids that have been ſuppoſed to enter into the compoſition of inflammable air; but rather thoſe acids by whoſe means it is extricated. But as this air is extricated from metals, not only by acids, but alſo by alkalies, this ſuppoſition muſt vaniſh of courſe.

" The ſame reaſons militate with equal ſtrength againſt the ſuppoſition that an earth of any kind enters into the compoſition of this air; nor is there an inſtance of any earth rendered permanently fluid by any means, except in ſparry air. Beſides, if it were a metallic earth, it muſt neceſſarily be ſuppoſed to be in a metallic ſtate; and how then could it eſcape the action of all kind of acids? for no acid is capable of decompounding inflammable air. Laſtly, reſpirable air cannot be ſaid to be the baſis of inflammable air, unleſs we ſuppoſe that reſpirable air enters into the compoſition of metals; for Dr. Prieſtley has, by ſolar heat, extracted inflammable air from them in a veſſel full of mercury, into which reſpirable air had no acceſs, and even *in vacuo*. Beſides, reſpirable air and phlogiſton form other compounds very different from inflammable air, viz. fixed and phlogiſticated airs as will preſently be ſeen.

" It may alſo be fairly urged againſt all theſe ſuppoſitions, that they are not founded on any direct experiment, nor any known analogy, but merely gratuitous, or at leaſt deduced from experiments inadequate to their ſupport; whereas the opinion that inflammable air is nothing elſe than phlogiſton thrown into a fluid form by elementary fire, is directly founded on that experiment whereby inflammable air is ſeparated from metals by mere ſolar heat in the moſt perfect vacuum, juſt as fixed air united to marble and in a concrete ſtate (in which it is nearly of equal denſity with gold) is ſeparated from the marble, and thrown into a permanently fluid form by heat alone.

" In favour of the exiſtence of an acid in inflammable air, it has been ſaid, that if this air be paſſed through water tinged blue by litmus, it reddens inſtantly. I have ſeen this frequently happen when inflammable air has been extracted from iron by ſpirit of vitriol; but if this air be waſhed, by paſſing it through lime-water, and then paſſed through, or agitated in, an infuſion of litmus, it will not diſcolour it in the leaſt: this I have ſeen done by Mr. Fontana in June, 1779. It had alſo been ſaid, that inflammable air and alkaline air, mixed together, form a cloud; but this has been fully diſproved by Dr. Prieſtley, in the fourth volume of his Obſervations.

" That an earth of any kind is eſſentially requiſite to the conſtitution of inflammable air, ſeems to me utterly improbable; nor do I know

know of any experiment from whence it can be inferred. That metallic ſubſtances may be held in ſolution by inflammable air is certain; but it is equally ſo, that they no way contribute to its inflammability, and are quite diſtinct from it.

"But the opinion, that inflammable air conſiſts of reſpirable air ſuperſaturated with phlogiſton, is grounded on very ſpecious arguments drawn from experiments to be found in various parts of Dr. Prieſtley's works, which deſerve ſo much the more attention as the facts mentioned by that excellent philoſopher are not to be queſtioned. I ſhall endeavour to ſtate them with accuracy; but ſhall at the ſame time accompany them with ſuch remarks as ſeem to me to invalidate the concluſion that has been drawn from them.

"In the firſt volume of Dr. Prieſtley's Obſervations it appears, that a quantity of ſtrong inflammable air, having been agitated in a glaſs jar immerſed in a trough of water, the ſurface of which was expoſed to the common atmoſphere, after the operation had continued ten minutes near one fourth of the quantity had diſappeared; the remainder became fit for reſpiration, and yet was weakly inflammable. By farther agitation it was diminiſhed half, and then admitted a candle to burn in it though feebly; but, on continuing the agitation a little longer, it came to extinguiſh a candle. Upon this I ſhall remark, firſt, that it clearly follows, from this experiment, that if the external reſpirable air had no acceſs to the inſide of the jar, half nearly of the inflammable air was converted into, or conſiſted of, reſpirable air, ſince ſuch quantity of air was found in it after the operation. Now it is abſolutely impoſſible that either could happen; for inflammable air could not be converted into half nor even one-third or one-fourth of its volume of reſpirable air, as even one-fourth of reſpirable air contains more matter than four times its bulk of inflammable air; it is then evident, that the external air muſt have had acceſs to it. Secondly, I agitated about half a pint of inflammable air, obtained from iron and previouſly paſſed through lime-water and kept over mercury, in about twelve times its bulk of water, out of which its air had been boiled in a glaſs bottle cloſed with a glaſs-ſtopper. The agitation continued at ſeveral times at leaſt two hours. A large quantity of the air was indeed abſorbed, as appeared by opening the bottle in water; but the remainder appeared, by the nitrous teſt, as noxious, and was alſo found to be as inflammable as at firſt. Even Dr. Prieſtley atteſts, that inflammable air which had been united to water for one month, was afterwards as inflammable as ever.

"The true explanation of the firſt experiment appears, therefore, to be the following: firſt, water eaſily imbibes inflammable air, but does not combine with it; for after it has imbibed one-fourteenth of it, its taſte is no way altered, as Dr. Prieſtley has obſerved. Water alſo eaſily imbibes common air: when, therefore, inflammable air is agitated in water having a communication with the atmoſphere, the inflammable air muſt neceſſarily be diminiſhed by reaſon of its abſorbtion, and the part ſo abſorbed immediately eſcapes out of the water into the atmoſphere, as is evident by the ſmell which is perceived when the quantity of inflammable air is conſiderable. This eſcape gives room for the farther abſorbtion of the inflammable air which then eſcapes in the

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ſame manner. In the mean time the common air under the jar riſes into it, as appears by the direct experiments both of Dr. Prieſtley and Mr. Fontana; and hence the air in the jar muſt appear by the nitrous ſlightly phlogiſticated and reſpirable; but a farther agitation will decompoſe the common air, as we ſhall ſoon ſee, and then a candle will be extinguiſhed. The ſame proceſs takes place when inflammable air ſtands long in water whoſe ſurface is expoſed to the atmoſphere.

"Another experiment of the ſame tendency, but ſeemingly more deciſive, is to be found in the 4th volume of Dr. Prieſtley's Obſervations, p. 368. There it is related, that a portion of inflammable air, incloſed in a glaſs tube, hermetically ſealed and heated until the glaſs was ſoftened, ſtained the glaſs black, and the tube being opened, the air was found reduced to one-third of its bulk; and this reſiduum was found to be mere phlogiſticated air, neither precipitating lime-water, nor being affected by nitrous air, or in the leaſt inflammable. Yet deciſive as this experiment appears, a little conſideration will ſhew the abſolute impoſſibility that inflammable air ſhould conſiſt of one-third phlogiſticated air and two-thirds phlogiſton; for, in the firſt place, one cubic inch of phlogiſticated air weighs 0,377 of a grain: now let us ſuppoſe, that to this phlogiſticated air is added two-thirds of its bulk of phlogiſton; and to make the ſuppoſition ſtill ſtronger, let us alſo ſuppoſe, that phlogiſton has no weight; then, by the ſuppoſition, this compound of phlogiſticated air and phlogiſton will conſtitute inflammable air, and amount to a bulk of three cubic inches, and theſe three cubic inches will weigh no more than 0,377 of a grain; but if three cubic inches of inflammable air weigh 0,377 of a grain, one cubic inch ſhould weigh 0,105 of a grain, which cannot be; for then inflammable air would be little more than one-third lighter than common air, contrary to all the experiments that have been hitherto made, and particularly thoſe of Mr. Cavendiſh, Fontana, and Dr. Prieſtley himſelf, which ſhew it to be about eleven times lighter than common air. Secondly, it is ſaid, that the matter which ſtained the glaſs black was the true phlogiſtic part of inflammable air, and was afterwards ſeparated by means of minium. This then contained no phlogiſticated air; but is it not certain, that if there had been enough of it, the minium would have been reduced and converted into lead? And might not inflammable air, be again ſeparated from that lead, though no phlogiſticated or common air were at hand to ſupply its other ſuppoſed conſtituent part? Thirdly, in one of Dr. Prieſtley's experiments the inflammable air, contained in the glaſs tube which was moſt heated, was reduced to ſo ſmall a bubble that no experiment could be made on it: therefore, in this, at leaſt, the quantity of phlogiſticated air did not amount to one-third, but was quite inconſiderable; the remainder then being taken up by the calx of lead in the glaſs, was pure mere phlogiſton, ſo that this experiment is a ſtrong proof of my opinion. Fourthly, if phlogiſton could be decompoſed by heat, and then leave a reſiduum of phlogiſticated air, amounting to one-third of its bulk, the diminution ariſing from its inflammation with common or dephlogiſticated air could never be ſo great as it is found to be by repeated experiments; for when inflammable and common air are fired in the proportion of eleven of

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the latter to four of the former, a bulk equal to the whole of the inflammable air, and to one-fifth of the commen air, disappears, according to Mr. Volta, and the diminution is about two-fifths of the whole, or more exactly out of fifteen measures, only 8,8 remain; but if the inflammable air were decompoſed, and one-third of it, being phlogiſticated air, ſhould remain, then not quite one-fifth of the whole would vaniſh, and the reſiduum ſhould be 10,54 meaſures. This evidently proves, that pure inflammable air is never decompoſed (unleſs the loſs of its fire be called a decompoſition); but in the act of inflammation is totally transferred upon the pure part of reſpirable air to which it unites. Fifthly, to obtain ſtill a clearer inſight into this matter, I intreated Mr. Cavallo, who is very expert in the management of the blow-pipe, as well as in pneumatic experiments, to repeat this experiment in my laboratory. We accordingly filled a tube 10,5 inches long, and one-fourth of an inch in diameter, with inflammable air from iron received over mercury, and having made the tube red-hot throughout and black, and ſoftened it ſo far as to endanger the eſcape of the air, we opened it on mercury. The air was diminiſhed only one-tenth, and inflamed with an exploſion as loud as an equal quantity of the ſame inflammable air that had not been heated.

"The only queſtion that remains then is, whence the phlogiſticated air proceeded which Dr. Prieſtley mentions to have found? The circumſtance of his experiment would furniſh a plauſible anſwer; but the doctor has lately informed me, that he believes the air was really inflammable, but being a very ſmall quantity eſcaped before the flame could be applied.

"It ſeems, therefore, ſufficiently proved, that inflammable air purified from the acids or other ſubſtances that expel it from its baſis, and alſo from all particles of the body to which it was originally united, ſuch as inflammable air from metals received on mercury, and well waſhed in lime-water, is one and the ſame ſubſtance with phlogiſton, differing only in quantity of fire, inflammable air containing nearly the ſame quantity of this element as the ſame bulk of atmoſpheric air, as Dr. Crawford has found by ſome late experiments, an account of which will ſoon be laid before the public. This does not contradict that moſt important diſcovery of this ingenious philoſopher, that fire and phlogiſton repel each other: the meaning of this being only, that the addition of phlogiſton to any ſubſtance, as to reſpirable air, dephlogiſticated acids, metallic calces, expels part of the fire already contained in ſuch ſubſtance; and, on the contrary, by the removal of phlogiſton from any ſubſtance, the quantity of fire abſorbed by ſuch ſubſtance is increaſed.

"It may appear extraordinary, ſuppoſing inflammable air and phlogiſton to be the ſame ſubſtance, that inflammable air ſhould mix ſo eaſily with water, whereas phlogiſton conſtantly repels and is repelled by it; but this entirely depends on the ſtate of this ſame ſubſtance, which, when fixed and concrete, is called phlogiſton, and, when rarified an aëriform, inflammable air. In this latter ſtate it mixes with water in proportion to its rarefaction, as it even does in the leſs denſe forms of its concrete ſtate; thus æther is totally abſorbed by ten times its weight of water. The ani-

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mal oil of Dippel mixes intirely with water; ſo does pure petrol, and eſſential oils frequently diſtilled, and the ſpiritus rector of plants.

"Much more remains to be ſaid of the different ſtates of phlogiſton from its moſt rarefied known ſtate, viz. that of inflammable air, to its moſt condenſed ſtate, that in which it is combined with metallic earths, &c. I have already diſtinguiſhed eight intermediate ſtates, each differing from the other by the portion of elementary fire they contain, this quantity being, as far I can judge directly, as the rarefaction of the phlogiſton; but theſe reſearches are foreign to my preſent ſubject. I ſhall only remark, that phlogiſton, in a ſtate perhaps 100 times rarer than inflammable air, and conſequently containing much more fire, may poſſibly conſtitute the electric fluid."

Account of a NEW KIND of RAIN. By Count de Gioeni.

[From the ſame Work.]

"THE morning of the 24th inſtant there appeared here a moſt ſingular phenomenon. Every place, expoſed to the air, was found wet with a coloured cretaceous grey water, which, after evaporating and filtrating away, left every place covered with it to the height of two or three lines; and all the iron-work that was touched by it became ruſty.

"The public, inclined to the marvellous, fancied various cauſes of this rain, and began to fear for the animals and vegetables.

"In places where rain water was uſed, they abſtained from it: ſome ſuſpecting vitriolic principles to be mixed with it, and others predicting ſome epidemical diſorder.

"Thoſe who had obſerved the exploſions of Etna twenty days and more before, were inclined to believe it originated from one of them.

The ſhower extended from N. ¼ N.E. to S. ¼ S.W. over the fields, about 70 miles in a right line from the vertex of Etna.

"There is nothing new in volcanos having thrown up ſand, and alſo ſtones, by the violent expanſive force generated within them, which ſand has been carried by the wind to diſtant regions.

"But the colour and ſubtilty of the matter occaſioned doubts concerning its origin; which increaſed from the remarkable circumſtance of the water in which it came incorporated; for which reaſons ſome other principle or origin was ſuſpected.

"It became, therefore, neceſſary by all means to aſcertain the nature of this matter, in order to be convinced of its origin, and of the effects it might produce. This could not be done without the help of a chemical analyſis. To do this then with certainty, I endeavoured to collect this rain from places where it was moſt probable no heterogeneous matter would be mixed with it. I therefore choſe the plant called *braſſica capitata*, which having large and turned-up leaves, they contained enough of this coloured water: many of theſe I emptied into a veſſel, and left the contents to ſettle till the water became clear.

" This being ſeparated into another veſſel, I tried it with vegetable alkaline liquors and mineral acids; but could obſerve no decompoſition by either. I then evaporated the water in order to reunite the ſubſtances that might be in ſolution; and touching it again with the aforeſaid liquors, it ſhewed a ſlight effervescence with the acids. When tried with the ſyrup of violets, this became a pale green; ſo that I was perſuaded it contained a calcareous ſalt. With the decoction of galls no precipitation was produced.

" The matter being afterwards dried in the ſhade, it appeared a very ſubtile, fine earth, of a cretaceous colour, but inert, from having been diluted by the rain.

" I next thought of calcining it with a ſlow fire, and it aſſumed the colour of a brick. A portion of this being put into a crucible, I applied to it a ſtronger heat, by which it loſt almoſt all its acquired colour. Again, I expoſed a portion of this for a longer time to a very violent heat (from which a vitrification might be expected); it remained however quite ſoft, and was eaſily bruiſed, but returned to its original duſky colour.

" From the moſt accurate obſervations of the ſmoke from the three calcinations, I could not diſcover either colour or ſmell that indicated any arſenical or ſulphureous mixture.

" Having therefore calcined this matter in three portions, with three different degrees of fire, I preſented a good magnet to each; it did not act either on the firſt or ſecond; a ſlight attraction was viſible in many places on the third: this perſuaded me, that this earth contains a martial principle in a metallic form, and not in a vitriolic ſubſtance.

" The nature of theſe ſubſtances then being diſcovered, their volcanic origin appears; for iron, the more it is expoſed to violent calcination, the more it is divided, by the loſs of its phlogiſtic principle; which cannot naturally happen but in the great chimney of a volcano. Calcareous ſalt, being a marine ſalt combined with a calcareous ſubſtance by means of violent heat, cannot be otherwiſe compoſed than in a volcano.

" As to their dreaded effects on animals and vegetables, every one knows the advantageous uſe, in medicine, both of the one and the other, and this in the ſame form as they are thus prepared in the great laboratory of nature.

" Vegetables, even in flower, do not appear in the leaſt macerated, which has formerly happened from only ſhowers of ſand.

" How this volcanic production came to be mixed with water may be conceived in various ways.

" Etna, about its middle regions, is generally ſurrounded with clouds, that do not always riſe above its ſummit, which is 2900 paces above the level of the ſea. This matter being thrown out, and deſcending upon the clouds below it, may happen to mix and fall in rain with them in the uſual way. It may alſo be conjectured, that the thick ſmoke which the volcanic matter contained might, by its rarefaction, be carried in the atmoſphere by the winds, over that tract of country; and then, cooling ſo as to condenſe and become ſpecifically heavier than the air, might deſcend in that coloured rain.

" I muſt, however, leave to philoſophers (to whom the knowlege of natural agents belongs) the examination and explanation of ſuch phenomena, confining myſelf to obſervation and chemical experiments."

Of

Of the QUANTITY of WATER evaporated from the Surface of the EARTH, in HOT WEATHER.

[From the Third Volume of CHEMICAL ESSAYS. By Dr. WATSON, Biſhop of Landaff.]

"THERE are many operations conſtantly carrying on by natural means, which, though they eſcape the ordinary obſervation of our ſenſes, ſufficiently excite our aſtoniſhment when once diſcovered. The vaſt quantity of a particular kind of air, with which the atmoſphere is daily impregnated, from the combuſtion of all ſorts of fuel, is one inſtance of this kind; and the water which is raiſed into the atmoſphere from the ſurface of the earth, is another. Who would have conjectured that an acre of ground, even after having been parched by the heat of the ſun in ſummer, diſperſed into the air above 1600 gallons of water in the ſpace of twelve of the hotteſt hours of the day? No vapour is ſeen to aſcend, and we little ſuppoſe that in the hotteſt part of the day, more uſually does aſcend than in any other. The experiment from which I draw this concluſion, is ſo eaſy to be made, that every one may ſatisfy himſelf of the truth of it. On the 2d of June, 1779, when the ſun ſhone bright and hot, I put a large drinking glaſs, with its mouth downwards, upon a graſs-plat which was mown cloſe; there had been no rain for above a month, and the graſs was become brown; in leſs than two minutes the inſide of the glaſs was clouded with a vapour, and in half an hour drops of water began to trickle down its inſide, in various places. This experiment was repeated ſeveral times with the ſame ſucceſs.

"That I might accurately eſtimate the quantity, thus raiſed, in any certain portion of time, I meaſured the area of the mouth of the glaſs, and found it to be 20 ſquare inches: there are 1296 ſquare inches in a ſquare yard, and 4840 ſquare yards in a ſtatute acre: hence, if we can find the means of meaſuring the quantity of vapour raiſed from 20 ſquare inches of earth, ſuppoſe in one quarter of an hour, it will be an eaſy matter to calculate the quantity which would be raiſed, with the ſame degree of heat from an acre in 12 hours. The method I took to meaſure the quantity of vapour, was not perhaps the moſt accurate which might be thought of, but it was ſimple and eaſy to be practiſed: when the glaſs had ſtood on the graſs-plat one quarter of an hour, and had collected a quantity of vapour, I wiped its inſide with a piece of muſlin, the weight of which had been previouſly taken; as ſoon as the glaſs was wiped dry, the muſlin was weighed again, its increaſe of weight ſhewed the quantity of vapour which had been collected. The medium increaſe of weight, from ſeveral experiments made on the ſame day, between 12 and 3 o'clock, was 6 grains collected in one quarter of an hour, from 20 ſquare inches of earth. If the reader takes the trouble to make the calculation, he will find that above 1600 gallons, reckoning 8 pints to a gallon, and eſtimating the weight of a pint of water at one pound

verdupoiſe, or 7000 grains troy weight, would be raiſed, at the rate here mentioned, from an acre of ground in 12 hours.

" It may eaſily be conceived that the quantity thus elevated, will be greater when the ground has been well ſoaked with rain, provided the heat be the ſame; I did not happen to mark the heat of the ground when I made the forementioned experiments; the two following are more ſubſtantial: the ground had been wetted the day before I made them, by a thunder-ſhower, the heat of the earth at the time of making them, eſtimated by a thermometer laid on the graſs, was 96 degrees; one experiment gave 1973 gallons from an acre in 12 hours, the other gave 1905. Another experiment, made when there had been no rain for a week, and the heat of the earth was 110 degrees, gave after the rate of 2800 gallons from an acre in 12 hours; the earth was hotter than the air, as it was expoſed to the reflection of the ſun's rays from a brick wall.

" The heat in Bengal in the ſummer months is variable, in the ſhade from 98 to 120 degrees, and in the ſun it probably does not fall ſhort of 140 degrees: hence, after the earth has been well drenched by the overflowing of the Ganges, immenſe quantities of vapours muſt be daily raiſed, to the amount, perhaps, of five or ſix thouſand gallons from an acre, in twenty four hours. The rainy ſeaſon in Bengal laſts from the beginning of June to the middle of October: all this interval is conſidered as an unhealthy time, but eſpecially the latter part of it; for then the earth begins to grow dry, the ſlime left upon its ſurface, conſiſting of decayed vegetables and other putreſcent bodies, begins to corrupt, and the ſun by its violent and continued action raiſes up into the air, not a pure water, but water impregnated with putrid particles of all kinds.

" Whether a merely moiſt ſituation be unwholeſome may be much queſtioned: but that moiſture ariſing from earth or water in a ſtate of putrefaction, is ſo, cannot well be doubted. The overflowing of the Nile puts a ſtop to the plague in Egypt, inaſmuch, probably, as it puts a ſtop to the putrefaction of the canals in Grand Cairo and other places. Agues and putrid fevers are much more frequent in the fens of Cambridgeſhire and Lincolnſhire in very dry, than in wet years; the Iriſh, who annually come to reap the harveſt in the fens of Cambridgeſhire, have been ſo ſenſible of the difference, that for the three or four years laſt paſt, which have been very dry, they have entered upon their taſk with great reluctance and apprehenſion of what they call the fen-ſhake. The States of Holland, in the year 1748, laid the country around Breda under water, and ordered the water to be kept up till the winter, in order to ſtop a ſickneſs which had ariſen from the moiſt and putrid exhalations of half drained grounds. The Arabs are ſaid to take a horrid kind of vengeance when they think themſelves injured by the Turks at Baſſora; they contrive to overflow the adjoining country: a peſtilential fever begins to ſhew itſelf as the land begins to grow dry by the evaporation of the water, and it rages with ſuch violence as to carry off many thouſands of the inhabitants of that city.

" The nature of the ſoil muſt have a great influence on the health of the people who inhabit it, ſo far as that is dependent on the moiſture or dryneſs of the air. There is, probably, as much water raiſed into the

the air, in a hot day, from an acre of ground in the fens of Cambridgeshire, as it raiſed in two or three days from an equal ſurface in the ſandy parts of Norfolk and Suffolk. Not but the moſt ſandy country may have a very moiſt atmoſphere, when water happens to be found near the ſurface; for the heat of the ſun will penetrate through the ſand, and raiſe the water in vapour, which will find an eaſier paſſage through the ſand than it would do through a leſs open ſoil. Thus the ſoil in ſome parts of Dutch Brabant is a barren ſand, but water is every where to be met with at the depth of two or three feet, and in proportion to its diſtance from the ſurface the inhabitants are free from diſeaſes.

"Vegetation muſt be greatly influenced by the quantity of water which is raiſed from the earth; ſome ſoils retain humidity much longer than others, and one great uſe of marles and other manures, is to render the ſoil on which they are put leſs liable to be deprived of its moiſture by the heat of ſummer. The water, in aſcending from the boſom of the earth, moiſtens the roots, and in being diſſolved in the air, it affords nutriment to the branches of vegetables; but as vegetation may be injured either by a defect, or an exceſs of moiſture, and as different plants require different quantities of it, for attaining their utmoſt perfection, it merits the attentive obſervation of the farmer, to ſuit his plants and his manures to the nature of the ſoil. There are many ſandy and limeſtone ſoils, which are covered almoſt with flints or limeſtone pebbles; the crop of corn would, probably, be leſs, if theſe ſtones were removed; for they are ſerviceable, not only in ſheltering the firſt germs of the plant from cutting winds, but they impede the eſcape of moiſture from the earth; the aſcending vapour ſtrikes upon that ſurface of the ſtone which is contiguous to the earth, and is thereby condenſed, and thus its further aſcent is for a time, at leaſt, prevented.

"Upon the ſame graſs-plat, and contiguous to the glaſs uſed in the experiments, I placed a ſilver cup, with its mouth downwards, of a ſhape ſimilar to that of the glaſs, and nearly of the ſame dimenſions; but I could never obſerve that its inſide had collected the leaſt particle of vapour, though I frequently let it ſtand on the graſs for half an hour, or more.

"By means of a little bees' wax, I faſtened an half crown very near, but not quite contiguous, to the ſide of the glaſs, and ſetting the glaſs, with its mouth downwards, on the graſs, it preſently became covered with vapour, except that part of it which was near to the half crown, Not only the half crown itſelf was free from vapour, but it had hindered any from ſettling on the glaſs which was near it, for there was a little ring of glaſs ſurrounding the half crown to the diſtance of $\frac{1}{4}$ of an inch which was quite dry, as well as that part of the glaſs which was immediately under the half crown; it ſeemed as if the ſilver had repelled the water to that diſtance. A large red wafer had the ſame effect as the half crown; it was neither wetted itſelf, nor was the ring of glaſs contiguous to it wetted. A circle of white paper produced the ſame effect, ſo did ſeveral other ſubſtances, which it would be tedious to enumerate.

"Theſe phenomena, reſpecting the different diſpoſitions of different bodies to attract the riſing vapour, are ſimilar to what others have taken notice of concerning the falling of

dew, and are, probably, to be explained upon the ſame principles, whatever they may be. Muſchenbroek placed on the leaden terras of the obſervatory at Utrecht veſſels of glaſs, china, varniſhed wood, poliſhed braſs, and pewter; he found that in the courſe of a night the glaſs, china, and varniſhed wood, had collected a great abundance of dew, but that not a drop had fallen on any of the poliſhed metals. M. du Fay expoſed to the air, when the dew was falling, two large funnels, one made of glaſs, the other of poliſhed pewter; the necks of the funnels being inſerted into veſſels proper to retain any moiſture which might be collected by them: he ſometimes found in the morning that the veſſel under the glaſs funnel contained an ounce or more of water, but he never obſerved ſo much as a drop in the other.

"A great part of the water which is raiſed into the air from the perſpiration of the earth, during a hot day, deſcends down again upon its ſurface in the courſe of the night; and this is the reaſon that the dews are the greateſt in the hotteſt weather, and in the hotteſt climates. The earth retains the heat it receives in conſequence of the ſun's action longer than the air does; water, moreover, is evaporable in all degrees of heat; hence water may continue to riſe from the earth, when the air, being cooled by the abſence of the ſun, is no longer able to ſuſtain what is thus raiſed, or to retain what it had taken up during the daytime, and a dew from theſe different cauſes, may, under certain circumſtances, be found both to riſe and fall during the whole night.

"Egypt, at one ſeaſon of the year, is ſo parched up by the heat, that the ſurface of the ground becomes quite rugged with fiſſures; at this time the dew, proceeding from the vapour exhaled from the earth, is very plentiful, and by its plenty prevents the total deſtruction of the country. "This dew is particularly ſerviceable to the trees, which would otherwiſe never be able to reſiſt the heat; but with this aſſiſtance they thrive very well, bloſſom and ripen their fruit. Therefore, the upper parts of the Egyptian trees, at one time of the year, do the office of roots, attracting nouriſhment by their abſorbent veſſels, the leaves, from the moiſt air."

"The quantity of water which was condenſed on the inſide of the glaſs, I found to be accurately proportionable to the time during which it ſtood on the graſs; for in one experiment 6 grains were collected in 10 minutes, and in another 15 grains were collected in 25 minutes; now the proportion of 6 to 10 is the ſame as that of 15 to 25.

"In order to ſee whether the copious vapour collected by the glaſs was owing to the natural perſpiration of the graſs, or to a kind of mechanical diſtillation from the body of the earth, I put the glaſs upon a foot-path which was dry, and had no graſs growing upon it, the vapour roſe from the foot-path as well as from the graſs, but not ſo abundantly.

"From what has been advanced, it may, probably, be juſtly inferred, that the air contiguous to, or not far removed from, the ſurface of the earth, whether that ſurface be plain or mountainous, barren, or covered with vegetables, will be much more loaded with the vapour which ariſes conſtantly from the earth, than that which is at the diſtance of even a few yards from the ſurface. This point may be illuſtrated by the following hypotheſis.—Suppoſe the earth to be a globe of rock ſalt, and

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to be covered with water to the height of a mile; imagine the water to be divided into four ſpherical ſhells, each $\frac{1}{4}$ of a mile in thickneſs. Now the firſt ſhell, which is ſuppoſed to be contiguous to the ſurface of the ſalt, would ſoon ſaturate itſelf with the ſalt, and becoming thereby heavier than the water at a greater diſtance, it would not, by the ordinary motion of the winds and tides, ſoon mix itſelf with the whole maſs of water; but it would contain far more ſalt in ſolution than the ſecond ſhell, and the ſecond would contain more than the third, and the third more than the fourth. Let us farther ſuppoſe the ſalt contained in the whole of the water to be precipitated, and the precipitation to begin from the ſhell fartheſt removed from the ſurface of the earth; it is evident, that the quantity of the precipitate will increaſe, not ſimply with the increaſe of ſpace through which it has deſcended, but in a much higher proportion, inaſmuch as the laſt ſhell, through which it deſcends, may be ſuppoſed to contain three or four times as much ſalt as the uppermoſt. In like manner, it ſeems reaſonable to ſuppoſe that the air which is near the ſurface of the earth will be greatly more charged with water, which it diſſolves as water diſſolves ſalt, than that which is ſituated at the diſtance of even a few yards from the ſurface.

"Dr. Heberden was the firſt perſon who took notice, that a much larger quantity of rain falls into a rain-gage ſituated near the ſurface of the earth, than into one of the ſame dimenſions ſituated a few yards above it; and he thinks that this difference is to be explained from ſome unknown property of electricity. The fact is placed beyond controverſy, by experiments which have been made at various places: at Liverpool in particular it has been obſerved, that "a veſſel ſtanding on the ground in a ſpacious garden, received double the quantity of rain which fell into another veſſel of equal dimenſions, placed near the ſame ſpot, but eighteen yards higher." I am far from thinking that the foregoing obſervations, relative to the quantities of water contained in equal bulks of air at different heights from the ſurface of the earth, contain a ſatisfactory explanation of this phenomenon; yet it may be remarked, that rain-gages placed at equal diſtances from the ſurface of the earth, collected nearly equal quantities of rain, though one of them was ſituated on a plain, and the other on a mountain 450 yards in height above the plain: this obſervation is ſome confirmation of the hypotheſis which has been mentioned, as on that ſuppoſition it follows, that the air at the ſame diſtance from the ſurface of the earth, is equally impregnated with water, other circumſtances being the ſame, and therefore equal quantities of rain ought to be collected by veſſels placed at equal diſtances from the ſurface of the earth; though according to the ſame ſuppoſition, a much larger quantity ought to be collected by a veſſel placed on the ſurface, than by one placed a few yards above it. Thus this hypotheſis, admitting its truth, (which future experiments will perhaps eſtabliſh) ſeems as if it were ſufficient for explaining the phenomenon; I would be underſtood however to mention it with much diffidence, and were I as much ſkilled in electricity, as the very worthy and ingenious perſon, who firſt noticed the fact, is in every branch of natural philoſophy, I might probably have ſeen reaſon not to mention it all."

ANTIQUITIES.

The SAXONS not ſo generally deprived of their LANDS by WILLIAM the CONQUEROR, as is commonly imagined. An Extract from Mr. BROOKE's Account of a SAXON Inſcription in Aldborough Church.

[From the Sixth Volume of the ARCHÆOLOGIA, or MISCELLANEOUS TRACTS relating to ANTIQUITY.]

"SEveral authors have endeavoured to prove, that the ſettlement of the crown of England on William I. was by the general conſent of the people, and not by force, and that he came not to deprive the Engliſh of their rights, but to diſpoſſeſs thoſe who unjuſtly were enjoying any land to the diſheriſon of the king and his crown; and we find this opinion prevailed in very early ages, when much better evidence remained of the fact than we can now poſſibly have.

"The ſtory of Edwin the Saxon, related by Spelman, is well known; who being, before the Conqueſt, poſſeſſed of the caſtle of Sharnborne, in Norfolk, William gave it to Warren, a Norman; on which Edwin comes into open court, and before the king demands his right, tells him it did, de jure, belong to him, upon this reaſon of law, for that he had never taken up arms againſt the king, either before his arrival or ſince; whereupon the king, vinculo juramenti aſtrictus, gave judgment of right againſt the Norman, and Edwin recovered the lordſhip.

"Many other inſtances of a like tendency are related by Mr. Petyt, in his Ancient Rights of the Commons of England aſſerted; and by Atwood, in his Jus Anglorum ab Antiquo; and, indeed, it is not poſſible to ſuppoſe that ſo numerous a people as the Anglo-Saxons were, would have ſuffered themſelves to be held in ſubjection by the ſmall force the Norman brought hither, if the conſequence was to be a total deprivation of their property. The end of all government is the benefit of the people, and wiſe and wealthy men, in all ages, have been for ſupporting that power which could beſt protect their property, and of courſe have been averſe to revolutions, which in civilized ſtates have generally been brought about by the profligate and needy: the Saxons had long ſuffered by a divided heptarchy, and under the Danes, and wiſely conſidered, that it was better policy to part with a ſmall portion of their property to William, in order to add ſtrength to his arms for the protection of the reſt, than by an imprudent oppoſition endanger the whole. Indeed, it may be ſaid, that when the general ſurvey was made, the Normans were the only tenants in capite, which, except in a few inſtances, is true; but this tenure ſeems to have been more honorary than beneficial, and the real property of the land to

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have been veſted in the valvaſors, who held under them, and were chiefly Saxons: the magnates, or ſuperior lords, ſeem only to have received a ſmall acknowledgment, and to have ſuperintended thoſe diſtricts, which they are in Doomſday-Book ſaid to have held of the king. And in the courſe of my reſearches in theſe ſubjects, various inſtances have occurred, not only where the Saxons poſſeſſed lands before the Conqueſt, and held the ſame of a Norman as tenant in capite after; but where they have been deprived of an eſtate in one place, and had a much larger given in another; where thoſe who had none before had eſtates granted, and where their poſterity inherit the ſame by deſcent at this day. From all which we may conclude, that the entrance of William I. into this kingdom was more by compact with the people, than by conqueſt with the ſword.

The COMMENCEMENT of DAY amongſt the SAXONS and BRITONS aſcertained. By the reverend Mr. PEGGE.

[From the ſame Work.]

"THE beginning of day amongſt the ancient Greeks and Romans (meaning by a day the νυχθήμερον, or the ſpace of twenty-four hours, accompliſhed by a ſingle revolution of the ſun, to ſpeak vulgarly) ſeems to be very clearly underſtood and determined, and is of great uſe and importance in regard to the innumerable paſſages of their authors.

"The ſame may be ſaid in reſpect of the Hebrews; but as to the Britons and Saxons, the matter appears to be very dubious and uncertain, or at leaſt is made ſo by the ſuggeſtions of a conſiderable antiquary, who declares, "When our anceſtors the Saxons, or before them the Britons, began the day, I have no books to inform me." This, however, is a point which ought to be aſcertained amongſt them, as well as other nations, and for the ſame reaſon; and therefore it ſhall be the buſineſs of this ſhort memoir to illuſtrate this doubtful problem in the beſt manner I can.

"The learned antiquary, in the uncertainty under which he laboured, offers a conjecture in the following terms: "but, from the word *noon*, I conceive one or other of them, if not both, [Britons and Saxons] began the day at twelve of the clock. The word *noon*, if I underſtand it right, ſignifies as much as *novus dies*." And to make way for this new etymology, he rejects the old one from *nona*, i. e. *hora nona*, in theſe words: "Minſhew, I ſee derived it from *hora nona*, the ninth canonical hour, which anſwers to our three of the clock in the afternoon. But this derivation I cannot agree to, becauſe from time immemorial, the very uſe and acceptation of the word had been otherwiſe. For according to the common acceptation, and according to the ſenſe of all the Engliſhmen or books I ever read or met with, it is as fully noon when the ſun hath once reached the meridian, as when the clock hath ſtruck three."

"But

"But other authors, as well as Minſhew, and very reſpectable ones, deduce the word *noon* from *non*; as ſir Henry Spelman, biſhop Kennett, and Mr. Johnſon. Many write it accordingly *none*, as Skelton the poet, Hall in his Chronicle, and Dr. Plott. The Saxon *non* has the ſame original, and it amounts to the ſame thing, whether our word *noon* be the Saxon *non* or the Latin *nona*, ſince they both import the ninth hour of the day, and of conſequence had no relation originally to the ſun in his meridonial altitude, but to the ninth hour, ſuppoſing the day to begin at ſix o'clock in the morning.

"I conceive then, that this term came to denote the time of dining; firſt, becauſe it was the hour when in faſting people were allowed to break their faſts, or the monks to eat their dinner, which was after noon-ſong; and ſecondly, that by an eaſy abuſe, or catachreſis, the word was brought to ſignify twelve o'clock, the common hour of dining, in all caſes. It is remarkable, that for ſome ſuch reaſon, eleven o'clock is noon at Trent; ſo arbitrary are things of this nature.

"The ground or foundation of Mr. Peck's conjecture being thus overturned, by eſtabliſhing the old etymology of the word *noon*, in oppoſition to the fanciful one of *novus dies*; the conjecture itſelf muſt conſequently fall; or at leaſt we are at liberty to inveſtigate the commencement of the day among the Saxons and Britons upon a different and more probable hypotheſis. And this, indeed, is the main queſtion in agitation.

"Now it ſhould ſeem that the Saxons reckoning by nights, and not by days (whereby the nights evidently preceded the days) their day began at evening, hence our ſe'nnight and fortnight, and ſee Tacitus, Du Freſne, ſir Thomas Brown, Verſtegan, and Thoreſby.

"As to the Britons, ſtill more anciently their practice may be collected with ſome degree of certainty from Cæſar's Commentaries, where it appears that the Gauls began their day at the ſame time as the Saxons did, viz. with the evening; and it is always allowable to argue from the cuſtoms of the Gauls to thoſe of our iſland Britons, where it follows, that theſe laſt began their day at the ſame time. But though this may ſeem to be ſufficiently concluſive, I ſhall nevertheleſs refer you, as a farther ſupport of the argument to Mr. Camden, Sheringham, Sammes, Wilkins, Richard's Britiſh Dictionary, and the following inſertion in Du Freſne, concerning the Armoricans, "Armorici Seiſun vel Seiſhun, i. e. ſeptem ſomni, dicunt pro ſeptimana, et henos vel henoas pro hodie, quod proprie hac nocte ſignificat." I ſhall only add for a concluſion, that this argument from nights preceding day, both among the Saxons and Britons, will appear very forcible to all thoſe who infer from the words of Moſes in the firſt chapter of Geneſis, as I think all do, that the Hebrews began their nucthemeron with the evening."

OBSER-

OBSERVATIONS on the ORIGIN and ANTIQUITY of ROUND CHURCHES. By Mr. Essex.

[From the ſame Work.]

"IT has long been a common opinion that the ſynagogues of the Jews were anciently built in a circular form; but whence this notion aroſe I cannot certainly ſay. Their temple at Jeruſalem was not of that form, neither was the tabernacle of Moſes; nor do we find the modern Jews affect that figure in building their ſynagogues. It has, however, been generally ſuppoſed, that the round church in Cambridge, that at Northampton, and ſome others, were built for ſynagogues, by the Jews, while they were permitted to dwell in thoſe places; but, as no probable reaſon can be aſſigned for this ſuppoſition, and I think it is very certain, that the Jews who were ſettled in Cambridge, had their ſynagogue, and, probably, dwelt together in a part of the town ever called the Jewry; ſo we may reaſonably conclude, the round churches we find in other parts of this kingdom, were not built by the Jews for ſynagogues, whatever the places may be called in which they ſtand.

"When the Chriſtian religion was perfectly eſtabliſhed in the Roman empire, the Pagan temples were very numerous in Rome, and ſeveral of them were converted into Chriſtian churches; but the greateſt part of them being too ſmall for that purpoſe, were demoliſhed, and the materials applied in erecting thoſe churches which Conſtantine cauſed to be built at that time.

"The temples built by the Greeks and ancient Romans varied little from their original form, though they differed in magnitude and ornaments; and it was not till the Roman empire began to decline, that they introduced that variety of forms which we find in many of their plans. Among the temples built in the latter ages of the empire, ſome were circular, and being very large and convenient, were given to the Chriſtians to be converted into churches. Among thoſe, the temple of Faunus, built by the emperor Claudius, being of the largeſt of its kind, was dedicated to God by pope Simplicius I. about the year 470, by the name of St. Stephen: but the Pantheon, the moſt beautiful circular temple in Rome, was not repaired until the year 607, when it was dedicated to the bleſſed Virgin by pope Boniface IV. and three years after to All the Saints by Gregory IV.

"The churches built at Rome in the fourth century were of various forms; but in the largeſt they generally imitated the baſilicæ. Such were the Lateran, the Vatican, and ſeveral others; but they built ſome in a circular form. Among thoſe was the church of St. Agnes without the Porta Viminalis, which ſome ſuppoſe was built for a temple of Bacchus, but others, with more probability, attribute it to the emperor Conſtantine.

"Helena, the mother of Conſtantine, being as zealous in promoting the Chriſtian religion as her ſon, viſited Jeruſalem, where, by his aſſiſtance, ſhe built ſeveral magnificent churches, in ſuch places as were ſignalized by the moſt remarkable events relating to the life and ſufferings of our Saviour and his apoſtles,

apoſtles, ſome of which ſtill remain to commemorate thoſe events, and perpetuate the piety and munificence of that princeſs. Among the churches which they built in the Holy Land, few we may ſuppoſe are now ſtanding; though ſome may have been rebuilt upon the original foundations, and others may yet retain ſome remains of the ancient ſuperſtructures. Bede, ſpeaking of the church of the Reſurrection, or Holy Sepulchre, at Jeruſalem, deſcribes it as being a large round church, which differs very much from the preſent building, according to the plan of it publiſhed by P. Barnardino, about the year 1619; but this difference will be accounted for, when we conſider the church built by Conſtantine was ſtanding when Bede wrote, but had undergone many changes before P. Barnardino made a plan for that which now is there. The church deſcribed by Bede had two rows of pillars, which formed two circular porticos within the walls, ſomewhat like the temple of Faunus at Rome, though not ſo large; but the preſent building has only one portico round about, and one circular row of pillars. I imagine the outer walls of the preſent church are the ſame which Conſtantine built, but that the pillars of the portico ſtand upon the ſame foundations on which the outer row of pillars in that church ſtood, though they are placed cloſer than they were in the firſt plan, becauſe the inner row being taken away to enlarge the area about the Holy Sepulchre, they muſt have a greater weight to ſupport.

"The empreſs Helena built a church on Mount Olivet, in memory of our Lord's aſcenſion. Bede, in his deſcription of this church, calls it a large round church, with vaulted porticos; but the church, which was ſtanding in P. Barnardino's time, was a ſmall octangular building on the outſide, but circular within, without pillars, or porticos, and conſequently, cannot be the ſame which was there in Bede's time, though it may be built upon part of the foundations of Helena's church, and the pillars, which are now at the external angles, with the eight arches, may be the remains of the vaulted portico, mentioned by Bede, which being deſtroyed by time, or by the Barbarians while Jeruſalem was in their poſſeſſion, was never rebuilt; but when it was repaired, they contracted it to the preſent dimenſions, by pulling down the outer walls, and building new walls within the pillars and arches which formed the portico of the old church.

Jeruſalem being taken by the Saracens in the year of our Lord 637, the repairs of theſe churches were of courſe neglected until the year 813, when Charlemagne, by the permiſſion of the calife Aaron, rebuilt the church of the Holy Sepulchre, under the inſpection of Thomas, patriarch of Jeruſalem, who, probably, contrived the preſent plan, and enlarged it, to include ſeveral adjoining buildings. The eaſt end I take to be of his building, containing the ſemicircular tribune; but the intermediate part between it and the ſepulchre is more modern, and might be rebuilt when the church was reſtored in the year 1049, after it was defaced by the Saracens towards the end of the tenth century.

"Charlemagne, who was a great promoter of religion, and encourager of learning, ſoon after he became emperor of the Weſt, choſe Aix la Chapelle for the place of his uſual reſidence, and built there a magnificent church, which was dedicated to the Holy Virgin by pope Leo the Third, in the year 804, in

the

the preſence of the emperor and 365 archbiſhops and biſhops. This church was built on a circular plan; it was ſupported by columns of marble and porphyry, which were brought from Rome and Ravenna; the gates were of braſs, and many of the ornaments within were of gold and ſilver. This edifice was deſtroyed about twenty-ſeven years after it was built, by Godfrey and Sigisfred, dukes of Normandy, who ravaged the country, deſolated the city, and deſtroyed the imperial palace and church. The city and church were rebuilt by the emperor Otho the Third, who was crowned there in the year 983. Though the preſent church has ſome part of it of a circular form, it is not probable that any part of Charlemagne's church remains, though great part of that built by Otho may, and as it is circular, it may be built upon the old foundations. The church of St. Sophia at Conſtantinople was firſt built by Conſtantine, which being covered with a hemiſpherical dome, is by Bede called a round church, though it is not of that form within. Hiſtorians mention other round churches built in the ſame age, but has left us no deſcriptions of them. It is evident, however, from the examples above mentioned, that many round churches were built by the Chriſtians in different parts of the world, in the fourth and fifth centuries; and as that which covered the Holy Sepulchre at Jeruſalem was built in that form, Charlemagne might be induced to build his church at Aix la Chapelle in that manner, in imitation of it.

"After the death of Charlemagne, Jeruſalem fell again into the hands of the Infidels, who kept it until Godfrey of Bouillon, who commanded the Chriſtian armies in the firſt croiſade, recovered it, and was crowned king of Jeruſalem in the year 1097; but Godfrey died in the year 1100; and after his death the Saracens continually moleſted his ſucceſſors, and plundered the pilgrims who went to viſit the holy places about Jeruſalem. For their protection the Knight's Templars were inſtituted in the year 1118; and the care of the Holy Sepulchre being given to them, apartments were allotted them near the church, where they lived in ſubjection to the patriarch, like regular canons, having renounced property, and made a vow of celibacy and obedience. At firſt they were but nine in number, until pope Honorius the Second gave them a rule, and aſſigned them a habit. Their numbers being then unlimited, they amounted to about three hundred in the convent at Jeruſalem only, beſides thoſe who were ſettled in various parts of Chriſtendom, where they acquired vaſt revenues: but in the year 1134, all the knights who were in the convent at Jeruſalem being ſlain by the infidels, it is probable, thoſe who were ſettled in various parts of Europe began then to build round churches, reſembling, as well as they could, that which ſtood over the holy ſepulchre.

"At this time the Jews being very numerous in England, were permitted to build ſynagogues in the towns where they were ſettled; but at a time when the church of the Holy Sepulchre was held in the greateſt eſteem by Chriſtians in general, and by the Templars in particular, we cannot believe they would be permitted to build them in that form, had not their natural averſion to the Chriſtian religion prevented their imitating a building which was intended to commemorate an event which they wiſhed to have for-

forgotten; and from hence we may conclude, that none of the round churches remaining were built by them; and if ever they built their ſynagogues in that form, it was before the deſtruction of Jeruſalem by Titus.

"The round churches we have in England were ſome of them built by the Templars themſelves; as that in London in the year 1185, and dedicated (by Heraclius, patriarch of Jeruſalem) to the Virgin Mary. They built ſome in places where they had large eſtates, as at Baldock, in Hertfordſhire, and ſeveral others we have no account of; moſt of which have been rebuilt, or were originally in the common form: but round churches were ſometimes built by private perſons, and given to the Templars. The round church at Little Mapleſted, in Eſſex, near Caſtle Hedingham, was dedicated to St. John at Jeruſalem, and given to the Templars by Juliana, wife to William, ſon of Audelin, ſteward to Henry the Second.

"Beſides the churches erected by the Templars, or built for them by their pious benefactors, it was cuſtomary, during the croiſades, to build pariſh churches in honour of the Holy Sepulchre; and as pariſhes take the name of their churches, from thence we have the church and pariſh of St. Sepulchre, in London, and other places. But as it was uſual to dedicate them in commemoration of the Holy Sepulchre in Jeruſalem, ſo in ſome places the church is called St. Sepulchre, and the pariſh the Jewry; and as theſe churches were built by the Templars, or perſons concerned in the croiſades, moſt of them were made circular, in imitation of that at Jeruſalem; ſuch is the round church in Cambridge, and that at Northampton; and if there are others of this name, but of a different form, it is probable they have been rebuilt ſince their firſt dedication. Thus we may reaſonably account for the building of thoſe round churches which ſtand in places called the Jewry, without ſuppoſing they were built by the Jews for ſynagogues; it being very improbable that they would build them in that form, or that the Chriſtians would permit them to do it."

Short Recapitulation of the PROCESS in the BUILDING of CASTLES.

An Extract from Mr. King's Sequel to the Observations on Ancient Castles.

[From the Same Work.]

"HAVING, therefore, now brought down the hiſtory of the progreſs of architecture (as far as it relates to caſtles, and noble buildings, the ſeats of reſidence of the ancient Britons of England) to a period with which we may be more eaſily made acquainted, I ſhall conclude with juſt making a ſhort recapitulation of the whole gradual proceſs.

"And firſt, we find the idea of grandeur, united with defence, ſupported even in the very ſmall, inconvenient, ſtrong Anglo-Saxon Tower; ſcarcely deſerving any better name than that of a magnificent den, and juſt one remove beyond the northern dun;

dun; and it is curious to mark, how a ſenſe of innate dignity, and the ebullitions of vanity, have attended the human mind, even in its loweſt ſtate of debaſement, and whilſt confined by every diſadvantage ariſing from the want of art and ſcience.

" 2dly, Succeed on the firſt dawn of civilization, the improved, large, and convenient caſtles of Alfred.

" 3dly, To theſe follow the round Norman keeps, erected on high artificial mounts, and being indeed (in conſequence of deeply rivetted prejudices) a ſort of retrogreſſion of military architecture, and a return to northern ideas, rather than an improvement. But

" 4thly, Soon afterwards were introduced the beautiful and noble towers of Gundulph: the fact ſeeming to be in this, as it has often been in many other inſtances, that the conquerors were, in point of the improvement of arts and ſcience, ſubdued by the conquered.

" 5thly. After theſe ſucceed the mixed kind of buildings; when the architects wantonly availed themſelves of all the foregoing inventions, without much taſte or diſcretion, and juſt as they pleaſed, or as time and opportunity permitted.

" 6thly. At length came the grand and noble piles of Edward the Firſt; manifeſtly derived from the opportunity of ſeeing, during the croiſades, the various refinements and improvements in foreign countries; when at length the idea of the caſtle was nearly ſwallowed up in that of the palace.

" 7thly. Edward III. completed the idea of the palace, and that of the mere caſtle began to be loſt.

" 8thly. Soon, therefore, ſucceeded the ſpacious hoſpitable manſion, embattled only for ornament; and containing vaſt combinations of ill-matched rooms, put together as if they had been added at various times, and by chance. And then at laſt,

" 9thly. Followed the well adorned regular palace.

" Theſe nine ſtages ſeem fairly to comprehend all the regular ſucceſſive alterations, from rude barbarity to civilization. And of every one of them we have ſpecimens that have ſtood, and (were it not for the efforts of illiberal and wanton miſchief) are likely to ſtand in this country, in ſome degree, like the pyramids in Egypt, as laſting monuments of the earlieſt ages: but with the inattention and common prejudice of natives, we are too apt to think there is nothing worth regarding, or preſerving in the ſpot where we dwell.

" I ſhould now cloſe this paper; but before I do ſo, I think myſelf under an obligation to attend to a reflection or two, that may occur to every judicious inveſtigator of this ſubject. The firſt of theſe is, that the invention of cannon and firearms was one great means of producing the neglect and alteration of the ancient mode of fortifying: and the next is, that even during the period in which the more ancient caſtles continued in uſe, there were alſo certain palaces of reſidence beſides.

" As to the firſt of theſe remarks, it may be ſaid, that whatever the cauſe of the alteration might be, the effect was the ſame; and the inveſtigation of this further cauſe, if purſued, would only ſhew, ſtill more clearly, in what manner the various changes came to paſs.

" And with regard to the ſecond remark, it deſerves to be noticed, that although there was indeed occaſionally a reſidence alſo in palaces, and unfortified houſes; yet it appears, from various paſſages in hiſ-

tory (too numerous to cite on this occaſion) that there was, moreover, as frequently in the ſame ages, an occaſional reſidence in theſe very caſtles.

"The reſidence of Gregory the Great, in the caſtle of Dunadeer in Scotland.

"The reſidence of king Edgar, at Corfe caſtle, in Dorſetſhire: the reſidence of queen Elfrida and her ſon Egelred, afterwards in the ſame caſtle.

"The birth of Edward the Second, in the caſtle of Caernarvon, (where the very room is ſtill ſhewn in which he was born.)

"The birth of Henry the Fifth, in the caſtle of Monmouth, when his father was duke of Hereford, and reſided there (at which place his cradle is ſtill preſerved.)

"The birth of Henry the Seventh in the caſtle of Pembroke.

"The entertainment of Richard the Second, with all due marks of royalty, in the caſtle of Rudland; and in the keep of the caſtle of Flint, juſt before his ſurrendering himſelf to Henry the Fourth, as related by Froiſſart, Holingſhed, and Stow; concerning which Froiſſart expreſsly ſays, that king Richard was in the dungeon, or keep, when the earl of Derby ſent the firſt meſſage to him; and gives a moſt curious account of the ceremony of ſending two knights to open the outward gate, to admit the earl; and adds how ſecure Richard was againſt all attempts before he had conſented to do ſo.

"And the abode of Henry the Fourth, in the caſtle of Pontefract, at the time archbiſhop Scroope was taken, condemned, and beheaded.

"All theſe inſtances may be alledged, amongſt many others, as proofs of this fact.

"The curious account alſo, given by Mr. Pennant, of the ſeat of Owen Glendur, in Wales; who was a chieftain of great power, in the time of Henry the Fourth, deſerves to be mentioned on this occaſion.

"And it may be added that the reſidence of the good and venerable archbiſhop Uſher, even ſo late as the time of Charles I. in Torfeckan caſtle, in Ireland, whereof a curious plan is given in the Louthiana; and the numerous ſmall caſtles remaining at Carlingford, and Dundalk, in the ſame kingdom, are remarkable inſtances of the continuance of the cuſtom of dwelling in ſtrong fortreſſes kept up much longer in that country than in England, in conſequence of its continuing much longer in an uncivilized ſtate."

ACCOUNT of the FRENCH MINSTRELS.

[From the Second Volume of Dr. BURNEY's General Hiſtory of Muſic.]

"MUSICIANS who accompanied ſuch bards as ſung their own hiſtorical ſongs in the halls of princes and nobles at great feſtivals, are deſcribed by an old French poet who flouriſhed about 1230, and who is quoted by Ducheſne in his edition of the works of Alain Chartier, and by Borel, Treſ. des Antiq.

Quand les tables otées furent
Cil jugleour in pies eſturent

S'ont

S'ont viols & harpes prises
Chansons, sons, vers et reprises
Et de gestes chanté nos ont.

Roman du Tournoyement de l'Antechrist.

When the cloth was ta'en away
Minstrels strait began to play,
And while harps and viols join
Raptur'd bards in strains divine,
Loud the trembling arches rung
With the noble deeds we sung.

"Though the word minstrel in our language is confined to a musician who plays on instruments, yet the term jonglerie, in old French, included four different species of performers: the troubadours who wrote, set, and sung their own verses; the singers, employed by those poets and composers to whom nature had denied a voice; the diseurs, narrators, or romancers, who in a kind of chant recited their metrical histories; and the players upon instruments, who accompanied the troubadours and singers, or performed at feasts and revels without singing. These last exercised the art of minstrelsy so often mentioned by our poets. The French word jongliour or jongleur is generally thought to be a corruption of joculator; but this term originally implied a jester or buffoon, rather than a musician. The etymology, therefore, of this word, which has been hazarded by M. de la Ravaliere, from ongle, a nail; ongleur, a thrummer of instruments with the nails, seems ingenious and probable: as the lyre, cithara, harp, lute, and guitar, the most ancient stringed instruments, have at all times been played with the nails, and ends of the fingers.

"Strolling musicians of this kind abounded in France so early as the time of Charlemagne, who forbids their admission into convents; and in the first capitulary of Aix la Chapelle, this prince speaks of them as persons branded with infamy. They continued, however, to amuse the great in private, as well as the people in public, as a distinct body of men, till the troubadours introduced poetry into France in the dialect of that country. Their licentiousness was frequently repressed, and their conduct regulated, by the police; and, during the reign of Philip Augustus, the troubadours and minstrels were involved in the same disgrace, and for some time banished the kingdom; which left such a stigma upon their order, as no efforts of genius, or austerity of manners, could entirely deface; though they were afterwards recalled, and in some degree restored to public favour. It is observed by a late elegant French writer, that "though the proscription of music and poetry, and the kind of inquisition which Philip established against the jongleurs in France, may have originated from the laudable intention of repressing those disorders which the abuse of their profession had occasioned; yet, if he had reflected that the fate of letters was at that time in the hands of the troubadours, and that among every people approaching towards civilization, the progress of virtue is generally proportioned to the cultivation of arts and literature, he would have inflicted a less ignominious punishment on the objects of his displeasure. For such is the empire of prejudice, that the anathema it pronounces against the abuse of a profession remains in full force, even after the reformation of those who exercise it." This author ventures to pronounce the jongleurs, or troubadours and minstrels, notwithstanding the contempt with which they are named at present, to have been the fathers of literature in France: "It was they who banished scholastic quarrels and ill-

breeding, and who poliſhed the manners, eſtabliſhed the rules of politeneſs, enlivened the converſation, and purified the gallantry of its inhabitants. That urbanity, continues he, which diſtinguiſhes us from other people, was the fruit of our ſongs; and if it is not from them that we derive our virtues, they at leaſt taught us how to render them amiable."

"Meneſtrel, or minſtrel, ſo early as the eighth century, was a title given to the maeſtro di capella of king Pepin, father of Charlemagne; and afterwards to the coryphæus, or leader of any band of muſicians. However, in proceſs of time, the power of muſic over the munificence of the public being enfeebled by the multiplicity of thoſe who had no other ſubſiſtence, it was thought expedient to try the force of new and different incentives to admiration and benevolence.

"Among the metrical tales and fables of the twelfth and thirteenth century, written in the Romanſe or old French language, there is one ſtill ſubſiſting in the libraries of France, and in the Bodleian library, intitled les deux meneſtriers, the two minſtrels: in which the ſeveral talents neceſſary to their profeſſion are diſplayed: from this I ſhall give an extract, as it will ſhew at leaſt the ſtate of minſtrelſy in France at the time it was written.

"Two companies of minſtrels meeting at a caſtle, endeavour to amuſe its lord by counterfeiting a quarrel. One of them quitting his companions, inſults a minſtrel of the other troop, calling him a ragged beggar, who never had done any thing to deſerve a better dreſs from his patrons; and, in order to prove his own ſuperiority, ſays with triumph that he can tell ſtories in verſe, both in the Romanſe and Latin tongue; can ſing forty lays and heroic ſongs, as well as every other kind of ſongs which may be called for; that he knew alſo ſtories of adventures, particularly thoſe of the round table; and in ſhort, that he could ſing innumerable romances, ſuch as Vivian, Rheinhold the Dane, &c. and relate the ſtories of Flora and White-Flower. He finiſhes the enumeration of his talents by facetiouſly informing the ſpectators, that he did not chuſe his preſent employment for want of knowing others; as he was poſſeſſed of ſeveral ſecrets by which he could make a great fortune: for he knew how to circle an egg, bleed cats, blow beef, and cover houſes with omelets. He alſo knew the art of making goats-caps, cows' bridles, dogs' gloves, hares' armour, joint-ſtool caſes, ſcabbards for hedging-bills; and if he were furniſhed with a couple of harps, he would make ſuch muſic as they never heard before." At length, after ſome additional abuſe, he adviſes the minſtrel whom he attacks, to quit the caſtle without ſtaying to be turned out; "For I deſpiſe you too much," ſays he, "to diſgrace myſelf and comrades by ſtriking ſuch a pitiful fellow."

"The other vilifies him in his turn, and aſks how he dares preſume to call himſelf a minſtrel, who does not know a ſingle tale or ditty worth hearing. "For my part," ſays he, "I am not one of your ignorant fellows who can only take off a cat, play the fool, the drunkard, or talk nonſenſe to my comrades; but one of thoſe true and genuine troubadours who invent every thing they ſay.

All the minſtrel art I know:
I the viol well can play;
I the pipe and ſyrinx blow,
Harp and gigue my hand obey.

Pſaltry

Pſaltry, ſymphony and rote
Help to charm the liſt'ning throng,
And Almonia lends its note
While I warble forth my ſong.
I have tales and fables plenty,
Satirs, paſt'rals, full of ſport.
Songs to Vielle I've more than twenty,
Ditties too of ev'ry ſort.
I from lovers tokens bear,
I can flow'ry chaplets weave,
Am'rous belts can well prepare,
And with courteous ſpeech deceive.

"The minſtrel then ſpecifies the ſeveral poetical tales he can repeat, moſt of which are ſtill ſubſiſting; and then, having diſplayed his talents as a muſician and a man of wit, he next deſcribes his dexterity at tricks and ſlight of hand:

Joint ſtool feats to ſhew I'm able,
I can make the beetle run
All alive upon the table,
Where I ſhew delightful fun.
At my ſlight-of-hand you'll laugh;
At my magic you will ſtare;
I can play at quarter-ſtaff,
I can knives ſuſpend in air.
I enchantments ſtrange deviſe,
And with cord and ſling ſurpriſe.

"He moreover boaſts that beſides the heroic ſongs which his antagoniſt mentioned, he can ſing many others, ſuch as Oliver, Roland, &c. and then, like him, finiſhes by ſome vulgar pleaſantries, telling the company that he had the honour to be acquainted with all the bailiffs, catchpoles, and renowned champions of his time: Augier Poupée, who at one ſtroke cuts off the ear of a cat with a ſword: Herbert Kill-Beef, who breaks an egg with its point, &c. and the moſt celebrated minſtrels, Firebrand, Smaſh, Turnabout, Sliver, &c. At length, addreſſing himſelf to his rival, he adviſes him, if he has any ſhame left, never again to be ſeen in the ſame place as himſelf: "and you, my lord," ſays he, "If I have been more eloquent than he, I entreat you turn him out of doors, to convince him that he's an ignorant blockhead."

"The profeſſion of minſtrel at this time ſeems to have required ſuch talents and abilities as it would be difficult to find in the poſſeſſion of any modern muſician. We will ſuppoſe his muſical knowledge and performance upon inſtruments to have been as inferior to thoſe of the preſent profeſſors, as the inſtruments themſelves were to thoſe of modern conſtruction; and indeed, though we may imagine it poſſible for a minſtrel to know Latin, and to be able to compoſe tales in that language, yet it is hardly probable that he would riſk it. The editor of the Fabliaux ſays that in all his reſearches after the remains of ſuch productions, he has ſeen very few; and indeed they would have been prevented from becoming common, by the ſmall number who would have underſtood them; ſo that the minſtrel's aſſertion in this particular may be regarded as a mere ſwagger, or challenge, which he knew would not be accepted. But all deduction made, his qualifications will ſtill remain ſo numerous and of ſuch a kind as, it is to be hoped, will place him out of the reach of rivalry in the preſent age: for I apprehend it would be difficult to find muſicians now, who would venture to boaſt of ſuch accompliſhments, even if he were poſſeſſed of them, as making amorous girdles, delivering letters or meſſages for lovers, teaching them the pink of courteſy and flower of compliments, or how to ornament their perſons in the moſt emphatical manner.

"To what kind of air the metrical romances which he mentioned were ſung, is not left on record; but that it was as ſimple as the eccleſiaſtical chants, is natural to ſuppoſe, as theſe romances, conſiſting of ma-

ny thouſand lines, were too long to be ſet or ſung to very elaborate muſic. The author of an old romance called Gerard de Rouſſillon, ſays that he has written it upon the model of the Song of Antioch, which the editor of Fabliaux imagines to imply, that it might be ſung to the ſame tune. Nothing was more common for many ages after this period, than for poets to write new ſongs to old tunes, and for muſicians to make variations on theſe tunes; for we find little elſe done by either during the reign of queen Elizabeth.

"About the year 1330, the minſtrels of Paris formed themſelves into a company, and obtained a charter. The police frequently repreſſed their licentiouſneſs, and regulated their conduct; Philip Auguſtus baniſhed them the firſt year of his reign, but they were recalled by his ſucceſſors, and united under the general name of meneſtraudie, minſtrelſy; having a chief appointed over them who was called king of the minſtrels. Lewis IX. exempted them from a tariff or toll at the entrance into Paris, on condition that they would ſing a ſong, and make their monkeys dance to the tollman, perhaps to prove their title to ſuch indulgence; and hence aroſe the well-known proverb: Payer en gambades et en monnoïe de ſinge.

"The aſſociated minſtrels inhabited a particular ſtreet, to which they gave the name which it ſtill retains of St. Julien des Meneſtriers. It was here that the public was provided with muſicians for weddings, and parties of pleaſure; but as a greater number of them uſually attended on ſuch occaſions than were ordered, and all expected to be paid the ſame price, William de Germont, provoſt of Paris, in 1331, prohibited the jongleurs and jonglereſſes from going to thoſe who required their performance in greater numbers than had been ſtipulated, upon a ſevere penalty. In 1395 their libertiniſm and immoralities again incurred the cenſure of government, by which it was ſtrictly enjoined that they ſhould henceforth, neither in public nor private, ſpeak, act, or ſing any thing that was indecorous or unfit for modeſt eyes and ears, upon pain of two months impriſonment, and living on bread and water.

"In the reign of Charles VI. they ſeem to have relinquiſhed the juggling art, and to have confined themſelves more particularly to the practice of muſic."

Some PARTICULARS concerning the Ancient MUSICIANS and MINSTRELS of ENGLAND.

[From the ſame Work.]

"WHOEVER reads the hiſtory of the moſt ancient inhabitants of this iſland, the Cambro Britons, will find innumerable inſtances of the reverence which they paid to their poet-muſicians, the bards, both of Pagan and Chriſtian times; and ſongs of very high antiquity have been preſerved in the Welſh language, though not all the tunes to which they were ſung. The harp, with which theſe ſongs uſed

to

to be accompanied, was in ſuch general favour in Wales, as to be regarded among the poſſeſſions neceſſary to conſtitute a gentleman. The moſt ancient Welſh poetry that is now intelligible was written about the year 1100, and ſome of the tunes that are preſerved in the late Mr. Morris's MS. which were tranſcribed from the muſic-book of William Penllin, the harper in queen Elizabeth's time, are ſuppoſed by Dr. Davies to be coeval with the verſes to which they were ſung, when he compoſed his Grammar and Catalogue of ancient Cambro-Britiſh ſongs. Unluckily the notation, or tablature, in which theſe tunes have been written, is ſo uncommon and difficult to reduce to modern characters, that though the gravity or acuteneſs of the ſeveral notes can be aſcertained, yet their lengths, or duration, cannot be eſtabliſhed with any degree of certainty, by any rule which I have been yet able to deviſe: however, in a future chapter, when National Muſic becomes the principal ſubject of diſcuſſion, a farther inveſtigation of theſe characters will be attempted.

"The harp was no leſs in favour with the Saxons and Danes than with the Britons; and hiſtorians never fail to point out the fragments of heroic ſongs which were ſung to it for the victory obtained by Athelſtan in 938, and on the death of Edgar 975, which are recorded in the Saxon Chronicle. Nor is the Saxon poet Cœdmon, of whom Venerable Bede makes ſuch honourable mention, forgotten, any more than the muſical abilities of our great Alfred, and the romantic uſe he made of them, in gaining admiſſion as a harper, or minſtrel, into the Daniſh camp.

"The northern annals abound with pompous accounts of the honours conferred on muſic by princes who were themſelves proficients in the art, and the Cambro-Britiſh inſtitutes, with laws and privileges in favour of its profeſſors. As the firſt muſician, or bard, was the eighth officer in dignity at the court of the Welſh kings, and had a place in the royal hall next to the ſteward of the houſhold, ſo the reſpect and dignity with which bards in general were treated about this time, in all the courts of Europe, were equal to thoſe which Homer tells us their predeceſſors, Demodocus and Phemius enjoyed in Greece. Muſic was now a regal accompliſhment, as we find by all the ancient metrical romances and heroic narrations in the new formed languages of the times; and to ſing to the harp was neceſſary to a perfect prince, and complete hero.

"Euſtace, or Wace, the author of Le Brut d'Angleterre, or the Metrical Hiſtory of Brutus, the pretended founder of the Britiſh nation, repreſents Gabbet, one of our kings, as the moſt able muſician of his time: one who

De tous eſtrumens ſot maiſtrie
Si ſot de toute chanterie
Molt ſot de lais, molt ſot de notes, &c.

Ev'ry inſtrument could play,
And in ſweeteſt manner ſing,
Chanting forth each kind of lay,
To the ſound of pipe or ſtring.

"The poet afterwards ſpecifies ſix of the inſtruments upon which the Britiſh monarch could perform, in the following rhymes:

De vieles ſot et de rote,
De harpe ſot et de chorum,
De lire, et de pſalterium:
Por ce qn'il ot de chant tel ſens,
Diſoient la gent en ſon tems,
Que il eſt dieux des jongliours,
Et dieux de tours les chanteours, &c.

He to pſaltry, viol, rote,
Chorus, harp, and lyre could ſing;
And ſo ſweet was ev'ry note
When he touch'd the trembling ſtring,
That with love and zeal inflam'd,
All who join'd the liſt'ning throng,
Him with ecſtacy proclaim'd
God of minſtrels, god of ſong.

"But it is ever with muſic as with other arts,

"The leſs the public underſtand
"The more they admire the ſlight of hand."

"The firſt Greek muſicians were gods; the ſecond heroes; the third bards; the fourth beggars! During the early times of muſic, in every country, the wonder and affections of the people have been gained by ſurprize; but when muſicians became numerous, and the art was regarded of eaſier acquirement, they loſt their favour, and from being ſeated at the tables of kings, and helped to the firſt cut, they were reduced to the moſt abject ſtate, and ranked among rogues and vagabonds.

"The fluctuating favour of minſtrelſy in England very much reſembles that of France, of which the reader has already had an account in the preſent chapter: I ſhall however give a ſummary of its progreſs and encouragement during the firſt dawning of our literature, avoiding every circumſtance that does not neceſſarily appertain to my ſubject; for the formation of our language has been ſo amply traced by Dr. Johnſon, in the Hiſtory of it, prefixed to his Dictionary, that I have neither courage nor inclination to meddle with it; and the late judicious and diligent enquiries into the early ſtate of our poetry, by Dr. Percy, Mr. Warton, and the editor of Chaucer's Canterbury Tales, have left me no excuſe for entering upon that ground, unleſs in purſuit of my own game. But though I may ſometimes have hunted on the ſame manor as theſe excellent literary ſportſmen, and during the chace have accidentally run into them; yet the chief objects of our purſuits have been extremely different. Indeed muſic and poetry, during the infancy of their cultivation, in every country, are ſo cloſely connected, that it is impoſſible to ſpeak of one without the other; yet in proportion as thoſe arts advance towards perfection, they will not only become more and more independent, but have a legiſlation and a language of their own, which will ſeverally furniſh their hiſtorians with ſufficient employment, without ſeeming to encroach upon each other.

"We are certain that Britiſh harpers were famous long before the Conqueſt, and the bounty of our firſt Norman ſovereign to his joculator, or bard, is recorded in Doomſday-book; nor ſhould that of Henry the Third be forgotten, who, in the thirty-ſixth year of his reign, not only gave forty ſhillings and a pipe of wine to Richard, his harper, but another pipe of wine to Beatrice, the harper's wife. All our moſt ancient poems, whatever was their length, were ſung to the harp on Sundays and on public feſtivals. Yet in the legendary life of St. Chriſtopher, written about the year 1200, we find mention made of the fiddle:

—— Chriſtofre hym ſerved longe;
The kynge loved melodye of fithele and of ſonge.

"The harp however ſeems for many ages to have been the favourite inſtrument of the inhabitants of this iſland, whether under Britiſh, Saxon, Daniſh, or Norman kings. Many diſgraceful circumſtances are blazoned of the poor minſtrels: it is therefore but juſt to relate thoſe that

that redounded to their honour; and the Chronicle of Walter Heming, furniſhes an incident that well deſerves to be recorded.

Edward the Firſt, according to this hiſtorian, about the year 1271, a ſhort time before he aſcended the throne, took his harper with him to the Holy Land; and this muſician muſt have been a cloſe and conſtant attendant on his maſter; for when Edward was wounded with a poiſoned knife at Ptolemais, the harper, Citharæda ſuus, hearing the ſtruggle, ruſhed into the royal apartment, and killed the aſſaſſin.

"The learned and pious Groſteſte, biſhop of Lincoln, who died in 1253, is ſaid, in ſome verſes of Robert de Brunne, who flouriſhed about the beginning of next century, to have been very fond of the metre and muſic of the minſtrels. The good prelate had written a poem in the Romanſe language, called Manuel Peche, which Robert de Brunne tranſlated into Engliſh, with a deſign, as he tells us himſelf, that it ſhould be ſung to the harp at public entertainments.

For lewed men I undertoke
In Engliſhe tonge to make this boke,
For many beyn of ſuch manere
That talys and rymys wyle blithly here,
In gamys and feſty's at the ale
Love men to liſtene trotonale.

"The following anecdote concerning the love which his author, biſhop Groſteſte had for muſic, ſeems to merit a place here, though it is related in rude rhymes.

Y ſhall you tell as I have herd
Of the byſhop ſeynt Roberd,
Hys toname is Groſteſte
Of Lyncolne, ſo leyth the geſte,
He loved moche to here the harpe,
For mans witte yt makyth ſharpe.
Next hys chamber, beſyde his ſtudy,
Hys harper's chamber was faſt the by.
Many tymes, by nightes and dayes,
He had ſolace of notes and layes,
One aſkede hem the reſon why
He hadde delyte in mynſtrelſy?
He anſwerde hym on this manere
Why he helde the harpe ſo dere.
"The virtu of the harp, thurgh ſkyle and ryght,
Wylle deſtrye the fendys myght;
And to the cros by gode ſkeyl
Ys the harp ylykened weyl.
Thirefore, gode men, ye ſhall lere,
When ye any gleman here,
To worſhepe God at your power,
And Davyd in the ſauter.
Yn harpe and tabour and ſymphan gle
Worſhip God in trumpes and ſautre:
In cordes, yn organes, and bells ringyng,
Yn all theſe worſhip the hevene kyng, &c."

"In purſuing the hiſtory of Engliſh Minſtrels I am frequently obliged to recount circumſtances which have lately been rendered familiar to many of my readers; but theſe circumſtances are ſuch as ſeem ſo naturally to belong to my work, that thoſe who peruſe it would have cauſe to complain, ſhould they be put to the trouble of ſeeking them elſewhere. There are certain events which every writer muſt relate, however they may have loſt the charms of novelty by frequent repetition; for by omitting them he would be equally abſurd with that hiſtorian, who in writing the annals of Charles the Firſt, ſhould ſuppreſs the circumſtance of that unfortunate prince's decapitation, becauſe it has been already ſo often related.

"A ſingular privilege granted to itinerant muſicians of the loweſt claſs, during the time of Cheſter fair, is of this kind, and though well known is too important to be omitted.

"The Midſummer fair at Cheſter, from the vicinity of that city to Ireland and Wales, has long ſupported its reputation by the amuſement it affords to the neighbouring gentry, and the profits accruing to traders, who aſſemble there from all parts of his majeſty's dominions,

The inſtitution of this fair is traced up to the time of Edward the Confeſſor, when Leofric, earl of Cheſter, among other grants in favour of the abbey of St. Werburg, in that city, eſtabliſhed a fair on the feſtival to the ſaint to whom it was dedicated, and in his honour ordained that the perſons of whatever vagabonds, or even culprits, ſhould aſſemble there during that ſolemnity, ſhould be ſafe, provided they were guilty of no new offence.

"Which ſpecial privilege, ſay the authors from whom I extract the following account, as in proceſs of time it drew an extraordinary confluence of looſe people thither at that ſeaſon, ſo it happened to be of ſingular advantage to Randal, one of the ſucceeding earls; who, in 1212, during the reign of king John, being ſuddenly beſieged by the Welſh in Rhydland, or Rothelan caſtle, in Flintſhire, was relieved, rather by their number and appearance than proweſs, under the conduct of Robert de Lacy, conſtable of Cheſter, who, with pipers and other kinds of minſtrels aſſembled them together, and marching towards the caſtle, ſo terrified the Welſh that they inſtantly fled. "In memory of which notable exploit, that famous meeting of ſuch minſtrels hath been duly continued to every Midſummer fair, at which time the heir of Hugh de Dutton, accompanied with diverſe gentlemen, having a penon of his arms borne before him by one of the principal minſtrels, who alſo weareth his ſurtout, firſt rideth up to the eaſt gate of the city, and there cauſing proclamation to be made that all the muſicians and minſtrels within the county Palatine of Cheſter do approach and play before him; preſently ſo attended he rideth to St. John's church, and having heard ſolemn ſervice, proceedeth to the place for keeping of his court, where the ſteward having called every minſtrel, impanelleth a jury, and giveth his charge: firſt, to enquire of any treaſon againſt the king or prince (as earl of Cheſter); ſecondly, whether any man of that profeſſion hath "exerciſed his inſtrument" without licence from the lord of that court, or what miſdemeanour he is guilty of; and thirdly, whether they have heard any language amongſt their fellows, tending to the diſhonour of their lord and patron, the heir of Dutton. Which privilege was anciently ſo granted by John de Lacy, conſtable of Cheſter, ſon and heir to the before ſpecified Roger, unto John de Dutton and his heirs, by a ſpecial charter in theſe words, *Magiſterium omnia liccatorum et meretricum totius Ceſtriſhire*, and hath been thus exerciſed time out of mind."

"This privilege has been confirmed to the Dutton family in a ſtatute ſo late as the 17th of George II. cap. 5. where exceptions are made in favour of him and his heirs "concerning the liberty, privilege, pre-eminence, authority, juriſdiction, or inheritance, which they, their heirs or aſſigns, now lawfully uſe, or have, or lawfully may or ought to uſe within the county palatine of Cheſter, and county of Cheſter, or either of them, by reaſon of any ancient charters of any kings of this land, or by reaſon of any preſcription or lawful uſage or title whatſoever."

MISCELLANEOUS PAPERS.

The MANNER of TRAVELLING in RUSSIA.

[From the MEMOIRS of PETER HENRY BRUCE, Esq.]

"THE manner of travelling in Russia is extremely commodious, especially in winter, when their sledges glide away on the surface of the ice or snow, in a flat country, with incredible dispatch, and so very little labour to the horses, that they can easily perform fifty or sixty miles a day. Their sledges are made of the bark of the linden-tree, fitted to the size of a man, lined with some thick felt, and when a man is laid along in them, he is wrapped up and quite covered in good furs. The driver for the most part runs by the sledge to keep himself warm, or sits at the feet of the person who travels; the sledges being built very low, should they happen to overturn, there is little danger in the fall. In this mode of travelling, the time is mostly spent in sleeping, the easy, almost imperceptible, motion favouring their repose. When they happen to pass through deserts, or great forests, where they are obliged to remain all night in the open air, they kindle a great fire, round which they range their sledges, so that being well closed on all sides, and well covered up with their furs, they rest more commodiously than in a country cottage, where men and beasts being lodged together in one room, greatly disturb a man's rest. The greatest inconvenience in travelling those parts is the want of inns on the road, which obliges the travellers to carry provisions along with them, and other necessaries they may stand in need of; but those who travel singly commonly go post, when they pay the whole expence of the journey at setting out, and have no more occasion to put their hand in their pocket till they come to the end of it, which is very convenient. The post-boy receives a written order, which he delivers to the next who succeeds him, and so on to the end; and they go day and night, having fresh horses every ten miles, so that the traveller may sleep all the way in his sledge, if he chooses. They commonly travel an hundred and fifty miles in twenty-four hours. I have often travelled three stages without waking.

"In the summer they travel either by water, on the rivers with which this country abounds; or by land on horseback, by coach, or sleeping-waggon; the roads in Russia being very broad, beautiful, and easy for travelling. For passing the rivers they have a kind of floating bridges made of large fir-trees, fastened together, which can support a great weight. But the violent heat of the summer, and the prodigious quantities of muskitoes and flies, are very troublesome, and greatly

greatly interrupt the pleaſure a ſtranger would otherwiſe have in paſſing through this country from the beauty and variety of its foreſts, rivers, and lakes."

Account of a curious LAW-SUIT between TWO BROTHERS.

[From the ſame Work.]

"AT my return to Revel, a comical law-ſuit was commenced between my landlord and his brother, both merchants in the town; the caſe was thus:—The two brothers had always lived at great variance with each other; my landlord, who was very rich, was determined, in caſe he ſhould die, his brother ſhould not ſucceed him; he had been married ſeveral years to a very handſome woman, without having any children by her; the blame whereof he attributed more to himſelf than to his wife; and being reſolved that his wife, at any rate, ſhould have a child, to deprive his brother from being his heir, he took a lieutenant into his houſe as a lodger, a handſome young fellow, to whom he gave all manner of opportunities to converſe with his wife, having before-hand concerted the matter with her, by which means ſhe ſoon proved to be with child: ſhe then made the gentleman a preſent of a purſe with a hundred ducats, deſiring him, at the ſame time, to ſeek out another lodging, as her huſband was grown jealous and began to ſuſpect her, which made it abſolutely neceſſary for him to remove, promiſing, that if he ever ſtood in need of her aſſiſtance, he might depend upon her. The gentleman finding her very poſitive, notwithſtanding all his remonſtrances, was, at laſt, obliged to comply, flattering himſelf to find frequent opportunities to converſe with her; but in this he found himſelf miſtaken, for ſhe ſhunned all occaſion of ever being alone with him. This exaſperated him ſo much, that one evening, when he knew her huſband to be from home, he forced his way into her bed-chamber, and deſired to know why ſhe ſhunned his company. She very frankly told him, that ſhe had cohabited with him, not with luſt, but with an intention to have a child by him to inherit her huſband's eſtate; and as ſhe was now with child, ſhe hoped he would not envy its being heir to a good eſtate; and deſired, therefore, he would not be an inſtrument in defaming her and ruining his own child; deſiring him to give over any thoughts of enjoying her any more, ſhe being fully determined againſt it. After this ſpeech ſhe gave him a diamond ring, and a purſe with fifty ducats and retired, locking herſelf up in another room: upon this he went away in a great paſſion, and in a fit of ill-humour, divulged the whole intrigue to ſome of his companions, who ſoon ſpread it over the town, by which means his brother got notice of it, and commenced the law-ſuit; but the huſband acknowledging the child to be his, the ſuit was dropt in courſe."

INTERVIEW of the RUSSIAN OFFICERS, with the LADIES of the City of TARKU, the Metropolis of DAGESTAN TARTARY.

[From the ſame Work.]

"THIS city of Tarku, being the metropolis of Dageſtan, contains above three thouſand houſes, and is very full of inhabitants; the houſes all two ſtories high, platformed at top, ſtanding cloſe to each other: the women walk upon them in the cool of the evenings, as the men do in the ſtreets. Every houſe has a garden ſtored with all kinds of delicious fruits, and all well ſupplied with fine ſprings of water: as for their women, they are incomparably beautiful, both in feature and ſhape, with a fair clear complection, accompanied with lovely black eyes and hair; but as the men are very jealous, they are always locked up, ſo that it is no eaſy matter to get ſight of them; and I believe we ſhould not have ſeen any of them if it had not happened twice by accident. We had the liberty to go into the city to buy neceſſaries, and were ordered on theſe occaſions to go in ſtrong parties and well armed, for we placed no great confidence in the fidelity of the inhabitants; and being in town one day with ſeveral officers, well eſcorted, we ſaw one of the principal inhabitants going into his houſe, when we made bold to throng in with him much againſt his inclination; but, being informed by our interpreter, that we were officers of rank, and that we begged the favour he would indulge our curioſity by ſhewing us the inſide of his houſe, he at laſt reluctantly conſented, and led us into his apartments; the floors were all covered with very fine Perſian tapeſtry, without any other kind of ornament, excepting ſome fine mattraſſes, and ſilk quilts, upon which they lie at night; they have neither chairs nor tables, but all ſit or lie on the floor: inſtead of glaſs in the windows, they have blinds, very curiouſly checkered of plaited reed, through which they can ſee what paſſes in the ſtreet without being ſeen within; the walls and cielings are all white without any ornament. After this he led us into a ſquare court, divided in the middle by a high wall, which ſeparated his own apartments from thoſe of the women; having ſhewed us alſo his garden, very well ſtored with all kinds of fruit, he invited us to ſit down with him on a ſopha under a piazza, and entertained us with coffee, fruits, and ſweet-meats; when captain Brunie, one of our company, ſhewed him a very pretty ſhaving-glaſs he carried in his pocket, and obſerving he was much pleaſed with it, the captain made him a preſent of it, which ſeemed to ingratiate us with him. After ſome converſation with our hoſt, we begged the favour of him to let us ſee his women in their dreſs, only at a diſtance; to which, though unwillingly, he at laſt conſented, and went himſelf to their apartments to order them to get themſelves ready, as we apprehended, and returning preſently, he ſat down again and converſed ſome time with us He then went again, and brought out four of his wives, and eight of his concubines, and placed them all in a row that we might have a full view of them, in which poſture he left them

them ſtanding, and returning himſelf to the ſofa, he ſat down with us: the ladies, however, ſeemingly diſpleaſed to be gazed at, at ſuch a diſtance, advanced with one accord, and ſeated themſelves upon the ſofa oppoſite to us, at which forwardneſs our hoſt ſeemed not at all pleaſed, and they, not regarding him in the leaſt, examined our dreſs very narrowly, and put a great many queſtions to us, by our interpreter, eſpecially relating to the cuſtoms and dreſs of our women, and how many women were allowed in our country to each man: on their being informed that no man was allowed to have more than one wife, and that the women had the ſame liberty as the men to walk abroad and viſit their neighbours; they clapped their hands, and cried out with emotion, "O! happy, happy country!" Our hoſt not being at all pleaſed with their conduct, ordered them immediately to their apartments, and they obeyed with much reluctance. They were all moſt lovely creatures, but the concubines excelled the wives in beauty; the reaſon is obvious, for they are married to their wives by proxy, and the others they take from choice. After ſome ſhort ſtay we took our leave, having invited our hoſt to come next day and ſee us in the camp: upon his coming we entertained him very handſomely, and he appeared to be moſt delighted with our regimental muſic; and he told us at his taking leave, that as we had ſhewn him ſo much politeneſs and civility, we ſhould always be welcome to his houſe while we ſtaid in thoſe parts; but although we attempted it we never could again obtain admiſſion.

"The next view we got of the Dageſtan ladies was at the empreſs's tent: the ſhafkal's ladies, attended by other ladies of rank and faſhion, came to wait on her majeſty; they came ſo cloſe ſhut up in coaches that they could not be ſeen. When they arrived at the empreſs's tent, they were ſeated on cuſhions of crimſon velvet, laid on Perſian carpets, that were ſpread upon the ground, and there they ſat croſs-legged according to their cuſtom. After they were ſeated, the empreſs gave orders that the officers ſhould be admitted to ſee the ladies, who were, indeed, all of them extremely lovely: her majeſty had ordered, that when one company of the officers had gratified their curioſity, they ſhould retire and make way for others; by which means the viſit of the ladies laſted till it was pretty late at night, when they were attended back to the city by her ſervants, with abundance of torches, highly pleaſed with their reception; and not only being informed, but alſo ſeeing how unconfined our women live, they certainly were as much taken with it as thoſe of our hoſt; and I dare ſay, if we could have beat up for volunteers among thoſe lovely daughters of the Amazons, their men would now have been left as womenleſs as they were in thoſe ancient times."

ACCOUNT of the MARRIAGE of TWO DWARFS.

[From the ſame Work.]

"THE princeſs Nataiia, only ſiſter to the czar, by the ſame mother, ordered preparations to be made for a grand wedding for two of her dwarfs, who were to be married; on which occaſion ſeveral ſmall coaches were made, and little Shetland horſes provided to draw them; and all the dwarfs in the kingdom were ſummoned to celebrate the nuptials, to the number of ninety-three: they went in a grand proceſſion through all the ſtreets of Moſcow; before them went a large open waggon drawn by ſix horſes, with kettle-drums, trumpets, French horns, and hautboys; then followed the marſhal and his attendants, two and two, on horſeback; then the bridegroom and bride, in a coach and ſix, attended by their bride man and maid, who ſat before them in the coach: they were followed by fifteen ſmall coaches, each drawn by ſix Shetland horſes, and each containing four dwarfs. It was ſomewhat ſurpriſing to ſee ſuch a number of little creatures in one company together; eſpecially as they were furniſhed with an equipage conformable to their ſtature. Two troops of dragoons attended the proceſſion to keep off the mob, and many perſons of faſhion were invited to the wedding, who attended in their coaches to the church, where the ſmall couple were married: from thence the proceſſion returned in order to the princeſs's palace, where a grand entertainment was prepared for the company; two long tables were covered, on each ſide of a long hall, where the company of dwarfs dined together: the princeſs, with her two nieces, princeſs Anne and Elizabeth, the czar's daughters, were at the trouble themſelves to ſee them all ſeated and well attended, before they ſat down to their own table. At night the princeſſes, attended by the nobility, conducted the married couple to bed in great ſtate: after that ceremony, the dwarf company had a large room allotted them to make merry among themſelves; the entertainment concluded with a ball, which laſted till day-light. The company which attended the princeſſes on this occaſion were ſo unmerous, that they filled ſeveral rooms."

PART of the HISTORY of ANDREW the HEBRIDIAN.

[From the AMERICAN FARMER'S LETTERS.]

"A WEEK after news came that a veſſel was arrived with Scotch emigrants. Mr. C. and I went to the dock to ſee them diſembark.

"Several citizens, impelled either by ſpontaneous attachments, or motives of humanity, took many of them to their houſes; the city agreeably to its uſual wiſdom and

and humanity, ordered them all to be lodged in the barracks, and plenty of provisions to be given them. My friend pitched upon one also and led him to his house, with his wife, and a son about fourteen years of age. The majority of them had contracted for land the year before, by means of an agent; the rest depended entirely upon chance; and the one who followed us was of this last class. Poor man, he smiled on receiving the invitation, and gladly accepted it, bidding his wife and son do the same, in a language which I did not understand. He gazed with uninterrupted attention on every thing he saw; the houses, the inhabitants, the negroes, and carriages; every thing appeared equally new to him; and we went slow, in order to give him time to feed on this pleasing variety. Good God! said he, is this Philadelphia, that blessed city of bread and provisions, of which we have heard so much? I am told it was founded the same year in which my father was born; why it is finer than Greenock and Glasgow, which are ten times as old. It is so, said my friend to him, and when thee hast been here a month, thee wilt soon see that it is the capital of a fine province, of which thee art going to be a citizen: Greenock enjoys neither such a climate nor such a soil. Thus we slowly proceeded along, when we met several large Lancaster six-horse waggons, just arrived from the country. At this stupendous sight he stopped short, and with great diffidence asked us what was the use of these great moving houses, and where those big horses came from? Have you none such at home, I asked him? Oh no; these huge animals would eat all the grass of our island! We at last reached my friend's house, who in the glow of well-meant hospitality, made them all three sit down to a good dinner, and gave them as much cyder as they could drink. God bless this country, and the good people it contains, said he; this is the best meal's victuals I have made a long time——I thank you kindly.

"What part of Scotland dost thee come from, friend Andrew, said Mr. C? Some of us come from the main, some from the island of Barra, he answered—I myself am a Barra man. I looked on the map, and by its latitude, easily guessed that it must be an inhospitable climate. What sort of land have you got there, I asked him? Bad enough, said he; we have no such trees as I see here, no wheat, no kyne, no apples. Then, I observed, it must be hard for the poor to live. We have no poor, he answered, we are all alike, except our laird; but he cannot help every body. Pray what is the name of your laird? Mr. Neiel, said Andrew; the like of him is not to be found in any of the isles; his forefathers have lived there thirty generations ago, as we are told. Now, gentlemen, you may judge what an ancient family estate it must be. But it is cold, the land is thin, and there were too many of us, which are the reasons that some are come to seek their fortunes here. Well, Andrew, what step do you intend to take in order to become rich? I do not know, Sir; I am but an ignorant man, a stranger besides—I must rely on the advice of good Christians, they would not deceive me, I am sure. I have brought with me a character from our Barra minister, can it do me any good here? Oh, yes; but your future success will depend entirely on your own conduct; if you are a sober man, as the certificate says, laborious, and honest, there is no fear but that you will do well.

well. Have you brought any money with you, Andrew! Yes, Sir, eleven guineas and a half. Upon my word it is a conſiderable ſum for a Barra man; how came you by ſo much money? Why ſeven years ago I received a legacy of thirty-ſeven pounds from an uncle, who loved me much; my wife brought me two guineas, when the laird gave her to me for a wife, which I have ſaved ever ſince. I have ſold all I had; I worked in Glaſgow for ſome time. I am glad to hear you are ſo ſaving and prudent; be ſo ſtill: you muſt go and hire yourſelf with ſome good people; what can you do? I can threſh a little, and handle the ſpade. Can you plough? Yes, Sir, with the little breaſt plough I have brought with me. Theſe won't do here, Andrew; you are an able man; if you are willing you will ſoon learn. I'll tell you what I intend to do; I'll ſend you to my houſe, where you ſhall ſtay two or three weeks, there you muſt exerciſe yourſelf with the axe, that is the principal tool the Americans want, and particularly the back-ſettlers. Can your wife ſpin? Yes, ſhe can. Well then as ſoon as you are able to handle the axe, you ſhall go and live with Mr. P. R. a particular friend of mine, who will give you four dollars per month, for the firſt ſix, and the uſual price of five as long as you remain with him. I ſhall place your wife in another houſe, where ſhe ſhall receive half a dollar a week for ſpinning; and your ſon a dollar a month to drive the team. You ſhall have beſides good victuals to eat, and good beds to lie on: will all this ſatisfy you, Andrew? He hardly underſtood what I ſaid; the honeſt tears of gratitude fell from his eyes as he looked at me, and its expreſſions ſeemed to quiver on his lips.—Though ſilent, this was ſaying a great deal; there was beſides ſomething extremely moving to ſee a man ſix feet high, thus ſhed tears; and they did not leſſen the good opinion I had entertained of him. At laſt he told me, that my offers were more than he deſerved, and that he would firſt begin to work for his victuals. No, no, ſaid I, if you are careful and ſober, and do what you can, you ſhall receive what I told you, after you have ſerved a ſhort apprenticeſhip at my houſe. May God repay you for all your kindneſſes, ſaid Andrew; as long as I live I ſhall thank you, and do what I can for you. A few days after I ſent them all three to ——, by the return of ſome waggons, that he might have an opportunity of viewing, and convincing himſelf of the utility of thoſe machines which he had at firſt ſo much admired.

"Andrew arrived at my houſe a week before I did, and I found my wife, agreeably to my inſtructions, had placed the axe in his hands, as his firſt taſk. For ſome time he was very aukward, but he was ſo docile, ſo willing, and grateful, as well as his wife, that I foreſaw he would ſucceed. Agreeably to my promiſe, I put them all with different families, where they were well liked, and all parties were pleaſed. Andrew worked hard, lived well, grew fat, and every Sunday came to pay me a viſit on a good horſe, which Mr. P. R. lent him. Poor man, it took him a long time ere he could ſit on the ſaddle and hold the bridle properly. I believe he had never before mounted ſuch a beaſt, though I did not chooſe to aſk him that queſtion, for fear it might ſuggeſt ſome mortifying ideas. After having been twelve months at Mr. P. R's, and having received his own and his family's wages, which amounted to eighty-four dollars; he came to ſee me

me on a week-day, and told me, that he was a man of middle age, and would willingly have land of his own, in order to procure him a home, as a ſhelter againſt old age; that whenever this period ſhould come, his ſon, to whom he would give his land, would then maintain him, and thus live all together; he therefore required my advice and aſſiſtance. I thought his deſire very natural and praiſe-worthy, and told him that I ſhould think of it, but that he muſt remain one month longer with Mr. P. R. who had 3000 rails to ſplit. He immediately conſented. The ſpring was not far advanced enough yet for Andrew to begin clearing any land even ſuppoſing that he had made a purchaſe; as it is always neceſſary that the leaves ſhould be out, in order that this additional combuſtible may ſerve to burn the heaps of bruſh more readily.—

" The time approached when I had promiſed Andrew my beſt aſſiſtance to ſettle him; for that purpoſe I went to Mr. A. V. in the county of ——, who, I was informed, had purchaſed a track of land, contiguous to —— ſettlement. I gave him a faithful detail of the progreſs Andrew had made in the rural arts; of his honeſty, ſobriety, and gratitude, and preſſed him to ſell him an hundred acres. This I cannot comply with, ſaid Mr. A. V. but at the ſame time I will do better; I love to encourage honeſt Europeans as much as you do, and to ſee them proſper: you tell me he has but one ſon; I will leaſe them an hundred acres for any term of years you pleaſe, and make it more valuable to your Scotchman than if he were poſſeſſed of the fee ſimple. By that means he may, with what little money he has, buy a plough, a team, and ſome ſtock; he will not be incumbered with debts and mortgages; what he raiſes will be his own; had he two or three ſons as able as himſelf, then I ſhould think it more eligible for him to purchaſe the fee ſimple. I join with you in opinion, and will bring Andrew along with me in a few days.

" Well, honeſt Andrew, ſaid Mr. A. V. in conſideration of your good name, I will let you have an hundred acres of good arable land, that ſhall be laid out along a new road; there is a bridge already erected on the creek that paſſes through the land, and a fine ſwamp of about twenty acres. Theſe are my terms, I cannot ſell, but I will leaſe you the quantity that Mr. James, your friend, has aſked; the firſt ſeven years you ſhall pay no rent; whatever you ſow and reap, and plant and gather, ſhall be entirely your own; neither the king, government, nor church, will have any claim on your future property: the remaining part of the time you muſt give me twelve dollars and a half a year; and that is all you will have to pay me. Within the three firſt years you muſt plant fifty apple trees, and clear ſeven acres of ſwamp within the firſt part of the leaſe; it will be your own advantage: whatever you do more within that time, I will pay you for it, at the common rate of the country. The term of the leaſe ſhall be thirty years; how do you like it, Andrew? Oh, Sir, it is very good, but I am afraid, that the king or his miniſters, or the governor, or ſome of our great men, will come and take the land from me; your ſon may ſay to me, by and by, this is my father's land, Andrew, you muſt quit it. No, no, ſaid Mr. A. V. there is no ſuch danger; the king and his miniſters are too juſt to take the labour of a poor ſettler; here we have no great men, but

what are ſubordinate to our laws; but to calm all your fears, I will give you a leaſe, ſo that none can make you afraid. If ever you are diſſatisfied with the land, a jury of your own neighbourhood ſhall value all your improvements, and you ſhall be paid agreeably to their verdict. You may ſell the leaſe, or if you die, you may previouſly diſpoſe of it, as if the land was your own. Expreſſive, yet inarticulate joy, was mixed in his countenance, which ſeemed impreſſed with aſtoniſhment and confuſion. Do you underſtand me well, ſaid Mr. A. V? No, Sir, replied Andrew, I know nothing of what you mean about leaſe, improvement, will, jury, &c. That is honeſt, we will explain theſe things to you by and by. It muſt be confeſſed that thoſe were hard words, which he had never heard in his life; for by his own account, the ideas they convey would be totally uſeleſs in the iſland of Barra. No wonder, therefore, that he was embarraſſed; for how could the man who had hardly a will of his own ſince he was born, imagine he could have one after his death? How could the perſon who never poſſeſſed any thing, conceive that he could extend his new dominion over this land, even after he ſhould be laid in his grave? For my part, I think Andrew's amazement did not imply any extraordinary degree of ignorance; he was an actor introduced upon a new ſcene, it required ſome time ere he could reconcile himſelf to the part he was to perform. However he was ſoon enlightened, and introduced into thoſe myſteries with which we native Americans are but too well acquainted.

"Here then is honeſt Andrew, inveſted with every municipal advantage they confer; become a freeholder, poſſeſſed of a vote, of a place of reſidence, a citizen of the province of Pennſylvania. Andrew's original hopes and the diſtant proſpects he had formed in the iſland of Barra, were at the eve of being realiſed; we therefore can eaſily forgive him a few ſpontaneous ejaculations, which would be uſeleſs to repeat. This ſhort tale is eaſily told; few words are ſufficient to deſcribe this ſudden change of ſituation; but in his mind it was gradual, and took him above a week before he could be ſure, that without diſburſing any money he could poſſeſs lands. Soon after he prepared himſelf; I lent him a barrel of pork, and 200 lb. weight of meal, and made him purchaſe what was neceſſary beſides.

"He ſet out, and hired a room in the houſe of a ſettler who lived the moſt contiguous to his own land. His firſt work was to clear ſome acres of ſwamp, that he might have a ſupply of hay the following year for his two horſes and cows. From the firſt day he began to work, he was indefatigable; his honeſty procured him friends, and his induſtry the eſteem of his new neighbours. One of them offered him two acres of cleared land, whereon he might plant corn, pumpkins, ſquaſhes, and a few potatoes, that very ſeaſon. It is aſtoniſhing how quick men will learn when they work for themſelves. I ſaw with pleaſure two months after, Andrew holding a two horſe-plough, and tracing his furrows quite ſtraight; thus the ſpade man of the iſland of Barra was become the tiller of American ſoil. Well done, ſaid I, Andrew, well done; I ſee that God ſpeeds and directs your works; I ſee proſperity delineated in all your furrows and head lands. Raiſe this crop of corn with attention and care, and then you will be maſter of the art.

"As he had neither mowing nor reaping to do that year, I told him that the time was come to build his houſe; and that for the purpoſe I would myſelf invite the neighbourhood to a frolick; that thus he would have a large dwelling erected, and ſome upland cleared in one day. Mr. P. R. his old friend, came at the time appointed, with all his hands, and brought victuals in plenty: I did the ſame. About forty people repaired to the ſpot; the ſongs, and merry ſtories went round the woods from cluſter to cluſter, as the people had gathered to their different works; trees fell on all ſides, buſhes were cut up and heaped; and while many were thus employed, others with their teams hauled the big logs to the ſpot which Andrew had pitched upon for the erection of his new dwelling. We all dined in the woods; in the afternoon the logs were placed with ſkids, and the uſual contrivances: thus the rude houſe was raiſed, and above two acres of land cut up, cleared, and heaped.

"Whilſt all theſe different operations were performing, Andrew was abſolutely incapable of working; it was to him the moſt ſolemn holiday he had ever ſeen; it would have been ſacrilegious in him to have defiled it with menial labour. Poor man, he ſanctified it with joy and thankſgiving, and honeſt libations—he went from one to the other with the bottle in his hand, preſſing every body to drink, and drinking himſelf to ſhew the example. He ſpent the whole day in ſmiling, laughing, and uttering monoſyllables: his wife and ſon were there alſo, but as they could not underſtand the language, their pleaſure muſt have been altogether that of the imagination. The powerful lord, the wealthy merchant, on ſeeing the ſuperb manſion finiſhed, never can feel half the joy and real happineſs which was felt and enjoyed on that day by this honeſt Hebridean: though this new dwelling, erected in the midſt of the woods, was nothing more than a ſquare incloſure, compoſed of twenty-four large clumſy logs, let in at the ends. When the work was finiſhed, the company made the woods reſound with the noiſe of their three cheers, and the honeſt wiſhes they formed for Andrew's proſperity. He could ſay nothing, but with thankful tears he ſhook hands with them all. Thus from the firſt day he had landed, Andrew marched towards this important event: this memorable day made the ſun ſhine on that land on which he was to ſow wheat and other grain. What ſwamp he had cleared lay before his door; the eſſence of future bread, milk, and meat, were ſcattered all round him. Soon after he hired a carpenter, who put on a roof and laid the floors; in a week more the houſe was properly plaiſtered, and the chimney finiſhed. He moved into it, and purchaſed two cows, which found plenty of food in the woods—his hogs had the ſame advantage. That very year, he and his ſon ſowed three buſhels of wheat, from which he reaped ninety-one and a half; for I had ordered him to keep an exact account of all he ſhould raiſe. His firſt crop of other corn would have been as good, had it not been for the ſquirrels, which were enemies not to be diſperſed by the broad ſword. The fourth year I took an inventory of the wheat this man poſſeſſed, which I ſend you. Soon after, farther ſettlements were made on that road, and Andrew, inſtead of being the laſt man towards the wilderneſs, found himſelf in a few years in the middle of a numerous ſociety. He helped others as generouſly as others had helped him; and I have dined many times

at his table with ſeveral of his neighbours. The ſecond year he was made overſeer of the road, and ſerved on two petty juries, performing as a citizen all the duties required of him. The hiſtoriographer of ſome great prince or general does not bring his hero victorious to the end of a ſucceſsful campaign with one half of the heart-felt pleaſure with which I have conducted Andrew to the ſituation he now enjoys: he is independent and eaſy. Triumph and military honours do not always imply thoſe two bleſſings. He is unencumbered with debts, ſervices, rents, or any other dues; the ſucceſſes of a campaign, the laurels of war, muſt be purchaſed at the deareſt rate, which makes every cool reflecting citizen to tremble and ſhudder. By the literal account hereunto annexed, you will eaſily be made acquainted with the happy effects which conſtantly flow, in this country, from ſobriety and induſtry, when united with good land and freedom.

"The account of the property he acquired with his own hands and thoſe of his ſon, in four years, is as under:

	Dollars.
The value of his improvements and leaſe	225
Six cows, at 13 dollars	78
Two breeding mares	50
The reſt of the ſtock	100
Seventy-three buſhels of wheat	66
Money due to him on notes	43
Pork and beef in his cellar	28
Wool and flax	19
Ploughs and other utenſils of huſbandry	31

240l. Pennſylvania currency—dollars 640."

On FRIENDSHIP in general, and FEMALE FRIENDSHIP in particular.

[From Mrs. GRIFFITH's Eſſays, addreſſed to Young Married Women.]

"THE ancients ranked friendſhip in the ſecond claſs of human virtues; and many are the inſtances recorded in hiſtory, where its energy has produced effects almoſt divine. Conſidered in its perfect ſtrength and beauty, it certainly is the moſt ſublime, becauſe the leaſt ſelfiſh, affection of the ſoul.

"Honour is its very eſſence; courage, frankneſs, and generoſity, its unalienable properties. Such is the idea delivered down to us of this noble ſentiment, by its cotemporary writers, "who together flouriſhed, and together fell:" for ſome centuries have elapſed ſince this exalted phænomenon has deigned to appear among the degenerate ſons of men; and, like a mutilated ſtatue, it is now become rather an object of admiration to a few virtuoſi in philoſophy, than a ſubject for general emulation.

"Montaigne, amongſt the moderns, ſeems to have felt a ſtronger emanation of this virtue than any author I am acquainted with; and though the utmoſt ſtretch of his warm imagination gives us but a faint ray of its ancient luſtre, yet even this ſlight reſemblance appears too ſtrong for our weak eyes, and ſeems rather to dazzle than attract our regards.

"Our cotemporary, Dr. Young, has left us ſeveral very beautiful deſcriptions of friendſhip, which,

though deficient of that fire which not only blazed but burned in this ancient virtue, are, however, sufficient to form both our theory and our practice upon.

"True friendship warms, it raises, it transports,
Like music pure the joy, without allay,
Whose very rapture is tranquillity."

This is a very pleasing and just description of friendship in the abstract; but it wants that energy which particular attachments add to all our sentiments, and without which, like a winter's sun, they shine, but do not warm.

"The same author has given us a more interesting, though perhaps less elevated idea of this affection of the mind, in his address to a particular person:

"Lorenzo, pride suppress, nor hope to find
A friend, but what has found a friend in thee."

"This is a new, and I think a just, light in which we may consider this sentiment; for though love may be formed without sympathy, friendship never can. It is, even in its degenerate state, an affection that cannot subsist in vicious minds; and among the most virtuous, it requires a parity of sentiment, manners, and rank, for its basis. Of all the nice ties and dependencies which constitute the happiness or misery of life, it is the most delicate, and even the most fragile. Wealth cannot purchase, nor gifts ensure, its permanence. "The chirping of birds in cages bear as much resemblance to the vocal music of the woods, as bought courtesies to real friendship." The great, alas! rarely enjoy this blessing; vanity and emulation prevent its growth among equals; and the humiliating condescension with which superiors sometimes deign to affect friendship for their inferiors, strikes at the very foundation of the sentiment; from which there can only arise a tottering superstructure, whose pillars, like those of modern composition, bear the gloss, but want the durable quality of the mental marble, sincerity. Yet there have been instances, though rare, of real friendship between persons of different ranks in life, particularly Henry the Fourth and Sully; but the virtues of the latter placed him on a level with monarchs, and the magnanimity of the former made him sensible of their equality.

"Yet how often are complaints uttered by disappointed pride against the ingratitude of those whom they have honoured with the title of friend, nay, and have even served and obliged as such; without reflecting that obligations to a generous mind are insults, when accompanied with the least slight or mortification.

"On the other hand, we perhaps too willingly attach ourselves to our superiors. Our self-love is flattered by their approbation, as it naturally imagines it can only be for our good and amiable qualities that they like or distinguish us. But though "love, like death, makes all distinction void," friendship has no such levelling power. Superiority of rank or fortune is generally felt by the person who possesses either; and they are entitled to some degree of praise, if they do not make others feel it also.

"Let those then who have delicate minds, remember that equality is the true basis of friendship; let them set a just value on their own worth, as well as on the inebriating smiles of greatness, and not expose their sensibility to the pangs it must sustain, on discovering that neither virtues or talents can always keep the scale of friendship steady, when opposed to the adventitious circumstances of high birth or great fortune.

"Thus far my remarks upon this subject

ſubject are general. Let me now apply them to their uſe for whom this little work is peculiarly deſigned, by earneſtly recommending it to every young married woman to ſeek the friend of her heart in the huſband of her affection. There, and there only, is that true equality, both of rank and fortune, ſtrengthened by mutual intereſts, and cemented by mutual pledges, to be found. There only condeſcenſions will not mortify, as they will be conceſſions but of kindneſs, not of pride. There, and there only, will ſhe be ſure to meet with reciprocal confidence, unfeigned attachment, and tender ſolicitude, to ſoothe her every care. The ties of wedded love will be rivetted by the bands of friendſhip; the virtues of her mind, when called forth by occaſion, will unfold themſelves by degrees to her huſband's perception, like the opening roſe before the morning ray; and when its blooming colour fades upon her cheek, its ſweetneſs ſhall remain within the very foldings of his heart, from recollection of her ſenſe and worth. Happy are the pairs ſo joined; yea, bleſſed are they who are thus doubly united!

"As the word friendſhip is at preſent generally underſtood to be a term of little import, or at moſt that extends merely to a preference of liking, or eſteem; I would by no means exclude my fair readers from that kind of commerce which is now accepted under that title, in ſociety. But even this ſort of connexion requires much caution in the choice of its object; for I ſhould wiſh it might be reſtrained to one; and that one ought to obtain this preference from the qualities of the heart rather than thoſe of the head. A long and intimate acquaintance can alone diſcover the former; the latter are eaſily and willingly diſplayed; for love without eſteem is as a ſhower, ſoon ſpent. The head is the ſpring of affections, but the heart is the reſervoir.

"For this reaſon, it always appears to me a proof of mutual merit, when two ſiſters, or two young women, who have been brought up together, are ſtrongly attached to each other; and I will admit, that while they remain unmarried, ſuch a connexion is capable of forming a pure and diſintereſted friendſhip, provided that the ſympathy of their affections does not tend to make them like or admire the ſame male object; for though love may, friendſhip cannot exiſt with jealouſy.

"Reſerve will wound it, and diſtruſt deſtroy."

That great maſter of the human heart, Shakſpeare, has ſhewn us, that maidenly attachment is no match for the ſtronger paſſion of love.

"Is all the counſel that we two have ſhar'd,
The ſiſter vows, the hours that we have ſpent,
When we have chid the haſty-footed time
For parting us—O! and is all forgot?
All ſchool-days friendſhip, childhood innocence?
We, Hermia, like two artificial gods,
Created with our needles both one flower,
Both on one ſampler, ſitting on one cuſhion,
Both warbling of one ſong, both in one key;
As if our hands, our ſides, voices, and minds
Had been incorp'rate"

MIDSUMMER NIGHT'S DREAM.

If ſuch an almoſt inſtinctive affection as that between Hermia and Helena was ſo quickly diſſolved by the intruder love, I fear there are but few female friendſhips that will better ſtand the teſt. And to a delicate mind it may appear a breach perhaps of thoſe "ſiſter vows," when one of the parties enters into another and more forcible engagement; for love is an imperious and engroſſing

tyrant; of courſe the gentler affection muſt give way and retire within itſelf, as the ſenſitive plant ſhrinks back, oppreſſed by too intenſe an heat.

"In my ſmall experience I have never ſeen the ſame degree of attachment ſubſiſt between two ladies after marriage as before, excepting they were ſiſters. The bands of natural affection are not looſened by new engagements; but thoſe of choice or caſualty neceſſarily become relaxed by the addition of a new object, as extenſion leſſens ſtrength.

"The minds of moſt young women ſeem, and indeed ought to do ſo in reality, to acquire a new bent after marriage: ſcenes different from thoſe to which they had been accuſtomed open to their view; different objects engroſs their attention; every ſtate has its cares; and, from the queen to the peaſant, every wife has duties to fulfil. Frivolous amuſements are, or ſhould be, renounced for the more pleaſing and reſpectable avocations of an affectionate wife, a tender mother, and a beloved and honoured matron of a family.

"I hope it is impoſſible that I ſhould be ſo far miſunderſtood, as to be thought to exclude married women from any innocent pleaſure or rational amuſement that is ſuited to their age, rank, or fortune. I would not only enſure but augment their happineſs, and ſhall therefore ſay with Othello,

"Where virtue is, theſe are moſt virtuous."

But ſtill there is, or ſhould be, a difference in the enjoyment of their pleaſures; between the thoughtleſs gaiety of girls, and the decent chearfulneſs of married women. The firſt is bright and tranſient as the youthful glow of health and vivacity that blooms upon the cheek; the latter ſhould expreſs that tranquil joy which flows from true content.

"I may be thought to have ſomewhat wandered from the particular ſubject of this chapter, though, I hope, not from the general object of the work. I ſhall now conclude with obſerving, that as the characters and conduct of even her common acquaintance reflect honour or diſgrace upon a young married woman, ſhe will be an inevitable ſharer in that degree of reſpect or contempt which her choſen friend poſſeſſes in the eſteem of the world: and though its cenſures may ſometimes involve the innocent with the guilty; yet in general there is no fairer way of forming our opinions of perſons we do not know than from their intimate aſſociates.

"There is ſomething ſtill more alarming to be dreaded for a young woman who is thoughtleſs enough to form indiſcriminate friendſhips. There is a lightneſs of mind and manners in many women, who, though free from actual vice, have loſt that delicate ſenſibility which heaven has placed in female minds as the outguard of modeſty. The roſy bluſh that gives the intuitive alarm to decency, even before the perceptions of the mind are awake to danger, glows not upon their cheek; the ſnowy purity of innocence beams not upon their dauntleſs forehead, though it may ſtill retain its whiteneſs. Their minds may be coarſe, however delicate their form; and their manners unfeminine, even without being maſculine.

"An intimacy with ſuch perſons is, of all others, the moſt dangerous. The frankneſs and livelineſs of their converſation render them too generally agreeable, and they frequently undermine the principles of virtue, before we find it neceſſary to ſtand upon our guard.

"As the Platonic ſyſtem has been long exploded, it is almoſt unneceſſary to warn my fair readers againſt particular intimacies with the other ſex, when

when not closely connected with them by the ties of blood or affinity. The whole system of nature must change, and the tyger and the lamb live peaceably together, before a sincere and disinterested friendship can subsist between an amiable young woman and a man not nearly related to her, who has not passed his grand climacteric. A man of such an age, possessed of sense and virtue, may perhaps be a kind and useful Mentor: but if a married woman is happy enough to meet with a proper and affectionate return from the first object I have recommended to her choice, she cannot stand in need of any other friend."

On the REGARD paid to MEN of GENIUS and LEARNING.

[From the Second Volume of the Letters ascribed to THOMAS Lord LYTTLETON.]

My dear Sir,

"I Sincerely lament with you the death of Doctor Goldsmith, as a very considerable loss to the learned, the laughing, and the sentimental world. His versatile genius was capable of producing satisfaction to persons of all these varying denominations. But I shall, without hesitation, combat the opinion which you derive from the insolvent state in which he died, that genius and talents meet with an ungrateful return from mankind, and are generally seen to struggle with continual and insuperable difficulties. Plautus is related to have turned a mill, Boethius died in a gaol, Tasso was in constant distress, Cervantes died of hunger, and our Otway from too eager an indulgence of that appetite; Camoens ended his days in an hospital, and Vaugelas left his body to the surgeons to pay his debts as far as it would go. I could fill my paper with a melancholy detail of genius in misfortune; but it would require a volume of no common size to examine into the causes of such an affecting branch of human distress: and if a work of that nature were to be composed, it would prove no more than what we already know, that genius is not exempt from human failings, and frequently possesses them in a degree superior to ordinary talents and common dulness. An improvident spirit, and disdain of reflection, are no uncommon attributes of that character; and I need not inform a child of ten years old, that the dullest Rosinante, who keeps on his way, will sooner arrive at his destined end, than the fleetest courser of Newmarket, who has taken a different direction.

"An unenlightened and barbarous age may deny bread to men of understanding; but we have the happiness to live in the full blaze of reason and knowledge. At this period, the man of genius, as well as the less learned character, is equally the framer of his own fortune; and it must arise from some inherent deficiency in both, when the means of comfortable existence, to say no more, are remote from them. This age is the most favourable that has ever been known in the annals of time, for men of genius, talents, and skill, in any and every branch of science and art. To come home, however,

however, to your ſubject, tell me, I beg of you, in what reſpect Doctor Goldſmith was neglected. As ſoon as his talents were known, the public diſcovered a ready diſpoſition to reward them; nor did he ever produce the fruits of them in vain. His mode of life is generally known; the profits of his labours are no ſecret, and the patronage beneath which he ſome time flouriſhed, is a matter of public notoriety: nor ſhall I ſwerve from truth in the declaration, that he was encouraged equal to his merits, whatever they may have been; and that the public were ready to increaſe their favour in proportion to his exertions. Aſk your bookſeller what Doctor Goldſmith did acquire, and what he might have acquired by his writings: continue the queſtion with reſpect to the manner in which many of them were produced, and what was the ſpring which generally ſet his talents in motion. The reſpective replies will be ſufficient to convince you, that, if your favourite author died in poverty, it was becauſe he had not diſcretion enough to be rich. A rigid obedience to the ſcripture command of, Take no thought for to-morrow, with an oſtentatious impatience of coin, and an unreflecting ſpirit of benevolence, occaſioned the difficulties of his life, and the inſolvency of its end. He might have bleſſed himſelf with an happy independence, enjoyed, without interruption, every wiſh of a wiſe man, ſecured an ample proviſion for his advanced age, if he had attained it, and have made a reſpectable laſt will and teſtament; and all this, without riſing up early, or ſitting up late, if common ſenſe had been added to his other attainments. Such a man is awakened into the exertion of his faculties but by the impulſe of ſome ſenſe which demands enjoyment, or ſome paſſion which cries aloud for gratification: by the repeated menace of a creditor, or the frequent dun at his gate: nay, ſhould the neceſſity of to-day be relieved, the procraſtinated labour will wait for the neceſſity of to-morrow; and, if death ſhould overtake him in the interval, it muſt find him a beggar, and the age is to be accuſed of obduracy in ſuffering genius to die for want! If Pope had been a debauchee, he would have lived in a garret, not enjoyed the Attic elegance of his villa on the banks of the Thames. If ſir Joſhua Reynolds had been idle and drunken, he might, at this hour, have been acquiring a ſcanty and precarious maintenance by painting coach-pannels and Birmingham tea-boards. Had not David Hume poſſeſſed the invariable temper of his country, he might have been the actual maſter of a ſchool in the Hebrides; and the inimitable Garrick, if he had poſſeſſed Shuter's character, would have acquired little more than Shuter's fame, and ſuffered Shuter's end. Name me a man of genius in our days, who, if he has been deſtitute of independence, had a right to complain of any one but himſelf. You may tell me that Lloyd died in a gaol; and I believe, from every thing I have heard of that very ingenious gentleman, that his fate would have been the ſame, if he had been born to the inheritance of an ample fortune. You will add, perhaps, the name of your very learned friend Morell. He certainly deſerves well of, and is eſteemed by, the learned world; but the acute critic and profound grammarian, who ſeems to be impelled rather by the love of ſcience, than the deſire of gain, is generally in the habit of frugal contentment, and hides himſelf in that ſhade of retirement, where the learned few alone can find him.

him. I am, however, entirely of your opinion, that he merits a leſs reſtrained ſituation than he poſſeſſes; and I agree with you in not forgiving Doctor B—— for a breach of juſtice in oppoſing his election to a fellowſhip at Eton. Such a promotion would have been a ſuitable reward for his labours, and have afforded him that ample independence and learned retreat, which would have left his cloſing life without a wiſh. B—— was the moſt able ſchoolmaſter that ever graſped the birch; and I am ſorry he ſhould diſgrace his ſucceeding and higher office, by oppoſing, as you tell me, more than once, the entrance of a man into his college, the circumſtances of whoſe life and character gave him ſo fair a claim to the preferment which he ſollicited. But this ill treatment of your friend—for I think it ſuch—is not applicable to the age, but to the folly of a vain man, who finds a conſolation for his diſappointed ambition in the deſpotic ſway of a college, wherein he will not ſuffer a man to enter, whoſe character announces the leaſt gleam of an independent ſpirit.

"Learning and fine talents muſt be reſpected and valued in all enlightened ages and nations; nay, they have been known to awaken a moſt honourable veneration in the breaſts of men accuſtomed to ſpoil, and wading through blood to glory. An Italian robber not only refuſed the rich booty of a caravan, but conducted it under his ſafeguard, when he was informed that Taſſo accompanied it. The great duke of Marlborough, at the ſiege of Cambray, gave particular orders, that the lands, &c. of the admired Fenelon, archbiſhop of the diocefe, ſhould not be profaned by the violence of war. Cæſar, the ambitious Cæſar, acknowledged Tully's ſuperior character; for that the Roman orator had enlarged the limits of human knowledge, while he had only extended thoſe of his country. But to proceed one ſtep higher,

> The great Emathian conqueror bid ſpare
> The houſe of Pindarus, when temple and tower
> Went to the ground.

Reſt then aſſured, my friend, when a man of learning and talents does not, in this very remunerative age, find encouragement, protection, and independence, that ſuch an unnatural circumſtance muſt ariſe from ſome concomitant failings which render his labours obnoxious, or, at leaſt, of no real utility."

A DREAM; or the PRESENT STATE of MAN compared with one MORE PERFECT.

[From Dr. STEDDMAN's Lælius and Hortenſia.]

"WHETHER we dream aſleep or awake, doth not greatly matter, provided the mind be properly, or, at leaſt, not improperly employed. Having finiſhed my laſt letter to you, I laid myſelf back in my chair, and relieving my mind of every kind of exertion, I gave full play to my ideas. A degree of ſtupor inſenſibly ſucceeding, much new ſcenery preſented itſelf, and my mind being deeply impreſſed with

with the ſubject in which I had been engaged juſt before, I had, in my ſleep, a temporary and ideal gratification of my aſtronomical wiſh. I was immediately tranſlated to the moon; for you know, when aſleep, we can traverſe the planetary ſyſtem with more eaſe than we can viſit a friend in the country when awake.

"I found the moon abounding with inhabitants; who, though ſimilar to our ſpecies, were ſtill of a form more divine and angelic. The mildneſs and complacency of their countenances indicated their internal tranquillity; and I ſoon diſcovered, not only that the whole conduct of their lives was regulated by reaſon, as a ſtandard, but that their prevailing motive to action was benevolence. Hence they were conſtantly occupied in doing good offices to one another. I was overcome by their attention to, and aſſiduities about me; and I ſpared no pains to let them know the deep ſenſe I had of their goodneſs. My expreſſions of the obligations under which they laid me, I obſerved, to my no ſmall ſurpriſe, to be coldly received, or rather, to be wholly diſregarded. But I ſoon diſcovered that this people, being actuated by an inſtinctive principle of goodneſs, and thus being ſufficiently rewarded by the pleaſure ariſing from the performance of good offices, neither offer nor expect acknowledgments for theſe reciprocal ſervices. For the return of acknowledgments for good offices, ſo common among mankind, proceeds from a tacit ſuppoſition of trouble or inconvenience attending the performance of them.

"The term juſtice, and many other words expreſſive of virtuous actions, are unknown there, becauſe their oppoſite vices are unknown. All poſitive inſtitutions, ſimilar to human laws, would be uſeleſs among the inhabitants of this planet. Valour, patriotiſm, and friendſhip, on which I recollected to have lately read ſome curious obſervations, make no part of the language there.—Theſe good people, having no paſſion for oſtentation, nor ambition for popular applauſe, are never ſtimulated by theſe motives to perform feats of valour. Their courage, however, is occaſionally brought to proof; but as we ſee an hen, though naturally a timid and inoffenſive animal, fly on a maſtiff, to ſave her chicks, ſo theſe people, however mild and gentle, never heſitate to reſcue their fellows from impending danger, though at the riſk of their own lives. The moon itſelf being the only country of every inhabitant, the words patriot and patriotiſm would be wholly inſignificant, where no limits or land-marks are known, no wars, no lawſuits for the extent of territory. The term friendſhip, being expreſſive of a virtue leſs diffuſive than univerſal benevolence, is ſuperſeded by the uſe of the latter. The benevolence of each individual becomes more intenſe, as his intercourſe with thoſe within the ſphere of his acquaintance increaſeth; and though he be wholly a ſtranger to intereſted motives, he is amply a gainer by the good offices ariſing from the benevolent affections of others. Inſults, affronts, revenge, with other vindictive and malevolent paſſions, being non-entities in that happy ſtate, theſe terms can find no place in a lunar vocabulary. But, to undertake a particular diſcuſſion of every thing relating to the moral oeconomy of this happy republic, would require more time than I mean to beſtow upon it.

"I found

"I found the corporeal organs of thoſe ſons of happineſs, like the faculties of their minds, more perfect than ours. They were able to diſcern, by their eyes alone, mountains, ſeas, and lakes in our earth. Cities appeared like ſpots irregularly diſſeminated on the different parts of its ſurface. They could even ſee the larger ſhips, which they believed to be ſea-monſters. Juſt before my arrival, ſome lunar Galileo or Newton, having invented teleſcopes, ſuited to lunar, but not to terreſtrial eyes, many of their philoſophical inquirers were occupied in looking at the objects of their vaſt moon. This afforded much entertainment, not only from the great extent of the luminary, but from having an opportunity of examining the different parts of Europe, Aſia, Africa, and America, fourteen times in one night. Having their teleſcopes, by accident, directed on the Netherlands, they diſcovered, what they had taken for ſpots, to be cities; and, as they could, by the aſſiſtance of theſe inſtruments, diſtinguiſh human figures, though minute, they admired the great concourſe of people collected within ſuch ſmall ſpaces. They interpreted this to proceed from the ſtrong attachment and affection which ſubſiſt among mankind. They likewiſe put a favourable conſtruction on the ornamental figuring with which they obſerved theſe cities encircled. This is a-kin to what we may remark even on our earth, where thoſe of the moſt happy temperament of mind are conſtantly diſpoſed to ſet things, though unfavourable in themſelves, in the moſt favourable point of view. I never felt my mind ſo much diſpoſed to diſſimulation: and, therefore, thought it better not to undeceive them, by explaining the nature and deſign of fortification. For thus I muſt have let them know, that theſe works were intended to ſecure one part of mankind from the ravages and rapine of another; and likewiſe, that they were conſtructed in ſuch a manner, that thoſe within might, by methods the eaſieſt, quickeſt, and ſafeſt to themſelves, deſtroy their enemies without. This would have proved an unhappy detection of human nature to theſe happieſt of beings.

"The earth, proceeding in her diurnal rotation, brought England and her metropolis in view. They dwelt long on this city, and were delighted with the multiplicity of carriages and people traverſing the ſtreets every where. They obſerved, in one of the largeſt ſtreets, a chariot drawn by four horſes, and great numbers of people crouding about it. Some of the croud, removing the horſes, dragged the carriage along, with conſiderable rapidity, to its place of deſtination. This excited the admiration of the obſervers, who ſaid, that no ſuch mark of benevolence and affection had ever been known in the moon; and thus they were confirmed in their opinion of the happy nature of man. I, who knew the conſtitution of my terreſtrial friends better, had no room to doubt, that what they ſaw was the effect of an endemic paroxyſm, to which the populace of great cities, and particularly of this capital, are frequently liable. I heartily wiſhed theſe objects out of the view of the teleſcopes, leſt this ebullition ſhould degenerate into an untractable calenture, in which the phrenſy ſometimes riſes to a pitch ſo high, as to prompt that brainſick people to fly about the city, and deſtroy whatever belongs to their neighbours.

"England at length diſappearing, the Atlantic Ocean ſucceeded; and the

the next objects which raised these good people's curiosity, were two great companies of sea monsters. The full blown sails, seen through the instruments, confirmed their idea of tremendous and shapeless animals; and so much spread canvas concealed the sailors below. They next remarked, that the two companies, as they approached, began to spout fire at one another; which, increasing to a great degree, some of them were seen in flames, others sinking, and many of them at length totally disappeared. This scene being over, the benevolent observers said it was a fortunate circumstance, in the course of things, that the nature of these immane animals was such as to stimulate them to destroy one another, lest at any time, coming out of the sea, they might disturb the felicity of the amiable inhabitants of that world. This was the third time I had escaped being brought under the necessity of exhibiting the condition of man in its proper colours.

"The earth continuing to roll eastward, America came under the telescopes. Cities, rivers, woods, and other objects, afforded ample matter of speculation. At length an extended plain appeared, in which were seen, opposite to, and at some distance from one another, two large bodies of men arranged in long lines, and disposed in beautiful and regular order. The expectations of the lunar observers were raised to an extraordinary degree by these new objects; and they prognosticated, not a fatal catastrophe from such a number of men collected together, and so beautifully arranged, but an event marking the benevolent affections of mankind more than any thing they had seen before. With respect to myself, I now foresaw matters to be near a crisis. I knew these to be two European armies who had exposed themselves to the dangers of a vast ocean, and to the greater danger of meeting one another there, in order to take possession of kingdoms to which neither the one nor the other could lay any just claim; resolved, at the same time, to destroy whoever should oppose them, whether Europeans, or even the natives of these countries.

"As the two armies approached, the curiosity of the observers increased. But, to their great surprise, the spouting of fire began here as they had seen it a little before in the sea-scene. The two armies were soon so involved in smoke, that no part of them could be seen. I heartily wished this cloud to continue till this affecting and humiliating spectacle should be at an end. But, in a while, a fresh breeze springing up, brought the armies full in view again. By this time one of them was thrown wholly into confusion, the other pursuing and pouring fire among them. Hundreds were seen lying on the ground; some endeavouring to rise, others wreathing their bodies in a manner expressive of exquisite agony, and many lying motionless. I shall neither pretend to paint the marks of astonishment in my lunar friends, nor my own distress. One of them asked me the meaning of all this. I felt reluctant to return an answer. The whole company, surprised at my silence, turned their eyes upon me. I was sensible of a glow in my face, and my whole frame was soon thrown into the utmost confusion. I seriously wished it had been in my power to sink into the moon, when a favourite spaniel, applying his cold nose to my hand, awaked me with a start.

"Thus, good Hortensia, was exhibited in the nocturnal drama of Morpheus,

Morpheus, an ideal piece of ſcenery which we can never expect to ſee awake; that is, a comparative view of the ſtate of man, with that of a people who love their neighbours as themſelves."

On forming a TASTE for SIMPLE PLEASURES.

[From the improved Edition of Mr. KNOX's Eſſays, Moral and Literary.]

"TO argue againſt pleaſure in general, is abſurd. It is the law of nature, that every animal ſhould prefer the agreeable ſenſations to the diſagreeable. But it is incumbent on the moraliſt to explode thoſe pleaſures, which, though they are tranſient and unſatisfactory in themſelves, are yet found to occaſion pain which is permanent, and injury which is real.

"Perhaps the moſt effectual mode of accompliſhing this purpoſe, is not to arraign pleaſure in general, but to ſubſtitute other pleaſures in their place; for man muſt be amuſed and delighted. Pernicious amuſements and poiſoned delights will be purſued, if others ceaſe to be obvious.

"It is certain that nature has interſperſed a great number of objects capable of affording the livelieſt delight, without danger of future pain, and even with the probability of deriving improvement and additional pleaſure by reflecting on the paſt enjoyment. Such, indeed, are thoſe innocent pleaſures which we follow in early youth with cheerful ardour, and which we enjoy with ſincere delight, before we are vitiated and hardened by a long intercourſe with a depraved world; before the qualities of the lamb and the dove are exchanged for the leſs amiable wiſdom of the wolf and the ſerpent.

"Amidſt all the improvements which we make in a ſtate of high civilization, we loſe ſome natural taſtes and propenſities which were favourable to virtue. We acquire wants and notions which diſturb our repoſe, and cauſe a feveriſh anxiety, ever thirſting, and never ſatisfied.

"The ſimple and innocent ſatisfactions of nature are uſually within reach; and as they excite no violent perturbation in the purſuit, ſo they are enjoyed without tumult, and relinquiſhed without long or painful regret. It will then render eſſential ſervice both to happineſs and morality, if we can perſuade men in general to taſte and to form an habitual attachment to the genuine ſatisfactions of uncorrupted nature.

"One of the firſt affections which the heart perceives, is filial piety. As years increaſe, this affection dilates, and extends itſelf to brothers and ſiſters, relatives and domeſtics. The child loves and is beloved by all around him. Amidſt the converſation, the events, the endearments, and tender duties of a family, he finds full play for all his faculties and propenſities, and is often, by his own ſubſequent confeſſion, happier at this early age than in any period which ſucceeds.

"I ſay then, that, were a taſte for this ſimple pleaſure retained, were men at a mature age led to ſeek their happineſs in domeſtic life, and in the exerciſe of the mild virtues of family offices, their enjoyments, though

though leſs brilliant and noiſy, would be purer, and more ſubſtantial. But, on the contrary, we ſee them no ſooner arrived at maturity, than they eagerly leave the neſt, and wander, in ſearch of an untried and an imaginary bliſs, through all the wilds of diſſipation. In the precipitate purſuit, innocence is often loſt; and whatever progreſs is made in refinement, little is added to ſolid happineſs. Our intereſt, as we falſely call it, and our honour, become the idols whom we devoutly worſhip, and on whoſe altars we ſacrifice health, truth, peace, and liberty.

"We are indeed ſo deeply engaged in our objects, that we cannot advert to the beauties of nature, thoſe fertile ſources of unadulterated pleaſure. The young mind is always delighted with rural ſcenery. The earlieſt poetry was paſtoral, and every juvenile poet of the preſent day delights to indulge in the luxuriance of a rural deſcription. A taſte for theſe pleaſures will render the morning walk at leaſt as delightful as the evening ridotto. The various forms which nature aſſumes in the viciſſitudes of the ſeaſons, will conſtitute a ſource of complacency which can never be exhauſted. How grateful to the ſenſes the freſhneſs of the herbage, the fragrancy of the flowers, all thoſe ſimple delights of the field, which the poets have, from the earlieſt ages, no leſs juſtly than exuberantly deſcribed! "It is all mere fiction," exclaims the man of the world, "the produce of a viſionary poet." He feels not, he cannot feel their truth. He ſees no charms in herbs and bloſſoms; the melody of the grove is no muſic to his ear; and this happens, becauſe he has loſt, by his own fault, thoſe tender ſenſibilities which nature had beſtowed. They are ſtill daily perceived in all their perfection by the ingenuous and innocent, and they have been moſt truly deſcribed by feeling poets, as contributing to pure, real, and very exalted delight.

"Yet the poſſeſſor of extenſive lands, if he is a man of faſhion and ſpirit, forſakes the ſweet ſcenes of rural nature, and ſhuts himſelf up in a coffee-houſe, at a gaming-table, in a fetid aſſembly; and leaves that liberal air, which breathes over his lawns, and agitates his foreſts, to be inhaled by his menial ruſtics. He perverts the deſigns of nature, and deſpiſes the hereditary bleſſings of Providence; and he receives the adequate puniſhment in a reſtleſs life, perpetually ſeeking and never finding ſatisfaction. But the employments of agriculture, independently of their profit, are moſt congenial and pleaſing to human nature. An uncorrupted mind ſees, in the progreſs of vegetation, and in the manners and excellencies of thoſe animals which are deſtined to our immediate ſervice, ſuch charms and beauties as art can ſeldom produce. Huſbandry may be ſuperintended by an elegant mind, nor is it by any means neceſſary that they who engage in it ſhould contract a coarſeneſs of manners or a vulgarity of ſentiment. It is moſt favourable to health, to plenty, to repoſe, and to innocence; and great indeed muſt be the objects which juſtify a reaſonable creature in relinquiſhing theſe. Are plays, are balls, are nocturnal aſſemblies of whatever denomination, are debaucheries in all their modifications, which tend to rob us of ſleep, to leſſen our patrimony, to injure our health, to render us ſelfiſh, vicious, thoughtleſs, and uſeleſs, equivalent to theſe? Reaſon replies in the negative; yet the almoſt univerſal departure from

inno-

innocence and ſimplicity, will leave the affirmative eſtabliſhed by a corrupt majority.

" It is not without a ſigh, that a thinking man can paſs by a lordly manſion, the ſweet retreat deſerted by its falſely-refined poſſeſſor, who is ſtupidly carouſing in ſome tavern of a polluted city. When he ſees the chimney without ſmoke in the venerable houſe, where all the country was once welcomed to partake of princely hoſpitality, he cannot help lamenting that progreſs of refinement, which in rendering the deſcendants of the great fine gentlemen, has left them ſomething leſs than men, through the defect of manly virtue.

" The ſuperintendance of a garden might of itſelf occupy a life elegantly and pleaſurably. Nothing is better able to gratify the inherent paſſion of novelty; for Nature is always renewing her variegated appearance. She is infinite in her productions, and the life of man may come to its cloſe before he has ſeen half the pictures which ſhe is able to diſplay. The taſte for gardening in England is at preſent pure. Nature is reſtored to her throne, and reigns majeſtically beautiful in rude magnificence. The country abounds with cultivated tracts truly paradiſaical. But as the contemplative obſerver roams over the lawn, and enjoys the ſhade of the weeping willow, he is often led to enquire, " Where is now the owner of this wilderneſs of ſweets? Happy man!" he exclaims, " to poſſeſs ſuch a ſpot as this, and to be able at all times to taſte the pleaſure which I feel ſpringing in my boſom." But, alas! the owner is engaged in other ſcenes. He is rattling over the ſtreets of London, and purſuing all the ſophiſticated joys, which ſucceed to ſupply the place where Nature is relinquiſhed. If he condeſcends to pay an annual viſit to the retreat, he brings with him all his acquired inclinations; and while he ſits at the card-table, or at the banquet, and thinks of little elſe than promoting his intereſt at the next election, he leaves the ſhrub to bloſſom and diffuſe its ſweets in unobſerved ſolitude.

" Can it be believed, that nature beſtowed beauty on the foliage of a flower but with a view to pleaſe? The fruit might be produced, in the ſame proceſs, without any richneſs and diverſity of colour. No other animals are ſenſible of their grace but the human; and yet the auſtere man of buſineſs, or the vain man of pleaſure, will arraign another with a face of importance for his admiration of a flower. He calls the taſte trifling and uſeleſs. But is not a refuſal to be pleaſed with ſuch appearances, like the malignant unthankfulneſs of a ſullen gueſt, who refuſes to taſte the moſt delicious dainties prepared for his entertainment?

" Fine weather in England is the ſource of a very ſenſible pleaſure; but he who is engroſſed by vice or by buſineſs, will live half a life without admiring the beauties of a blue ſky, baſking in the vernal ſunſhine, or inhaling, with any conſciouſneſs of delight, the balſam of a weſtern gale.

" A fondneſs for the pleaſing animals which nature has placed around us, is another ſource of natural, and pure, and innocent amuſement. The plumage and the ſong of the bird were doubtleſs intended to delight the ear and the eye. Who can behold the playful lamb without complacency? The fidelity of the dog, the generoſity of the horſe, and the characteriſtic qualities, as well as ſhape and beauty, of all animated nature,

nature, are admirably adapted to charm the heart which is yet unſpoiled.

"But in a proper intercouſe and behaviour among our fellow-creatures, is found to conſiſt our principal and moſt conſtant delight. To do good, and to prevent evil, as far as the ſphere of our influence or activity extends, is an infallible method of deriving to ourſelves pleaſurable emotions. And if we conſult what paſſes in our boſoms, before our youthful ſenſibilities are blunted, we ſhall find, that nature has taught us to find a great pleaſure in relieving diſtreſs, and in communicating enjoyment.

"The cunning and the crafty, of whom conſiſts a great part of the buſy crowd, who derive an unnatural influence from the poſſeſſion of riches, will deem the ſimplicity which I have recommended, folly. Such men will deem truth alſo folly. They conſider virtue and truth as words invented to delude the ſimple ones; but, in truth, to retain through life ſomething of the ſimplicity of the infant, will render the improved and cultivated man truly wiſe. For, after all the refinements of falſe philoſophy, and the low arts of Jeſuitical cunning, honeſty is our trueſt intereſt, and innocence our beſt wiſdom."

ADVICE to GENERAL OFFICERS commanding in Chief.

[From the ADVICE to the OFFICERS of the BRITISH Army.]

"A Commander in chief is to the army under his command, what the ſoul is to the body: it can neither think nor act without him; and, in ſhort, is as perfect a non-entity without its commander, as a wife is without her huſband. You muſt, therefore, through pure good-will and affection for your troops, take care of your own ſacred perſon, and never expoſe it to any dangers. You have not arrived at this rank without knowing the folly of knocking one's head againſt a poſt, when it can be avoided. When any ſervice of danger is to be performed, you ſhould ſend your ſecond in command, or ſome inferior officer—but whomſoever you ſend, if he ſucceeds in the buſineſs, be ſure to take all the merit of it to yourſelf.

"You muſt be as abſolute in your command, and as inacceſſible to your troops, as the Eaſtern ſultans, who call themſelves the Lord's vicegerents upon earth. In fact, a commander in chief is greater than a ſultan; for if he is not the Lord's vicegerent, he is the king's, which in the idea of a military man is much better.

"As no other perſon in your army is allowed to be poſſeſſed of a ſingle idea, it would be ridiculous, on any occaſion, to aſſemble a council of war, or, at leaſt, to be guided by their opinion: for, in oppoſition to yours, they muſt not truſt to the moſt evident perception of their ſenſes. It would be equally abſurd and unmilitary to conſult their convenience; even when it may be done without any detriment to the ſervice: that would be taking away the moſt effectual method of exerciſing their obedience, and of perfecting them in a very conſiderable branch of military diſcipline.

"You

"You have heard that ſecrecy is one of the firſt requiſites in a commander. In order, therefore, to get a name for this great military virtue, you muſt always be ſilent and ſullen, particularly at your own table; and I would adviſe you to ſecure your ſecrets the more effectually, by depoſiting them in the ſafeſt place you can think of; as, for inſtance, in the breaſt of your wife or miſtreſs.

"Ignorance of your profeſſion is likewiſe beſt concealed by ſolemnity and ſilence, which paſs for profound knowledge upon the generality of mankind. A proper attention to theſe, together with extreme ſeverity, particularly in trifles, will ſoon procure you the character of a good officer.

"It is your duty to be attentive to the public good, but not without ſome regard to your own, in your diſpenſation of favours. You muſt take care never to advance an officer above one ſtep at a time, however brilliant his merit, unleſs he be your relation: for you muſt conſider, that your ignorance in the higher branches of your profeſſion can only be covered by the ſtricteſt attention to punctilio, and the minutiæ of the ſervice.

"As you probably did not riſe to your preſent diſtinguiſhed rank by your own merit, it cannot reaſonably be expected that you ſhould promote others on that ſcore.

"Above all, be careful never to promote an intelligent officer; a brave, chuckle-headed fellow will do full as well to execute your orders. An officer, that has an iota of knowledge above the common run, you muſt conſider as your perſonal enemy; for you may be ſure he laughs at you and your manœuvres.

"A principal part of your duty is to ſee juſtice diſtributed among your troops. Military law being ſo ſummary and conciſe, you will not find this a difficult matter: but if, ſimple as it is, you ſhould be entirely unacquainted with it, you may ſubſtitute your own good will and pleaſure—and that, in fact, muſt be juſtice; for a commander in chief is as infallible as the pope, and, being the king's repreſentative, he can do no wrong, any more than his royal maſter.

"In diſtributing juſtice, you muſt always incline a little to the ſtrongeſt ſide. Thus, if a diſpute happen between a field-officer and a ſubaltern, you muſt, if poſſible, give it in favour of the former.—Force is indeed the ruling principle in military affairs; in conformity to which the French term their cannon, the *ratio ultima regum*.

"Subordination being highly neceſſary in an army, you muſt take care to keep a proper diſtance, firſt between yourſelf and your ſecretary, then between your ſecretary and the general officers on the ſtaff; and ſo on to the laſt link in the military chain.

"Though you are not to allow ſwearing in others, it being forbidden by the articles of war, yet by introducing a few oaths occaſionally into your diſcourſe, you will give your inferiors ſome idea of your courage; eſpecially if you ſhould be advanced in years: for then they muſt think you a dare-devil indeed. I would recommend it to you to make uſe of ſome oath or execration peculiar to yourſelf, in imitation of queen Elizabeth and captain Bobadil; as, "I hope to be damned," or any other equally expreſſive of your future wiſhes or expectations.

"Remember that eaſe and conveniency are apt to render ſoldiers effeminate; witneſs Hannibal's army

at Capua. Never, therefore, let the troops have comfortable quarters; and as money, according to Horace, lowers a man's courage, be ſure to cut off every emolument from your army, to prevent the impediment of a full purſe. No perſons will behave ſo deſperately in action as thoſe who are tired of their lives; *Ibit eò quò vis qui zonam perdidit*—and the more you pinch the army under your command, the more you may appropriate to your own uſe: your country can afford to make you the handſomer allowance.

"If you ſerve under a miniſtry, with whom œconomy is the word, make a great buſtle and parade about retrenchment; it will be prudent for you, likewiſe, to put it, in ſome meaſure, into practice; but not ſo as to extend to your own perquiſites, or thoſe of your dependents. Theſe ſavings are beſt made out of the pay of the ſubaltern officers and private ſoldiers; who, being little able to bear it, will of courſe make much complaint of it, which will render your regard to œconomy the more conſpicuous. And though your pay-maſter, or commiſſary-general, may touch more than the amount of all that you retrench from the body of the army, no matter, if you go ſnacks with them: the public need know nothing about it, if they are but ſnug, and learn how to keep their own ſecrets.

"Should the duties bear hard on any particular corps, never attend in the leaſt to their repreſentations. Remonſtrances are the forerunners of mutiny; and it is the higheſt inſult to your rank and command to inſinuate that you are not infallible. This rule, however, may be diſpenſed with, when the colonel or commanding-officer happens to be a peer or a man of great intereſt.

"Be ſure to give out a number of orders. It will at leaſt ſhew the troops you do not forget them. The more trifling they are, the more it ſhews your attention to the ſervice; and ſhould your orders contradict one another, it will give you an opportunity of altering them, and find ſubject for freſh regulations.

"You will doubtleſs ſoon learn what to do with the ſecret-ſervice money. The gullibility of the miniſters at home may perhaps induce them to believe, that this is all expended on ſpies, on gaining intelligence, and other public intereſts. So a part of it is, however ſmall; but there are other ſervices equally ſecret, and no leſs important—to the commander in chief, which muſt be ſupplied from this fund, eſpecially if he has paſſed his grand climacteric. In this you cannot be ſaid to cheat the public; for you give them the real ſtate of the expence; ſo that there is no knavery or colluſion in the matter.

"You ſhould have a clever ſecretary to write your diſpatches, in caſe you ſhould not be ſo well qualified yourſelf. This gentleman may often ſerve to get you out of a ſcrape. You muſt take pains ſo to interlard your letters with technical terms, that neither the public, nor the miniſter to whom they are addreſſed, will underſtand them; eſpecially if the tranſactions you are deſcribing be trivial: it will then give them an air of importance. This is conformable to the maxim in epic and dramatic poetry, of raiſing the diction at times to cover the poverty of the ſubject.

"In your firſt official letter you muſt ingraft a tolerable number of French words, though there be Engliſh ones equally à propos, to give people an idea of your military talents: but then you ſhould take care

to keep up the ſame ſpirit of writing, otherwiſe they may imagine, that your abilities and your language are exhauſted together.

"If upon ſervice you have any ladies in your camp, be valiant in your converſation before them. There is nothing pleaſes the ladies more than to hear of ſtorming breaches, attacking the covert-way ſword in hand, and ſuch like martial exploits. This however I only recommend at night over the bottle: it cannot be expected that you ſhould be ſo valiant and blood-thirſty, upon mature deliberation, the next morning; that, indeed, would be murder in cold blood.

"Nothing is ſo commendable as generoſity to an enemy. To follow up a victory, would be taking the advantage of his diſtreſs. It will be ſufficient therefore for you to ſhew, that you can beat him when you think proper. Beſides, giving your enemy too ſevere a drubbing may put an end to the war, before you have feathered your neſt handſomely, and provided for your relations and dependents.

"When you have occaſion to put into winter quarters or cantonments in an enemy's country, you ſhould place your worſt troops, or thoſe you can leaſt depend upon, in the out-poſts: for if the enemy ſhould form the deſign of cutting them off, though he would be the more likely to ſucceed in it, yet the loſs, you know, is of the leſs conſequence to your army.

"When an inferior general is to be detached upon an expedition, be ſure to ſend the moſt ignorant and inexperienced; for he ſtands the moſt in need of a leſſon.

"You ſhould always act openly and fairly both with friends and foes. Never therefore ſteal a march, or lay in ambuſh; neither ſhould you fire upon or attack your enemy in the night. If you have read Pope's tranſlation of Homer, you may remember what Hector ſays, when about to fight with Ajax:

—Open be our fight, and bold each blow,
I ſteal no conqueſt from a noble foe.

"If you are purſuing a retreating enemy, let him get a few days march a-head, to ſhew him that you have no doubt of being able to overtake him, when you ſet about it: and who knows but this proceeding may encourage him to ſtop? After he has retired to a place of ſecurity you may then go in queſt of him with your whole army.

"It will be your own fault, if you do not make a fortune in the courſe of your command. When you come home, you have nothing to do but to enjoy *otium cum dignitate*. I would have you build a villa, and, in imitation of the great duke of Marlborough, call it by the name of the moſt conſiderable victory you have gained. If you have gained no victory, you may perhaps have taken ſome town without ramparts or garriſon to defend it; which, if it has but a ſounding name, the public will give you as much credit for, as they would for Liſle, or Bergen-op-Zoom.

"If you ſhould ever be called into the ſervice again, you will be too wiſe from your paſt experience to go and expoſe your old bones in Germany, America, or the Indies. So I would adviſe you to get the command of a camp or diſtrict in Old England; where you may enjoy all the pomp and parade of war, and, at the ſame time, be tolerably ſecure from thoſe hard knocks, which your neceſſities impelled you to riſk in your younger days."

POETRY.

ODE for the NEW YEAR, 1782.

By WILLIAM WHITEHEAD, Esq. Poet Laureat.

O Wond'rous power of inborn worth,
When danger calls its spirit forth,
And strong necessity compels
The secret springs to burst their narrow cells!
Tho' foes unnumber'd gird her round,
Tho' not one friend is faithful found,
Tho' impious Scorn derides;
Yet still unmov'd amid'st the band,
Like her own rocks does Britain stand,
And braves the insulting tides.
A world in arms assaults her reign!
A world in arms assaults in vain!

'Tis Britain calls: ye nations hear!
Unbrace the corselet, drop the spear;
No more the insidious toil pursue,
Nor strive to weaken what you can't subdue.
'Tis Britain calls:—with fatal speed
You urge, by headlong fury led,
Your own impending fate.
Too late you'll weep, too late will find,
'Twas for the glory of mankind
That Britain should be great.

In Britain's voice, 'tis Freedom calls,
For Freedom dies, if Britain falls.

She cannot fall! The same Almighty hand
That rais'd her white rocks from the main,
Does still her arduous cause maintain,
Still grasps the shield that guards his favour'd land.

Obedient to his word,
Not to destroy, but to reclaim,
The avenging angel waves the flaming sword.
Revere his awful name!

Repentant

Repentant in the duſt
Confeſs his judgments juſt,
The avenging ſword ſhall ceaſe to wave,
And whom his mercy ſpares, his power ſhall ſave.

An ODE in Imitation of CALLISTRATUS,

By Sir WILLIAM JONES.

VERDANT myrtle's branchy pride
Shall my biting falchion wreathe:
Soon ſhall grace each manly ſide,
Tubes that ſpeak, and points that breathe.

Thus, Harmodius, ſhone thy blade!
Thus, Ariſtogiton, thine!
Whoſe, when Britain ſighs for aid,
Whoſe ſhall now delay to ſhine?

Deareſt youths, in iſlands bleſt,
Not, like recreant idlers, dead;
You with fleet Pelides reſt,
And with god-like Diomed.

Verdant myrtle's branchy pride
Shall my thirſty blade entwine:
Such, Harmodius, deck'd thy ſide!
Such Ariſtogiton, thine!

They the baſe Hipparchus ſlew,
At the feaſt for Pallas crown'd;
Gods! how ſwift their poniards flew!
How the monſter ting'd the ground!

Then, in Athens, all was peace,
Equal laws and liberty:
Nurſe of arts, and eye of Greece!
People valiant, firm, and free!

Not leſs glorious was thy deed,
Wentworth, fix'd in virtue's cauſe;
Not leſs brilliant be thy meed,
Lenox, friend to equal laws!

High in freedom's temple rais'd,
See Fitz-Maurice beaming ſtand,
For collected virtues prais'd,
Wiſdom's voice, and Valour's hand!

Ne'er ſhall fate their eye-lids cloſe;
They in blooming regions bleſt,
With Harmodius ſhall repoſe,
With Ariſtogiton reſt.

Nobleſt chiefs, a hero's crown
Let the Athenian patriots claim;
You leſs fiercely won renown;
You aſſum'd a milder name.

They through blood for glory ſtrove,
You more bliſsful tidings bring;
They to death a tyrant drove,
You to fame reſtor'd a king.

Riſe, Britannia, dauntleſs riſe!
Cheer'd with triple harmony,
Monarch good, and nobles wiſe,
People valiant, firm, and free!

ODE for his MAJESTY'S BIRTH-DAY, June 4, 1782.

By W. WHITEHEAD, Eſq; Poet-Laureat.

STILL does reluctant peace refuſe,
Tho' courted by each gen'rous mind,
To ſhed her panacean dews,
And heal the madneſs of mankind.

Muſt this auſpicious day again
Be clouded with one anxious care,
And powers malignant render vain
The monarch's fondeſt wiſh, the people's general prayer!

O, no! in yonder pregnant ſky,
Whence all our hopes and bleſſings ſpring,
New burſting ſcenes of glory lie,
And future joys are on the wing:

The ling'ring morn that coyly ſheds
On broken clouds and mountain heads
At firſt a glimmering ray;
Now brighter, and now brighter glows,
Wide, and more wide the luſtre flows,
Till all is perfect day,
And earth rejoicing in etherial light,
Forgets the dreary damps and live-long ſhades of night.

Satiate of war, whoſe mad exceſs
No bound, no kind reſtriction knows;
But marks its progreſs with diſtreſs,
The willing world ſhall ſeek repoſe.

And Belgia waking from her dreams
Of Gallic frauds, illuſive ſchemes;
Shall add new ſtrength to Concord's chain,
And know her ancient friends again:
While thoſe whom nearer ties unite,
Whom all the charities combine;
Shall backward turn their trembling ſight,
And deprecate the wrath divine;
'Midſt bleeding heaps of brothers ſlain,
'Midſt Deſolation's horrid reign,
And all its complicated woes;
With wild affright in every face,
Shall ſtrain more cloſe the ſtrict embrace,
And wonder they could e'er be foes.

O pleaſing hope! O bleſt preſage
Of joys, to laſt from age to age!
For what heaven's ſelf commands, muſt heaven approve,
Returning amity and mutual love!
And hark! on yonder weſtern main,
Imperious France is taught to know
That Britain re-aſſumes her reign,
Her thunders only ſlept to ſtrike the deeper blow.

Ye nations hear! the Gallic ſtar,
Shorn of its beams, th' horizon leaves;
That fatal firebrand of the war,
No longer dazzles and deceives.
Record it in the faireſt light
Of faithful Hiſtory's future page;
"They only triumph'd whilſt they ſhunn'd the fight,
"We, when we forc'd them to engage."

SONG by RICHARD the FIRST, COEUR DE LION, written during his Impriſonment, in the *Tour Tenebreuſe*, or Black Tower. Tranſlated by Dr. BURNEY.

[From the Second Volume of Dr. BURNEY's General Hiſtory of Muſic.]

NO wretched captive of his priſon ſpeaks,
Unleſs with pain, and bitterneſs of ſoul;
Yet conſolation from the Muſe he ſeeks,
Whoſe voice alone misfortune can controul.
Where now is each ally, each baron, friend,
Whoſe face I ne'er beheld without a ſmile,
Will none, his ſov'reign to redeem, expend
The ſmalleſt portion of his treaſures vile?

Though none may bluſh that near two tedious years,
Without relief, my bondage has endur'd,
Yet know my Engliſh, Norman, Gaſcon peers,
Not one of you ſhould thus remain immur'd:
The meaneſt ſubject of my wide domains,
Had I been free, a ranſom ſhould have found;
I mean not to reproach you with my chains,
Yet ſtill I wear them on a foreign ground!

Too true it is, ſo ſelfiſh human race!
"Nor dead, nor captives, friend or kindred find,"
Since here I pine in bondage and diſgrace,
For lack of gold, my fetters to unbind.
Much for myſelf I feel, yet ah! ſtill more
That no compaſſion from my ſubjects flows;
What can from infamy their names reſtore,
If, while a pris'ner death my eyes ſhould cloſe.

But ſmall is my ſurprize, though great my grief,
To find, in ſpite of all his ſolemn vows,
My lands are ravag'd by the Gallic chief,
While none my cauſe has courage to eſpouſe.
Though lofty tow'rs obſcure the chearful day,
Yet, through the dungeon's melancholy gloom,
Kind Hope, in gentle whiſpers, ſeems to ſay,
"Perpetual thraldom is not yet thy doom."

Ye dear companions of my happy days,
Oh Chail and Penſavin aloud declare,
Throughout the earth in everlaſting lays,
My foes againſt me wage inglorious war.
Oh tell them too, that ne'er among my crimes
Did breach of faith, deceit, or fraud appear;
That infamy will brand to lateſt times
The inſults I receive while captive here.

Know all ye men of Anjou and Touraine,
And ev'ery bach'lor knight, robuſt and brave,
That duty now and love alike are vain,
From bonds your ſov'reign and your friend to ſave.
Remote from conſolation here I lie,
The wretched captive of a pow'rful foe,
Who all your zeal and ardour can defy,
Nor leaves you ought but pity to beſtow!

MILITARY SONG on the FRENCH CHAMPION ROLAND.

Tranſlated by Dr. BURNEY.

[From the ſame Work.]

LET ev'ry valiant ſon of Gaul
Sing Roland's deeds, her greateſt glory,
Whoſe name will ſtouteſt foes appal,
And feats inſpire for future ſtory.
Roland in childhood had no fears,
Was full of tricks, nor knew a letter,
Which, though it coſt his mother tears,
His father cried "So much the better:
"We'll have him for a ſoldier bred,
"His ſtrength and courage let us nouriſh,
"If bold the heart, though wild the head,
"In war he'll but the better flouriſh."
Let ev'ry, &c.

II.

Roland arriv'd at man's eſtate
Prov'd that his father well admoniſh'd,
For then his proweſs was ſo great
That all the world became aſtoniſh'd.
Battalions, ſquadrons, he could break,
And ſingly give them ſuch a beating,
That, ſeeing him, whole armies quake,
And nothing think of but retreating.
Let ev'ry, &c.

III.

In ſingle combat 'twas the ſame:
To him all foes were on a level,
For ev'ry one he overcame
If giant, ſorc'rer, monſter, devil.
His arm no danger e'er could ſtay,
Nor was the goddeſs Fortune fickle,
For if his foe he did not ſlay
He left him in a rueful pickle.
Let ev'ry, &c.

IV.

In ſcaling walls with higheſt glee,
He firſt the ladder fixt, then mounted;
Let him, my boys, our model be,
Who men or perils never counted.

At night, with ſcouts he watch would keep,
With heart more gay than one in million,
Or elſe on knapſack ſounder ſleep
Than general in his proud pavilion.
Let ev'ry, &c.

V.

On ſtubborn foes he vengeance wreak'd,
And laid about him like a Tartar,
But if for mercy once they ſqueak'd,
He was the firſt to grant them quarter.
The battle won, of Roland's ſoul
Each milder virtue took poſſeſſion;
To vanquiſh'd foes he o'er a bowl
His heart ſurrender'd at diſcretion.
Let ev'ry, &c.

VI.

When aſk'd why Frenchmen wield the brand
And dangers new each day ſolicit,
He ſaid, 'tis Charlemagne's command,
To whom our duty is implicit:
His miniſters, and choſen few,
No doubt have weigh'd theſe things in private,
Let us his enemies ſubdue,
'Tis all that ſoldiers e'er ſhould drive at.
Let ev'ry, &c.

VII.

Roland like Chriſtian true would live,
Was ſeen at maſs, and in proceſſion;
And freely to the poor would give,
Nor did he always ſhun confeſſion.
But biſhop Turpin had decreed
(His counſel in each weighty matter)
That 'twas a good and pious deed
His country's foes to drub and ſcatter.
Let ev'ry, &c.

VIII.

At table Roland ever gay,
Would eat, and drink, and laugh, and rattle,
But all was in a prudent way
On days of guard, or eve of battle.
For ſtill to king and country true
He held himſelf their conſtant debtor,
And only drank in ſeaſon due,
When to tranſact he'd nothing better.
Let ev'ry, &c.

To

IX.

To captious blades he ne'er would bend,
Who quarrels ſought on ſlight pretences;
Though he, to ſocial joys a friend,
Was ſlow to give or take offences.
None e'er had cauſe his arm to dread
But thoſe who wrong'd his prince, or nation,
On whom whene'er to combat led
He dealt out death and devaſtation.
Let ev'ry, &c.

X.

Roland too much adored the fair
From whom e'en heroes are defenceleſs,
And by a queen of beauty rare
He all at once was rendered ſenſeleſs.
One hapleſs morn ſhe left the knight,
Who, when he miſs'd her, grew quite frantic,
Our pattern let him be in fight:
His love was ſomewhat too romantic.
Let ev'ry, &c.

XI.

His mighty uncle, Charles the Great,
Who Rome's imperial ſceptre wielded,
Both early dignity and ſtate
With high command to Roland yielded.
Yet though a Gen'ral, Count, and Peer,
Roland's kind heart all pride could ſmother,
For each brave man from van to rear
He treated like a friend and brother.
Let ev'ry, &c.

SONG from THIBAUT, King of NAVARRE.

Tranſlated by Dr. BURNEY.

[From the ſame Work.]

I.

I Thought I'd vanquiſh'd mighty love,
But find myſelf deceiv'd;
For ev'ry hour alas! I prove,
The conqueſt unatchiev'd.
By day I ſeek for eaſe in vain,
Or call on ſleep by night;
Sighs, tears, complaints, increaſe my pain,
Nor does a hope, ye pow'rs! remain,
That ſhe will e'er my love requite.

The

II.

The libertine alone betrays
The kind and conſtant heart,
But I would die ten thouſand ways
Ere pain to her impart.
No thought my throbbing breaſt can cheer
But her in bliſs to ſee:
Yet in her coy and wild career
Could I but catch this flying deer
How happy then would Theobald be!

III.

This lovely deer, more white than ſnow,
With locks like burniſh'd gold
Which o'er her poliſh'd ſhoulders flow,
Courageous is, and bold.
In peril oft ſhe ſtands at bay,
Where wolves with cunning fraught
Are on the watch by night and day
To ſeize the courteous as their prey
Who ſet their wicked wiles at naught.

IV.

A brave accompliſh'd knight o'ercome
And ſtript of arms and fame,
While barn and vineyard, houſe and home
Are food for fire and flame;
Than me leſs torture feels and pain
While rigour thus I prove,
For never did I yet attain
The gift ſeraphic of a ſwain
Who could without a premium love.

V.

The ſlighteſt, ſmalleſt boon to ſhare
Is all I humbly crave,
To drive away the fiend Deſpair
And ſnatch me from the grave.
And is it then no crime to wound
A faithful lover's heart?
To hear his ſad complaints reſound,
Then daſh him to the abyſs profound,
Nor at his cruel ſuff'rings ſtart?

VI.

Pronounce, my fair, a milder doom
Before you've kill'd me quite,
For pity then too late will come
When plung'd in endleſs night.

A little

A little love while yet I live
Is worth a world in grave,
And 'tis œconomy to give
When by a trivial donative
A heavy future charge we ſave.

"The laſt ſtanza, which is not entire in the original, has been amplified in the Engliſh, to ſupply a ſufficient number of lines, for the melody."

CHARACTER of HOMER.

[From Mr. HAYLEY's Eſſay on EPIC POETRY.]

"HAIL, mighty father of the Epic line,
Thou vaſt, prolific, intellectual mine,
Where veins of ancient and of modern gold,
The wealth of each poetic world, have roll'd!
Great bard of Greece, whoſe ever-during verſe
All ages venerate, all tongues rehearſe;
Could blind idolatry be juſtly paid,
To aught of mental power by man diſplay'd,
To thee, thou fire of ſoul-exalting ſong,
That boundleſs worſhip might to thee belong;
For, as thy Jove, on his Olympian throne,
In his unrivall'd ſway exults alone,
Commanding Nature by his aweful nod,
In high ſecluſion from each humbler God;
So ſhines thy genius thro' the cloud of years,
Exalted far above thy Pagan peers
By the rich ſplendor of creative fire,
And the deep thunder of thy martial lyre:
The conſcious world confeſſes thy controul,
And hails thee ſovereign of the kindling ſoul.
Yet, could thy mortal ſhape reviſit earth,
How would it move, great bard! thy ſcornful mirth,
To hear vain pedants to thy verſe aſſign
Scholaſtic thoughts that never could be thine;
To hear the quaint conceits of modern pride
Blaſpheme thy fancy and thy taſte deride?
When thus in vanity's capricious fit,
We ſee thy fame traduc'd by Gallic wit,
We ſee a dwarf, who dares his foot to reſt
On a recumbent giant's ample cheſt,
And, lifting his pert form to public ſight,
Boaſts, like a child, his own ſuperior height.
But neither envious Wit's malignant craft,
Tho' arm'd with Ridicule's envenom'd ſhaft,

Nor

Nor fickle Faſhion's more tyrannic ſway,
Whoſe varying voice the ſons of earth obey,
Can ſhake the ſolid baſe of thy renown,
Or blaſt the verdure of thy laurel crown.
Tho' Time, who from his many-colour'd wings,
Scatters ten thouſand ſhades o'er human things,
Has wrought unnumber'd changes ſince thy birth,
And given new features to the face of earth;
Tho' all thy gods who ſhook the ſtarry pole,
Unqueſtion'd rulers of the pagan ſoul,
Are fallen with their fanes, in ruin hurl'd,
Their worſhip vaniſh'd from th' enlighten'd world;
Still its immortal force thy ſong retains,
Still rules obedient man and fires his glowing veins;
For Nature's ſelf, that great and conſtant power,
One and the ſame thro' every changing hour,
Gave thee each ſecret of her reign to pierce,
And ſtampt her ſignet on thy ſacred verſe;
That awful ſignet, whoſe imperial ſway
No age diſputes, no regions diſobey;
For at its ſight the ſubject paſſions ſtart,
And open all the paſſes of the heart.
'Twas nature taught thy genius to diſplay
That hoſt of characters who grace thy lay;
So richly varied and ſo vaſt the ſtore,
Her plaſtic hand can hardly model more:
'Twas Nature, nobleſt of poetic guides,
Gave thee thy flowing verſe, whoſe copious tides
Guſhing luxuriant from high Fancy's ſource,
By no vain art diverted in their courſe,
With ſplendid eaſe, with ſimple grandeur roll,
Spread their free wealth, and fertilize the ſoul.
There are, whom blind and erring zeal betrays
To wound thy genius with ill-judging praiſe;
Who raſhly deem thee of all arts the ſire,
Who draw dull ſmoke from thy reſplendent fire,
Pretend thy fancied miracles to pierce,
And form quaint riddles of thy cleareſt verſe;
Blind to thoſe brighter charms and purer worth,
Which make thy lays the laſting joy of earth.
For why has every age with fond acclaim
Swell'd the loud note of thy increaſing fame?
Not that cold ſtudy may from thee deduce
Vain codes of myſtic lore and laws abſtruſe;
But that thy ſong preſents, like ſolar light,
A world in action to th' enraptur'd ſight;
That, with a force beyond th' enervate rules
Of tame Philoſophy's pedantic ſchools,
Thy living images inſtruct mankind,
Mould the juſt heart, and fire th' heroic mind.

E'en Socrates himſelf, that pureſt ſage,
Imbib'd his wiſdom from thy moral page;
And haply Greece, the wonder of the earth
For feats of martial fire and civic worth,
That glorious land, of nobleſt minds the nurſe,
Owes her unrivall'd race to thy inſpiring verſe;
For O, what Greek, who in his youthful vein
Had felt thy ſoul-invigorating ſtrain,
Who that had caught, amid the feſtive throng,
The public leſſon of thy patriot ſong,
Could ever ceaſe to feel his boſom ſwell
With zeal to dare, and paſſion to excel.
In thee thy grateful country juſtly prais'd
The nobleſt teacher of the tribes ſhe rais'd;
Thy voice, which doubly gave her fame to laſt,
Form'd future heroes, while it ſung the paſt."

CHARACTER OF ARIOSTO.

[From the ſame Work.]

"INdignant Fancy, who with ſcorn ſurvey'd
The ſleepy honors to proud ſyſtem paid,
Smiling to ſee that on her rival's brow
The poppy lurk'd beneath the laurel bough,
Reſolv'd in ſportive triumph to diſplay
The rich extent of her ſuperior ſway:
From Necromancy's hand, in happieſt hour,
She caught the rod of viſionary power;
And as aloft the magic wand ſhe rais'd,
A peerleſs bard with new effulgence blaz'd,
Born every law of ſyſtem to diſown,
And rule by Fancy's boundleſs power alone.
High in mid air, between the moon and earth,
The bard of pathos now, and now of mirth,
Pois'd with his lyre between a griffin's wings,
Her ſportive darling, Arioſto, ſings.
As the light cloud, whoſe varying vapors fly,
Driven by the zephyr of the evening ſky,
Fixes and charms the never-wearied view,
By taking every ſhape and every hue;
So by Variety's ſupreme controul,
His changeful numbers ſeize the willing ſoul.
Enchanted by his ſong Attention ſits,
With features catching every caſt by fits,
Like the fond infant, in whoſe tender brain
Young Senſibility delights to reign;
While rapid Joy and Pain each other chaſe
Thro' the ſoft muſcles of its April face.

In

In vain the ſlaves of Syſtem would diſcard
From Glory's claſſic train this airy bard;
Delighted Nature her gay fav'rite crown'd,
And Envy's clamour in her plaudit drown'd.
Severe Morality, to cenſure mov'd,
His wanton Lyre with juſter blame reprov'd;
But his ſweet ſong her anger ſo beguil'd,
That, ere ſhe finiſh'd her reproof, ſhe ſmil'd."

Mr. HAYLEY's APOSTROPHE to his deceaſed MOTHER.

[From the ſame Work.]

" IF heart-felt pain e'er led me to accuſe
The dangerous gift of the alluring Muſe,
'Twas in the moment when my verſe impreſt
Some anxious feelings on a mother's breaſt.
O thou fond ſpirit, who with pride haſt ſmil'd,
And frown'd with fear, on thy poetic child,
Pleas'd, yet alarm'd, when in his boyiſh time
He ſigh'd in numbers, or he laugh'd in rhyme;
While thy kind cautions warn'd him to beware
Of Penury, the bard's perpetual ſnare;
Marking the early temper of his ſoul,
Careleſs of wealth, nor fit for baſe controul;
Thou, tender ſaint, to whom he owes much more
Than ever child to parent ow'd before,
In life's firſt ſeaſon, when the fever's flame
Shrunk to deformity his ſhrivell'd frame,
And turn'd each fairer image in his brain
To blank Confuſion and her crazy train,
'Twas thine, with conſtant love, thro' ling'ring years,
To bathe thy idiot orphan in thy tears;
Day after day, and night ſucceeding night,
To turn inceſſant to the hideous ſight,
And frequent watch, if haply at thy view
Departed Reaſon might not dawn anew.
Tho' medicinal art, with pitying care,
Cou'd lend no aid to ſave thee from deſpair,
Thy fond maternal heart adher'd to hope and prayer:
Nor pray'd in vain; thy child from Power's above
Receiv'd the ſenſe to feel and bleſs thy love;
O might he thence receive the happy ſkill,
And force proportion'd to his ardent will,
With Truth's unfading radiance to emblaze
Thy virtues, worthy of immortal praiſe!
Nature who deck'd thy form with Beauty's flowers,
Exhauſted on thy ſoul her finer powers;

Taught

Taught it with all her energy to feel
Love's melting ſoftneſs, Friendſhip's ſervid zeal,
The generous purpoſe, and the active thought,
With Charity's diffuſive ſpirit fraught;
There all the beſt of mental gifts ſhe plac'd,
Vigor of judgment, purity of taſte,
Superior parts, without their ſpleenful leaven,
Kindneſs to earth, and confidence in heaven.
While my fond thoughts o'er all thy merits roll,
Thy praiſe thus guſhes from my filial ſoul;
Nor will the public with harſh rigor blame
This my juſt homage to thy honor'd name;
To pleaſe that public, if to pleaſe be mine,
Thy virtues train'd me—let the praiſe be thine.
Since thou haſt reach'd that world where Love alone,
Where Love parental can exceed thy own;
If in celeſtial realms the bleſt may know
And aid the objects of their care below,
While in this ſublunary ſcene of ſtrife
Thy ſon poſſeſſes frail and feveriſh life,
If heaven allot him many an added hour,
Gild it with virtuous thought and mental power,
Power to exalt, with every aim refin'd,
The loveliеſt of the arts that bleſs mankind."

Extract from Miſs Seward's POEM to the Memory of Lady MILLER.

THUS while with fervent zeal the auſpicious Nine
O'er Laura's form the claſſic ceſtus threw,
Hung all their golden harps within her ſhrine,
And ting'd her wreaths with undecaying hue,
Yet Charity, thy ſoft ſeraphic flame,
A purer glory ſhed around her ſpotleſs name.

And harmonizing ſweet with friendſhip's lyre
The grateful bleſſings of the poor ſhall blend,
And borne on angel-wings to heaven's full choir,
Sublime the breath of gratitude aſcend;
With ſtrains more dulcet ſwell the aſpiring gales.
Than riſe from Pindus' grove, than float in Theſpian vales.

Nor yet that worth, which ſhunn'd the public view,
Wilt thou, O mournful Muſe! refuſe to ſing;
Each virtue rather to its ſhade purſue,
And ſtoop from ſhining heights thy trembling wing;
Teach the ſoft ſex whence genuine tranſport flows,
Tell them, domeſtic joy the fulleſt bliſs beſtows.

This beauteous leſſon may they wiſely read
In the white page of Laura's vital ſtate;
And emulate each great, each gentle deed,
That crown'd her fame, or that diſarm'd her fate;
For ſky-rob'd Innocence can ſmiling brave
The dart of inſtant death, and triumph o'er the grave.

O, born to ſmooth the rugged path of life,
For all who trod with thee its mazy round!
Where neither gloomy Care, nor noiſy Strife,
Dark Spleen or haggard Jealouſy were found;
For Chearfulneſs and Love with potent ſway,
The Lares of thy hearth, chas'd ev'ry fiend away.

Since well thou knew'ſt, nor pomp nor feſtal ſhow,
In the gay revel of their gorgeous night,
On youth's warm breaſt cou'd breathe ſo pure a glow,
As ſweet domeſtic comfort's cheering light;
For ſoft ſhe ſheds, on halcyon pinions borne,
Her poppies o'er the night, her roſes on the morn.

In Diſſipation's giddy circle whirl'd
One joy ſincere can erring beauty prove,
A rake's looſe homage or a flatt'ring world,
Supply the ſweetneſs of connubial love;
Where fix'd eſteem ſhall laſting joy inſpire,
And blend the huſband's faith with all the lover's fire?

Nor leſs that bliſs the virtuous boſom knows
Whilſt its fond care a parent's woe beguiles;
When life's pale winter, with the filial roſe
Adorn'd and happy, ſtill ſerenely ſmiles;
Lulls the chill gale of each repining ſigh,
And baſks in joy's warm gleam when the lov'd child is nigh.

Thus duteous Laura hung, with veſtal care,
O'er the dim trembling light of waining age;
The waſte of time and ſickneſs to repair,
And ſteal attention from each dark preſage;
Diſcharging thus affection's vaſt arrears
Of countleſs debts incurr'd thro' childhood's helpleſs years.

And thus her infants, in a diſtant hour,
With faireſt worth parental hopes had bleſt;
Strew'd her declining path with ev'ry flow'r,
Her foſt'ring hand had planted in their breaſt;
But ah! that hand is cold! and points no more
The ſureſt path of peace, on Virtue's ſacred ſhore!

Ye lovely innocents, whoſe loſs ſevere
The Muſe with tender ſympathy ſurveys,
If ſuch memorials as her love can rear
May catch, in future years, your filial gaze,
Here may your parent's pure emblazon'd name
Light you to faireſt deeds by emulation's flame!

Yet muſt this verſe thy kind indulgence crave,
Thou, who wilt moſt perceive its failing art;
Who view'ſt, ſlow wand'ring round thy Laura's grave,
Her juſter image in thy widow'd heart;
For the fond wiſh to bid her merits live,
Forgive the fainter tints, the erring line forgive!

O faithful Memory! may thy lamp illume
Her honour'd ſepulchre with radiance clear;
Connubial love ſhall reſt upon her tomb,
And infant duty ſhed its April tear;
There, with veil'd brows, parental fondneſs mourn,
Bend o'er the holy earth, and conſecrate her urn!

The THEATRE—A LADY of FASHION.

Mr. RALPH RUSTY to JOHN C. Eſq.

[From MODERN MANNERS; or the Country Couſins.]

WELL, now I am got here, faith here I muſt ſtay,
For I find there's no dragging my people away;
I ſeldom ſee Kitty, ſhe's always abroad,
At operas and routs with our good-natur'd lord;
But I think ſhe'll ne'er learn quite ſo much of the mode,
As to ſlight her old friends and her rural abode.
George is rambling about to ſee buildings all day,
And at night now and then he drops in at the play.

My dear ſiſter Ruth, that kind, teazing old creature,
With, perhaps, a good heart, but the worſt face in nature,
To Dr. Cringe Croucher is always declaring
Her rooted abhorrence of wenching and ſwearing;
And laments to the parſon, with tears in her eyes,
That churches fall down, and conventicles riſe.
When they've ſettled theſe points, on good victuals they're treating;
For both have the ſame underſtanding in eating.

Yet think not, dear John, that with ſceptical pride,
The church, or the clergy, I mean to deride:
Religion I honour, the church I approve,
The gown I reſpect, and true virtue I love;

But bigots, who ſure to religion moſt hurt do,
With ſound faith, a fine ſuccedaneum for virtue!
And hypocrites all in falſe colours array'd,
Who deal in the word, whoſe religion's a trade,
I hate and abhor; and to ſcourge them I'll venture,
Whether Papiſt, or Churchman, or ſturdy Diſſenter.

Laſt night I attended my nephew, my niece,
And my lord, to the playhouſe, to hear the new piece;
Tho' I knew 'twould be nothing to me, who had ſeen
Booth, Oldfield, and Woffington, Cibber, and Quin.

A confident actor firſt came on the ſtage,
Who ſeem'd all the night in a wonderful rage;
He roar'd out ſo loud, ſo diſtorted each feature,
He forgot 'twas his buſineſs to imitate nature:
Some vented their griefs in a low muttering voice;
Then, all on a ſudden, quite ſtunn'd me with noiſe;
Loud plaudits inform'd me that this was thought fine,
Nay the ladies around me declar'd 'twas divine;
"O Lord," cries a Miſs, "how enchantingly clever,
"As I hope to be ſav'd, ſhe is greater than ever!"
I thought, what with clapping and thumping of canes,
They'd have had an old houſe on their heads for their pains;
By looks, words, and actions, I dare to engage,
That they were as mad as the chiefs of the ſtage:
'Tis a maxim obſerv'd by ſome players, I find,
That a princeſs diſtreſs'd ſhould be out of her mind;
Indeed, who can blame them, ſince all the world ſay,
The more frantic their geſtures, the better they play.

What a contraſt appear'd!—with what eaſe did ſhe move,
Majeſtic as Juno, and graceful as Love!
Each action ſo juſt, ſo expreſſive each feature,
It was not thought acting,—'twas too much like nature;
Her voice, ſweet and plaintive, enchanted my ear,
Now melted with ſoftneſs, now chill'd me with fear:
But nature, I find, with the critical band,
Is a thing they're unus'd to, and don't underſtand:
To his lordſhip I ventur'd my feelings to tell,
Who reply'd—"She falls off, but ſhe's ſtill very well."

O hear! ye, that wiſh to be judges of merit!
True feeling is tameneſs, and fury is ſpirit!
More bleſs'd is the actor with excellent lungs,
Than with honey that flows from ſeraphical tongues;
He's ſure to ſucceed, who's reſtrain'd by no bound,
Who ſtares, raves, and ſtamps, and falls well on the ground;
Hear, ſons of the ſtage! be this ever your plan,
Get rid of dame Nature as faſt as you can.

An

And now, while I ponder'd theſe things in my mind,
I was rouz'd by a loud tattling noiſe from behind;
I turn'd to my lord to aſk what was the matter,
Who told me 'twas only young lady Clackclatter:
As ſhe enter'd the box—"O, my dear, how you bore us.
"See!—according to cuſtom the creature's before us!
"Lord, my Lord! I can't think how you get here ſo ſoon.—
"One would think that your lordſhip takes dinner at noon!"—
"O ma'am, check that horrid idea, I pray—
"No, I always contrive to dine after the play:—
"But where have you hid yourſelf, dear little rover,
"I ſought for your ladyſhip all the town over;
"Laſt night I explor'd, as men ſeek for hid treaſure"—
"O, my lord, at the opera, expiring with pleaſure—
"That dancer's a dear little wonderful thing!
"O that ſcraping!—pray when does the fifth act begin?—
"How d'ye kill time this evening?—you can't ſtay here long—
"A play is as bad as an old-faſhion'd ſong."—
"D' ye know what's become of Miſs Priſcy Pamprinner,
"She has not been heard of ſince yeſterday dinner—
"To be ſure there are charms in Sir Ghaſtly O'Grinner!—
"But the world lies ſo faſt—bring ſome freſh lemonade."—
"—Does your ladyſhip go to the next maſquerade?"—
"—Do I live? do I breathe?—Lord I heard it for certain,"
"Sir John—O! at laſt ſee they draw up the curtain!"
"—I hear that your new-married couſins agree
"Like Miſs Clapperclaw and old Count Sniggerſnee:—
"Don't you think, lady Charlotte—but you're ſuch a prude!—
"My lord, there's beau Frightful—how monſtrouſly rude!
"What is it to-night? muſt we ſimper or cry?
"Lord, this place is ſo hot that I'm ready to die!—
"What people ſurround us! I vow and declare,
"One may almoſt as well be at Barthol'mew fair.
"My lord! lady Charlotte!—Come, let's diſappear;
"Though the houſe is quite full, yet there's nobody here!"—

And the Devil go with you, in ſecret I cried,
And with all ſons and daughters of faſhion and pride!

RALPH RUSTY.

Extract from Mr. WHALLEY's VERSES addreſſed to Mrs. SIDDONS.

"THE day approaches, when thy eye ſhall trace,
Delighted! all my charms in Siddons' face,
The while her ſoft, and energetic tongue,
With all my ſweetneſs, all my pathos ſtrung,
The nobleſt thoughts, with nobler tones ſhall grace,
And lend each author's ſenſe, a brighter face.

In all her motions ſhall the Graces move,
'Midſt joy or ſorrow, 'midſt diſdain or love,
And all the various paſſions pointed lie,
Within the magic circle of her eye.
Bright as her charms, and lofty as her mien,
Her talents ſhall illuſtrate every ſcene:
No pompous paces, and no ſtudied ſtart,
Shall ſpeak the tutorings of th' adultreſs art;
No labour'd emphaſis offend the ear,
Nor turgid accent ſpeak the actreſs near,
But juſt conception ſhall with ſpirit join,
Simplicity, with energy combine;
With eaſe united, dignity ſhall charm,
And fire, with feeling blended, doubly warm;
While ſenſibility, thro' every part,
Shall thrill in all the pulſes of her heart;
Throw a ſoft tremb'ling luſtre o'er the whole,
And grace the beſt emotions of the ſoul.——
Diſdainful of thoſe little arts that bind,
In ſlaviſh trammels, the inferior mind,
No ſtage fineſſe her action ſhall diſgrace,
To trick a generous audience out of praiſe;
But truth, and nature, ſhall ſtill plead her cauſe,
And win the tribute of a juſt applauſe.
No mimic mirror e'er ſhall lend its rays
To point the paſſions on her lovely face;
Nor pourtray'd on its ſhining front be ſeen,
Her ſtudied attitudes, and practis'd mien;
But truſting to her judgment, ſtrong and clear,
And the bright images imprinted there,
Truſting thro' every ſhade, of every part,
To the warm impulſe of a feeling heart,
Her proud attempts no tameneſs ſhall diſgrace,
Nor ſhall they wear a copy's ſervile face;
But free-born genius ſhall attend their ſtate,
And all ſhall ſhine, original, and great. ——
As the fine painter, who with choice deſign
Attempts to image ſome rare ſcene of mine,
His glowing colours blends, with niceſt art,
And gives becoming force to every part;
Here graceful throws his ſhade, and there his light,
And makes the darker tints ſet off the bright;
When faithful, warm, and great the whole he ſees,
Preciſion join'd to fire, and force to eaſe,
Adds numberleſs ſoft touches at the laſt,
The rareſt efforts of his ſkill and taſte!
To throw a finiſh'd luſtre o'er the whole,
And make it breathe my animating ſoul;
So, to the glories of her high deſign,
My Siddons ſhall thoſe nameleſs graces join,

Whoſe

Whoſe lively touches ſhall the whole compleat,
And make the finiſh'd ſcene correctly great;
That Fiction, ſeeming baniſh'd from the part,
Like Truth ſhall ſtrike the well-deluded heart.
Thus ſhall her beauty, and her powers combine
To raiſe thy merits, while they blazon mine;
At once delight, and mend a wond'ring age,
Aſſert the injur'd honours of the ſtage;
With added glory, all the rights reſtore,
And ſuffer farce to ſway the town no more.
Surpaſſing Cibber, in each tender ſcene,
And moving more than Pritchard's ſelf the queen;
With Oldfield's comic powers, and witching face,
And ſprightly Abington's inchanting grace,
Her varied excellence, alike ſhall twine,
Thalia's laurels round her head with thine;
Not even to Garrick's ſhall her genius bow,
But ſtruggle for the honors on his brow:——
While ſtill the real virtues of her heart
Shall throw their light o'er each fictitious part,
With laſting luſtre ſparkle round her name,
And crown with heavenly glory, earthly fame."——

THE DRUM.

[From Mr. SCOTT's POETICAL WORKS.]

I HATE that drum's diſcordant ſound,
Parading round, and round, and round:
To thoughtleſs youth it pleaſure yields,
And lures from cities and from fields,
To ſell their liberty for charms
Of tawdry lace, and glittering arms;
And when Ambition's voice commands,
To march, and fight, and fall, in foreign lands.

I hate that drum's diſcordant ſound,
Parading round, and round, and round:
To me it talks of ravag'd plains,
And burning towns, and ruin'd ſwains,
And mangled limbs, and dying groans,
And widows tears, and orphans moans;
And all that Miſery's hand beſtows,
To fill the catalogue of human woes.

The MUSE; or, Poetical Enthusiasm.

[From the ſame Work.]

THE Muſe! whate'er the Muſe inſpires,
My ſoul the tuneful ſtrain admires:
The poet's birth, I aſk not where,
His place, his name, they're not my care;
Nor Greece nor Rome delights me more
Than Tagus' bank, or Thames's ſhore:
From ſilver Avon's flowery ſide
Though Shakſpeare's numbers ſweetly glide,
As ſweet, from Morven's deſart hills,
My ear the voice of Oſſian fills.

The Muſe! whate'er the Muſe inſpires,
My ſoul the tuneful ſtrain admires:
Nor bigot zeal, nor party rage
Prevail, to make me blame the page;
I ſcorn not all that Dryden ſings
Becauſe he flatters courts and kings;
And from the maſter lyre of Gray
When pomp of muſic breaks away,
Not leſs the ſound my notice draws,
For that 'tis heard in Freedom's cauſe.

The Muſe! whate'er the Muſe inſpires,
My ſoul the tuneful ſtrain admires:
Where Wealth's bright ſun propitious ſhines,
No added luſtre marks the lines;
Where Want extends her chilling ſhades,
No pleaſing flower of Fancy fades;
A ſcribbling peer's applauded lays
Might claim, but claim in vain, my praiſe
From that poor youth whoſe tales relate
Sad Juga's fears and Bawdin's fate.

The Muſe! whate'er the Muſe inſpires,
My ſoul the tuneful ſtrain admires:
When Fame her wreath well-earn'd beſtows,
My breaſt no latent envy knows;
My Langhorne's verſe I lov'd to hear,
And Beattie's ſong delights my ear;
And his, whom Athens' Tragic Maid
Now leads through Scarning's lonely glade,
While he for Britiſh nymphs bids flow
Her notes of terror and of woe.

The Muſe! whate'er the Muſe inſpires,
My ſoul the tuneful ſtrain admires:
Or be the verſe or blank or rhyme,
The theme or humble or ſublime;
If Paſtoral's hand my journey leads
Through harveſt fields, or new-mown meads;
If Epic's voice ſonorous calls
To Œta's cliffs or Salem's walls;
Enough—the Muſe, the Muſe inſpires!
My ſoul the tuneful ſtrain admires.

STANZAS, written at MEDHURST in Suſſex, on the AUTHOR's Return from CHICHESTER, where he had attempted in vain to find the Burial Place of COLLINS.

[From the ſame Work.]

TO view the beauties of my native land,
O'er many a pleaſing diſtant ſcene I rove;
Now climb the rock, or wander on the ſtrand,
Or trace the rill, or penetrate the grove.

From Baia's hills, from Portſea's ſpreading wave,
To fair Ciceſtria's lonely walls I ſtray;
To her fam'd Poet's venerated grave,
Anxious my tribute of reſpect to pay.

O'er the dim pavement of the ſolemn fane,
'Midſt the rude ſtones that crown the adjoining ſpace,
The ſacred ſpot I ſeek, but ſeek in vain;
In vain I aſk—for none can point the place.

What boots the eye whoſe quick obſervant glance
Marks every nobler, every fairer form?
What the ſkill'd ear that ſound's ſweet charms intrance,
And the fond breaſt with generous paſſion warm?

What boots the power each image to pourtray,
The power with force each feeling to expreſs?
How vain the hope that thro' life's little day,
The ſoul with thought of future fame can bleſs?

While Folly frequent boaſts the inſculptur'd tomb,
By Flattery's pen inſcrib'd with purchas'd praiſe;
While ruſtic labour's undiſtinguiſh'd doom
Fond Friendſhip's hand records in humble phraſe;

Of Genius oft and Learning worſe the lot;
For them no care, to them no honour ſhown:
Alive neglected, and when dead forgot,
Even Collins ſlumbers in a grave unknown.

Flow, Lavant, flow! along thy ſedgy ſhore
Bear the fraught veſſel from the neighbouring main!
Enrich thy ſons!—but on thy banks no more
May lofty poet breathe his tuneful ſtrain!

EXTRACT from EDWIN and ELTRUDA, a Legendary Poem. By Miſs HELEN WILLIAMS.

"'TWAS eaſy in her looks to trace
An emblem of her mind:
There dwelt each mild attractive grace,
Each gentle grace combin'd.

Soft as the dews of morn ariſe,
And on the pale flower gleam,
So ſoft, ſo ſweet her melting eyes
With love and pity beam.

As far retir'd the lonely flower
Smiles in the defart vale,
And blows it's balmy ſweets to pour
Upon the flying gale;

So liv'd in ſolitude unſeen
This lovely, peerleſs maid;
So ſweetly grac'd the vernal ſcene,
And bloſſom'd in the ſhade.

Yet love could pierce the lone receſs,
For there he loves to dwell;
He ſcorns the noiſy croud to bleſs,
And ſeeks the lowly cell.

There only his reſiſtleſs dart
In all its power is known;
His empire ſways each willing heart;
They live to love alone.

Edwin, of every grace poſſeſt,
Firſt taught her heart to prove
That gentleſt paſſion of the breaſt,
To feel the power of love.

Tho' few the paſtures he poſſeſt,
Tho' ſcanty was his ſtore,
Tho' wealth ne'er ſwell'd his hoarded cheſt,
Edwin could boaſt of more!

Edwin could boaſt the liberal mind,
The gen'rous ample heart;
And every virtue heav'n inclin'd
To bounty, can impart.

The maxims of this ſervile age,
The mean, the ſelfiſh care,
The ſordid views that now engage
The mercenary pair,

Whom riches can unite or part,
To them was all unknown;
For then the ſympathetic heart
Was link'd by love alone.

They little knew that wealth had power
To make the conſtant rove;
They little knew the ſplendid dower
Could add a bliſs to love.

They little knew the human breaſt
Could pant for ſordid ore;
Or, of a faithful heart poſſeſt,
Could ever wiſh for more.

And tho' her peerleſs beauty warms
His heart to love inclin'd;
Not leſs he felt the laſting charms,
The beauties of her mind.

Not leſs his gentle ſoul approv'd
The virtues glowing there;
For ſurely Virtue to be lov'd
Needs only to appear.

The ſweets of dear domeſtic bliſs
Each circling hour beguil'd;
And meek-ey'd Hope, and inward Peace
On the lone manſion ſmil'd.

Oft o'er the daiſy-ſprinkled mead,
They wander'd far away,
Some lambkin to the fold to lead,
That haply chanc'd to ſtray.

Her heart, where pity lov'd to dwell,
With ſadneſs oft was wrung;
For the bruis'd inſect as it fell,
Her ſoft tear trembling hung.

As roving o'er the flow'ry waſte,
A ſigh would heave her breaſt
The while her gentle hand replac'd
The linnet's falling neſt.

Then would ſhe ſeek the vernal bow'r,
And haſte with tender care
To nurſe ſome pale delining flow'r,
Some op'ning bloſſom rear.

And oft with eager ſteps ſhe flies
To chear the lonely cot,
Where the poor widow pours her ſighs,
And wails her hapleſs lot.

Their weeping mother's trembling knees
Her liſping infants claſp;
Their meek imploring look ſhe ſees,
She feels their tender graſp.

Wild throbs her aching boſom ſwell!
They mark the burſting ſigh—
(Nature has form'd the ſoul to feel)
They weep, unknowing why.—

Her hands the lib'ral boon impart,
And much her tear avails
To ſooth the mourner's burſting heart,
Where feeble utterance fails.

On the pale cheek where hung the tear
Of agonizing woe,
She bids the guſh of joy riſe there,
The tear of rapture flow.

If greater plenty to impart
She e'er would heav'n implore,
'Twas only that her ample heart
Still panted to do more.

Thus ſoft the gliding moments flew,
(Tho' love would court their ſtay)
While ſome new virtue roſe to view,
And mark'd each fleeting day.

Peace, long condemn'd the world to roam,
Like the poor wand'ring dove,
Here ſoftly-reſting found a home,
And wiſh'd no more to rove.

The youthful poet's ſoothing dream
Of youthful ages paſt,
The Muſes' fond ideal theme
Was realiz'd at laſt."

DOMESTIC LITERATURE,

Of the Year 1782.

IN mentioning the divinity of the preſent year, the firſt place, in point of bulk, and the author's rank, is due to "The Works of the Right Reverend Thomas Newton, D. D. late Lord Biſhop of Briſtol, and Dean of St. Paul's, London." This publication, which was printed under the good prelate's own inſpection, not long before his deceaſe, conſiſts of three large and ſplendid quarto volumes. The firſt volume, beſides the life of the author, written by himſelf, and an appendix, in three numbers, relative to the diſſenters bill, toleration, and certain political queſtions, includes in it the whole of his celebrated Diſſertations on the Prophecies, which have gone through various editions. The ſecond volume contains thirty new Diſſertations, nine Sermons, moſt if not all of them formerly publiſhed, and five Charges to the clergy of the dioceſe of Briſtol. The third volume conſiſts of ſixty Diſſertations, none of which we recollect ever to have ſeen before, excepting that upon the demoniacs of the New Teſtament, which was printed ſeparately, without the biſhop's name, ſoon after the appearance of Mr. Farmer's learned enquiry into that ſubject. With regard to the general character of Dr. Newton's writings, it may be obſerved, that they do not ſtand diſtinguiſhed by any great degree of original merit. Our prelate's chief excellence lay in collecting and abridging what had been ſaid by others, and in expreſſing it with perſpicuity. He had no remarkable ſagacity of his own, none of that peculiar penetration which can number him with the eminent critics, or raiſe him to a high rank in the theological world. His works, however, may, for the moſt part, be read with advantage; and his Diſſertations on the Prophecies have done conſiderable ſervice to the cauſe of revelation. It is with concern that we have ſeen, in ſome of the pieces now publiſhed, very ſtrong marks of a narrow, illiberal, and prejudiced mind. What the biſhop hath advanced concerning the diſſenters, the doctrine of toleration, and the political diſputes of the times, clearly evinces that he did not thoroughly underſtand the nature of liberty, civil or religious. In one of his Charges, he hath gone out of his way to make ſome reflections on the upright Mr. Lindſey. What renders Dr. Newton's ſeverity againſt a defect in orthodoxy the more exceptionable is, that he himſelf is not entirely orthodox. Of this ſeveral inſtances might be produced; but

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we ſhall only mention his Diſſertation on the final State of Mankind; in which he maintains the hypotheſis of an univerſal reſtitution. The benevolent ſentiments of the biſhop, concerning the ſalvation of the whole human race, we ſincerely applaud; but ſurely he ought to have been more candid to others, when, in his own perſon, he aſſumed the liberty of departing ſo greatly from the eſtabliſhed ſtandards of faith.

It is with pleaſure that we turn our attention to another prelate, of whoſe writings we have a high opinion. We mean Dr. Newcome, biſhop of Waterford, in Ireland, who hath favoured the world with "Obſervations on our Lord's Conduct as a Divine Inſtructor, and on the Excellence of his Moral Character," in one volume, quarto. For this taſk the biſhop was admirably qualified by the courſe of his ſtudies in general, and particularly by the learned pains he hath lately taken to ſettle the harmony of the evangeliſts. It is doing no more than juſtice to Dr. Newcome to ſay, that the ſubject he hath undertaken is treated by him with equal wiſdom and piety. He enters into the ſpirit of our Saviour's character, and is himſelf animated with no ſmall portion of the ſame ſpirit. His views of things are juſt and liberal, and he is above an attachment to the narrowneſs of ſyſtem. His diſplay of the predictions concerning the deſtruction of Jeruſalem, and their exact accompliſhment, is particularly ſtriking. We rejoice to find that our excellent prelate intends to write a commentary on the minor prophets, in the manner of Lowth's Iſaiah. A learned gentleman of Oxford is engaged in preparing a ſimilar commentary on Jeremiah. Thus, by degrees, a great deſideratum in biblical and theological literature is likely to be accompliſhed.

The knowledge of the ſacred writings hath received a farther improvement, in the late edition, being the third, of Mr. Bowyer's "Critical Conjectures and Obſervations on the New Teſtament." In this edition, which is now enlarged to a handſome quarto volume, there are various additional remarks not only by Mr. Bowyer, but by a number of learned gentlemen. What was ſuitable to the plan has been tranſcribed from the margin of Mr. Markland's Greek Teſtament, and there are conſiderable communications by the preſent biſhop of Saliſbury (Dr. Barrington) the celebrated Michaelis, the reverend Mr. Weſton, of Exeter college, Oxford, and the reverend Mr. Goſſet. Others have contributed, though in a ſmaller degree, to enlarge the collection. Amidſt ſuch a multitude of obſervations, notes, and conjectures, ſome trifling ones muſt unavoidably have been admitted; but there are many of them which are acute and valuable; and which give to the publication before us the juſt praiſe of its being an excellent and uſeful work.

It is a very important piece of ſcriptural criticiſm that hath been executed by the late Dr. Randolph. We refer to his tract, entitled, "The Prophecies and other Texts cited in the New Teſtament, compared with the Hebrew original, and the Septuagint Verſion." The accuracy and diligence with which this matter is here inveſtigated, is worthy of the higheſt commendation, as hence peculiar light has been thrown on a ſubject that hath always been attended with uncommon difficulty. Perhaps more honour will accrue to the memory of Dr. Randolph from this production, than from all his former writings.

Though Dr. Kennicott hath completed his grand work, of the edition

tion and collations of the Hebrew Bible, with ſo much reputation to himſelf, and ſo much credit to his country, he hath not eſcaped cenſure, eſpecially from ſome German critics. But he hath ably vindicated himſelf againſt their attacks, in his "Editionis Veteris Teſtamenti Hebraici cum variis Lectionibus brevis Defenſio, contra Ephemeridum GoettingenſiumCriminationes." We have been much pleaſed with the effectual manner in which the learned editor has anſwered the objections urged againſt him, and with obſerving to how ſmall a number indeed he has reduced the errors charged upon his work. That Mr. Bruns, who was many years an aſſiſtant to Dr. Kennicott in his undertaking, ſhould now become one of his antagoniſts, reflects no honour upon the former gentleman. If it may be allowed us to offer a conjecture with reſpect to the motives of his conduct, we ſhould ſuppoſe that he hath been influenced partly by diſſatisfaction at not being provided for in England, and partly by a deſire of obtaining favour with his own countrymen. With regard to his obtaining a permanent ſettlement in this kingdom, no ſuch thing was probably in Dr. Kennicott's power; and it is certain, that he honourably rewarded Mr. Bruns for the ſervices he performed. It would not, however, have been amiſs, if the biſhops and dignitaries of the church had exerted their intereſt, to procure ſome eſtabliſhment for a man who had been ſo largely concerned in the great collation.

Mr. Wakefield continues his critical and theological enquiries with the ſame bold ſpirit, and we wiſh it could not be added, with the ſame petulance and conceit. In his "Plain and Short Account of the Nature of Baptiſm, according to the New Teſtament," he contends, that this rite, at whatever age, and in whatever form adminiſtered, is now, and always was unneceſſary and improper to be practiſed on the offspring of Chriſtian parents. Though we do not coincide in opinion with the author, we think him fully juſtified in ſtating and defending his ſentiments upon the ſubject. But why cannot this be done with moderation and candour? Mr. Wakefield's learning, of which we doubt not he is ſufficiently proud, would not appear to leſs advantage, if it were accompanied with the manners of the gentleman, and a little more of the humility of the Chriſtian.

The ſame ſtrictures muſt be extended to a larger and more important work of this author, his "New Tranſlation of the Goſpel of St. Matthew; with Notes critical, philological, and explanatory." We are not inſenſible of the literature diſplayed in it, and that ſome of the remarks may be deſerving of attention. But till Mr. Wakefield diſcovers a better temper, we muſt ſpeak of him in terms of diſapprobation.

With a different temper hath Mr. Simpſon conducted his "Eſſay to ſhew that Chriſtianity is beſt conveyed in the hiſtoric Form." This is an important ſubject, which was well deſerving of illuſtration; and the writer hath diſcuſſed it in ſuch a way as is honourable to himſelf, and ſerviceable to our holy religion. It is certain, that the hiſtoric form of communicating the doctrines, principles, and laws of Chriſtianity, is beſt adapted to the bulk of mankind, moſt ſtriking in itſelf, and moſt univerſally uſeful. Mr. Simpſon, we are informed, is a young diſſenting clergyman, of ample fortune, who has not, at preſent, the care of a congregation. We are glad to find that

that he does not ſuffer his powers to lie torpid, but employs them in ſo wiſe and worthy a manner.

Dr. Willan's "Hiſtory of the Miniſtry of Jeſus Chriſt, combined from the narrative of the Four Evangeliſts," is a laudable attempt to aſſiſt plain and unlearned readers in the peruſal of the Goſpels. For this purpoſe the facts are methodically arranged, and the events and doctrines, with all their circumſtances, are related in the very words of the ſacred writers. The whole, we are told, (for the book has not yet come into our hands) is well calculated to anſwer the pious ends intended by the author.

Mr. Oſtervald, who is well known to have been an eminent and excellent divine at Neufchatel, in Switzerland, left behind him a treatiſe, publiſhed after his deceaſe, entitled, "Lectures on the Exerciſe of the ſacred Miniſtry." Theſe are now, for the firſt time, tranſlated into Engliſh; and the tranſlator, the reverend Thomas Stevens, M. A. hath accompanied them with Notes, and a Preface of conſiderable length. The utility of the work cannot be queſtioned; and if we cannot, in every reſpect, agree with Mr. Stevens, we do not, on that account, entertain the leſs eſteem of his pious intentions.

To the "Diſquiſitions on ſeveral Subjects," aſcribed to Soame Jenyns, eſq. and which have met with ſo much acceptance and applauſe, what can we ſay? A juſt and large tribute of commendation cannot be denied to the vivacity and elegance with which they are written. In the Eſſay on Cruelty to Brutes, there are ſeveral humane and excellent obſervations, mixed with others that are ſomewhat exceptionable. The Diſquiſition on the Chain of Being, and that on the Analogy between Things material and intellectual, contain a variety of ingenious and pleaſing remarks. There are, likewiſe, a few incidental paſſages in the other diſquiſitions, that may be entitled to approbation. But farther than this our praiſe cannot poſſibly be carried; for we are obliged, however unwilling, to pronounce, that all the reſt is error and abſurdity. The author with the utmoſt arrogance, determines upon queſtions both in metaphyſics and theology, to which he is altogether unequal. In divinity his ignorance is extreme, and he decides upon doctrines without any critical knowledge of the Scriptures. Works of this kind may excite a temporary admiration: but no ſprightlineſs of ſentiment, or beauty of language, can prevent them from ſinking quickly into oblivion. The writer of "Thoughts on a pre-exiſtent State," hath fully refuted what Mr. Jenyns has advanced on that ſubject. The "Candid Suggeſtions, in Eight Letters, to Soame Jenyns, Eſq." by Mr. B. N. Turner, do not equally meet with our approbation.

In ſpeaking of fanciful theology, it may not be amiſs to mention, that Jacob Behmen hath ſtill ſuch a number of followers in this country, as to encourage a tranſlation of his works. A fourth volume of the tranſlation has appeared during the preſent year, and there can be no doubt but that it will afford ſatisfaction to thoſe who reliſh the writings, and think they can develope the doctrines of that famous myſtic. This edition of Behmen was begun by the late pious and ingenious Mr. William Law, and is now carried on by one of his particular friends.

The admirers of Mr. James Hervey have had a freſh gratification, in the publication of his "Letters to Lady Frances Shirley." We venerate

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the piety of the author, and cannot always deny him the praiſe of ingenuity. But ſober judgment will diſapprove of his theological ſentiments, and true taſte will diſlike his florid and fanciful mode of compoſition.

Mr. Madan, if we may venture to mention his name after his recent attack upon Dr. Rees, hath again reſumed his favourite ſubject, in "Letters on Thelyphthora." Notwithſtanding the contempt with which he affects to treat his antagoniſts, it is evident that he ſtrongly feels the force of their animadverſions. We pretend not to any great ſpirit of prophecy in foretelling, that the author of Thelyphthora, in ſpite of all his endeavours to the contrary, will only excite indignation or contempt at preſent, and in a ſhort ſpace of time ſink into oblivion.

Grotius's "Treatiſe on the Truth of the Chriſtian Religion," is a book concerning the character and merit of which no man of literature can be ignorant. But though it is ſo well known, and hath long been tranſlated into moſt languages, and particularly into Engliſh, ſtill there are multitudes who have not read it, and it is deſirable to call the attention of mankind, again and again, to ſo valuable a work. This, Spencer Madan, eſq. of Trinity College, Cambridge, has endeavoured to do, by a new and familiar verſion of it, diſengaged, as much as poſſible, from all notes, quotations, and references whatſoever; admitting ſuch only as appear to be eſſentially conducive to the ſenſe, or immediately connected with the ſenſe of the original. Mr. Spencer Madan hath executed his deſign with ability, and in ſo doing, has performed an important ſervice to the cauſe of revelation.

Sir David Dalrymple, lord de Hailes, who is always ſo wiſely and well employed in antiquarian, hiſtorical, or religious enquiries, and who hath heretofore given valuable ſpecimens of his attention to Chriſtian antiquities, hath, in the farther purſuit of the ſame ſtudy, tranſlated the dialogue of Minucius Felix, entitled "Octavius," and enriched it with notes. When we ſay that his verſion is accurate, and his remarks learned, critical, and generally judicious, we ſay no more than what will readily be aſſented to by thoſe who know the character of the writer, and are acquainted with his works.

The ſame gentleman hath likewiſe tranſlated Lactantius's "Treatiſe on the Deaths of the Perſecutors." This tranſlation, and the notes with which it is accompanied, have a full claim to the praiſe that belongs to the Octavius. In both publications are various obſervations on Mr. Gibbon's Hiſtory of the Decline and Fall of the Roman Empire. We have ſome doubt whether Lactantius's work deſerved the labour which hath been beſtowed upon it by ſir David Dalrymple. It contains, indeed, ſome hiſtorical tranſactions; but, independently of that circumſtance, it can only be conſidered as an idle and ſuperſtitious declamation. Lactantius's reaſonings, if he can be ſaid to have any, are weak, and his facts injudiciouſly ſtated. When we have allowed him the commendation which is due to his latinity and his eloquence, little more, at leaſt with regard to this tract, can be ſaid in his favour.

Mrs. Trimmer's "Sacred Hiſtory, ſelected from the Scriptures, with Annotations and Reflections, ſuited to the Comprehenſion of Young Minds," is a laudable undertaking, and will be found very ſerviceable in the plan of a pious and virtuous education. The manner in which

which the first volume is conducted induces a pleasing expectation with regard to the execution of the remaining parts. This lady, we believe, is carrying on her excellent designs under the auspices of the queen, to whom the work before us is dedicated.

Bishop Porteus's "Brief Confutation of the Errors of the Church of Rome, extracted from Archbishop Secker's Five Sermons against Popery, and published for the Use of the Diocese of Chester," is a tract of general utility; and, therefore, deserves to be extensively circulated. Though we abhor the spirit of the Protestant Association, as it hath unworthily been called, and are sincere friends to universal toleration, we think, at the same time, that the minds of our people ought to be well guarded against the absurd, idolatrous, and anti-christian tenets of the popish system. This is a debt which is owing to the cause of truth, the interests of liberty, and the welfare of mankind.

Two or three years since, Mr. Sturges published "Considerations on the present State of the Church Establishment," in which, with great candour and good sense, he endeavoured to vindicate it against the objections of the dissenters, and of those who contend against any kind of subscription to articles of human composition in religion. He hath now received an answer, in a series of letters, addressed to him by Mr. Toulmin, a dissenting minister at Taunton, Somersetshire, known by several publications, and especially by his Life of Socinus. Mr. Toulmin writes with the same candid spirit which was displayed by Mr. Sturges, and supports his cause with ability and judgment.

The same principles of non-conformity are advanced and maintained, with a considerable degree of perspicuity and force, in a tract, by the late reverend Thomas Mole, entitled, "The Case of a Dissent and Separation from the Civil Establishment of the Christian Religion fairly stated." Mr. Mole was a dissenting clergyman, contemporary with the doctors Chandler, Lardner, and Benson, in the strictest friendship with them, and of equal learning, but from his retired mode of living, and the smaller number of his writings, not equally celebrated. He employed many years in composing, in Latin, a life of the famous Laurentius Valla, comprehending a history of the revival of literature, and the dawnings of the Reformation. The work was completed, and was fairly transcribed by the author himself, so as to be quite ready for the press. But such was the regard which his heir (a clergyman too, if we are not much mistaken) paid to the cause of literature, and the memory of his relation, that, though he derived a large fortune from his uncle, he permitted the manuscript to be sold for a trifling sum, at an auction of Mr. Mole's books, by a broker in Threadneedle-street.

The Church of England hath had its vindications this year, as well as the Dissenters. The writer of "A Letter to the Author of the History and Mystery of Good Friday" has treated Mr. Robinson of Cambridge, and some others of his brethren, with a considerable degree of severity. Those bigoted Nonconformists, who, in the zeal they possess for their cause, lose their candour and good manners, are certainly entitled to reprehension.

Dr. Harwood, whose name is known to all our theological readers, hath published an "Essay on Contentment," in which he has made use of arguments drawn from the Pagan writers,

writers, as well as from the ſcriptures. For this he has been cenſured; though it is a fact that he has followed the example of the beſt divines of the church of England in the laſt century. The Goſpel undoubtedly affords the ſtrongeſt motives to the practice of every virtue, and the moſt powerful ſupports in a ſeaſon of diſtreſs. Nevertheleſs, the author had a right to derive from all ſources ſuch topics of conſolation as he thought might be ſerviceable to himſelf or his fellow-creatures. That he ſhould be ſo affected by the ſtrictures paſſed upon him by certain reſpectable critics, as to appeal to the public in repeated advertiſements, can only be aſcribed either to the debilitated ſtate of his body, ariſing from a paralytic ſtroke, or to a deſire of exciting compaſſion to his ſituation, which, we believe, is ſufficiently diſtreſsful.

The laſt theological publication of the year, and a publication highly important, both in regard to its own merit and the abilities and celebrity of the author, was Dr. Prieſtley's "Hiſtory of the Corruptions of Chriſtianity." This is one of the moſt intereſting of the Doctor's productions, in which he hath long been engaged, and on which he hath ſpent uncommon labour. Though we do not in every point agree with the ingenious and learned writer, we ſhould be guilty of injuſtice to our own ſentiments and feelings, if we did not give our ſincere and ardent teſtimony to the general excellence and utility of the work. Particular objects may be debated, and the exactneſs of an authority, a quotation, or a reference, may here and there be queſtioned; but theſe things will derogate little from the value of the book upon the whole: for it will be found to contain a moſt inſtructive diſplay of the progreſs of error, and to be happily calculated for bringing men back to the truth, purity, and ſimplicity of the Goſpel. It hath excited ſome ſurprize that Dr. Prieſtley ſhould have neglected to explode the doctrine of the eternity of hell torments. We are well aſſured that he is not a believer in that doctrine, and it is certainly one of the greateſt corruptions of Chriſtianity. It might poſſibly eſcape the author's attention, or he might think that he had ſufficiently explained his ſentiments upon the ſubject in ſome of his other writings. It is a matter, however, which ſhould not have been omitted in the preſent publication; and therefore we ſhall hope to ſee the defect ſupplied in a future edition.

The Sermons of the year riſe ſomewhat in merit above thoſe of the laſt, though they do not ſuſtain ſo high a rank but that we may hope to have them exceeded in a ſubſequent period. Dr. William Smith, dean of Cheſter, who has long been juſtly celebrated as the tranſlator of Longinus, Thucydides, and Xenophon's Grecian Hiſtory, hath publiſhed "Nine Diſcourſes on the Beatitudes." We do not recollect that he hath appeared in the world before in this mode of compoſition; or if he has printed an occaſional ſermon or two, we have never ſeen them. The Diſcourſes before us will not diſcredit the reputation which the dean has acquired by his other writings. In the ſtyle, elegance is united with ſimplicity, and the ſentiments are calculated to make the moſt uſeful impreſſions. By the choice of his ſubjects, and by his manner of treating them, the reverend and learned author hath raiſed a juſt monument to his own worth and wiſdom.

As Mr. Dupré is a young man,

we are not to expect the same solidity of judgment which may be looked for in a veteran; and hence candor is to be exercised, if, in his Volume of Sermons, we find some defects as well as excellencies. His excellencies, however, are such as promise considerable things in future; and his defects will probably be corrected by the progress of knowledge and taste. We could have wished that he had gone farther into theological studies, before he had ventured to maintain the doctrine of the eternity of hell torments. When he hath obtained a more accurate acquaintance with divinity, we trust that he will no longer uphold a tenet which is so contrary to reason and natural equity, and which, we are fully persuaded, is equally contrary to the scriptures themselves, when rightly understood. As Mr. Dupré has so manifestly the seeds of eminence in him, we are solicitous that he may correct every error; and it is to be hoped that the success of his Sermons, in having passed through a second edition, will not induce him to think, "that he hath already attained, or is already perfect."

On Dr. Hutchins's "Ten Sermons," some persons may be disposed to imagine that we are but little qualified to speak, when it is acknowledged by us, that we have not paid them much attention. If, however, we may be permitted to judge from the specimens we have seen of them, they are not of the sort that would be likely to excite our approbation. Discourses, the chief object of which is to defend all the doctrines of mysterious and vulgar orthodoxy, are by no means suited to our taste. We derive pleasure from such only as either treat upon important subjects with ingenuity, liberality, and judgment, or are plain, practical, and edifying. Why could not Dr. Hutchins's executors suffer his Sermons to lie hidden in their original obscurity? Three of them, indeed, had been printed before; but it might have been as well to let them rest in the oblivion into which they had fallen.

We expect so little from Mr. Bampton's Lecture, that Mr. Holmes's "Eight Sermons" preached in consequence of that institution, before the University of Oxford, have agreeably disappointed us. By laying hold of the best part of the design, he hath avoided those abstruse and doubtful questions into the discussion of which the generality of the lecturers must almost necessarily be led. The argument he hath pursued is drawn from the prophetical testimony of John the Baptist to the Gospel and its author, and from the principal prophecies of Christ himself. This is a point of great consequence, and the management of it displays the abilities and judgment of the writer.

Of Dr. Gerard's character as a preacher, we have formerly had occasion to speak; nor will that character be lessened by the second volume of his "Sermons," published in the course of the present year. The judicious will find them to be fully entitled to the same praise that was bestowed on the preceding volume. The three first discourses, on the Progress of Vice, have uncommon excellence, and, if properly attended to, could not fail to be productive of the highest advantages in the conduct of life. That on Sound Doctrine is replete with curious and useful information; and we would ardently recommend it to the serious and impartial study of those bigoted divines, who are continually making such a bustle about their orthodoxy. All the Sermons

Sermons are rational, practical, and of the moſt uſeful tendency. We are glad that Dr. Gerard has added his Diſcourſe on the Influence of the Paſtoral Office upon the clerical Character, formerly printed in anſwer to an eſſay of Mr. Hume's. As it is a treatiſe, rather than a ſermon, he hath judiciouſly divided it into four parts, for the greater commodiouſneſs of peruſal.

Two Diſcourſes, by Dr. Prieſtley, one "On habitual Devotion," and the other "On the Duty of not living to ourſelves," cannot be paſſed over without notice. Both of them have great merit, but the firſt is uncommonly excellent. Perhaps there never was a more admirable compoſition on the ſubject of habitual devotion. It is full of wiſdom, penetration, and goodneſs. Much too might be ſaid in commendation of the ſecond Diſcourſe, in which philoſophy and religion are happily united.

The ſingle Sermons of the year have been numerous, and, did it conſiſt with our plan, many of them might deſerve to be ſpecified. Mr. Paley's Diſcourſe, entitled, "A Diſtinction of Orders in the Church defended upon Principles of public Utility," muſt be ſelected from the reſt, on account of its peculiar ingenuity, and the Chriſtian and liberal ſpirit by which it is animated. This Mr. Paley is a gentleman whom we conſider as riſing to no ſmall degree of eminence; and we rejoice to hear that a very important publication may ſoon be expected from him. We ſhould not do juſtice to Dr. Hallifax, biſhop of Glouceſter, if we did not diſtinguiſh his "Faſt Sermon" from the others which were printed on that occaſion. Whilſt ſo many of the inhabitants of Scotland have been urged to a bitter and perſecuting zeal againſt any indulgence to the Roman Catholics, we cannot avoid giving our teſtimony of applauſe to Mr. Fullerton, for his "Diſcourſe on the Meaſures of Toleration," preached before the ſynod of Aberdeen. The ſame teſtimony is due to a number of his brethren, who zealouſly concurred in oppoſing the efforts of bigotry and intolerance.

Two Ordination Services, among the Diſſenters, have appeared in 1782, by men of reſpectable name in that body. The firſt was at Salter's Hall, in which Dr. Kippis and Mr. Pope, of London, and Mr. Worthington, ſenior, of Leiceſter, were principally concerned. The gentlemen ordained were Mr. Worthington, junior, and Mr. Jacomb. The other was at Pudſey in Yorkſhire, on occaſion of the ſettlement of Mr. Turner, junior, at Newcaſtle upon Tyne. The chief conductors of the buſineſs of the day were Mr. Holland, of Bolton, Lancaſhire; Mr. Wood, of Leeds; Mr. Dawſon, of that neighbourhood, and Mr. Turner, ſenior, of Wakefield.

The year 1782 hath given birth to a ſingular Atheiſtical production, under the title of "An Anſwer to Dr. Prieſtley's Letters to a philoſophical Unbeliever." The writer calls himſelf William Hammon, and affects to deliver, not his own ſentiments only, but to recite the arguments of a friend. Boldly, and without any appearance of circumſpection, he avows his being an Atheiſt, and plumes himſelf on the freedom and courage with which he makes the avowal. He ſubſcribes his preface from a certain number in Oxford-ſtreet; ſends a letter to Dr. Prieſtley, dated, if we recollect rightly, from Liverpool; requires an anſwer agreeably to his direc-

direction; and afterwards complains that no answer was returned him. But, with all this boasted fortitude, his real conduct is mean and cowardly. Dr. Priestley did write to him according to his direction, but no such person was to be met with. The number in Oxford-street was sent to, but no William Hammon lodged or lived there, or had ever been heard of by the people of the house. The whole was evidently the trick of some adventurer, who might probably have no other view than to excite such an attention to his work as would procure him a sum of money. As for his Answer to Dr. Priestley, we consider it as meriting very little regard. It only retails the arguments in support of Atheistical principles which have often been advanced, and which have frequently and most effectually been refuted.

Insignificant as this publication is, and contemptible as the author's conduct appears, Dr. Priestley has thought him entitled to a Reply, in "Additional Letters to a philosophical Unbeliever." For our part, we think, that Mr. Hammon had no just claim to so much distinction; and that he has been treated by his learned antagonist with a respect which he by no means deserved. Of this, however, Dr. Priestley was to judge for himself; and since he has deigned to assume the pen upon the present occasion, we have no reason to be sorry for his condescension. The Doctor hath fully confuted Mr. Hammon's reasonings, and hath vindicated the existence and providence of God with that perspicuity, force, and judgment which he had formerly displayed, and which might be expected from so ingenious and able a writer.

Lord Monboddo's "Ancient Metaphysics," of which the second volume is now published, is a work that will perhaps, on various accounts, be considered as demanding particular notice. The design of it is to revive the Aristotelian philosophy; and, if it took effect, would in reality bring us back to the age of the schoolmen. But, notwithstanding all the zeal and labour which the learned author has spent upon the subject, we are satisfied that his scheme will be unsuccessful. In this volume he treats of the distinction between mind and body, and of the properties of each; enumerates and describes the several kinds of mind; explains the different minds which, he says, exist in man as distinct substances; describes the origin of our ideas, and the various qualities of mind; and concludes with a direct and formal attack upon the principles of sir Isaac Newton's Astronomy. We allow that Lord Monboddo possesses no small degree of acquaintance with the Grecian language and literature, and that when he gives an explanation of the sentiments of the ancient philosophers, he is deserving of attention. But much farther than this our praise of him cannot be extended. His bigotry in favour of the ancients is absurd to the last degree, his contempt of the moderns ridiculous, and the manner in which he treats sir Isaac Newton, and other great names of later times, can only expose him to derision or indignation. As to his own reasonings, and his own hypotheses, they are wild, fanciful, and visionary. We respect Lord Monboddo for the second and third volumes of his "Treatise on the Rise and Progress of Language," and think, with relation to the third volume especially, that he hath done by it good service to the cause of learning. But it is out of our power to relish his "Ancient Meta-

Metaphyſics." The work is tedious and unpleaſant; the arrogance of it is diſagreeable to us, and we are diſguſted with the credulity of the author. His ſolution of dreams affords us no kind of ſatisfaction; and we will venture to pronounce, that the book will not be much read at preſent, and as little regarded by poſterity. We are not inſenſible, at the ſame time, that there is a tendency, in ſome of our clerical men, to bring us back to ſchool divinity and ſchool philoſophy. But the ſeaſon for doing it, to any great extent, is over. The inquiſitive and enlightened ſpirit of the age will repel ſuch attempts, ſo far, at leaſt, as to prevent their being accompanied with any remarkable ſucceſs.

Mr. Balfour's "Philoſophical Diſſertations" are entitled to be mentioned with reſpect, on account of the worthy intentions, the good ſenſe, and the perſpicuity with which they are written. The ſubjects of them are, Matter and Motion, Liberty and Neceſſity, the Foundation of Moral Obligation, the Immateriality and Immortality of the Soul, and the Evidence of the Truth of Revealed Religion, from its Connection with Providence. On theſe heads, the author maintains the common ſentiments; aſſerting the eſſential diſtinction between matter and ſpirit, the freedom of the will, the exiſtence of an immaterial principle in man, and the validity of the natural arguments in favour of a future ſtate. Many, and perhaps the generality of readers will agree with Mr. Balfour in the reaſonings which he hath produced in ſupport of theſe topics; whilſt ſeveral of our modern metaphyſicians, who lay claim to a ſuperior degree of acuteneſs and penetration, will treat what he hath advanced with little regard.

Something of the ſame kind may be ſaid concerning Mr. Rotheram's "Eſſay on Human Liberty." The author writes in a perſpicuous and agreeable manner, and his tract cannot fail of being acceptable to the greater part of Arminian philoſophers and divines. But we are afraid that Mr. Rotheram will ſcarcely be found equal to the logical and ſubtle abilities of certain late defenders of the doctrine of neceſſity. In making this aſſertion we do not mean to inſinuate, and far leſs to determine, that truth lies on the ſide of his opponents. It is poſſible that there may be much reaſoning, and of ſuch reaſoning too as cannot eaſily be anſwered and evaded, where reaſon herſelf, after all, may refuſe to give her aſſent. There may be ſomething within us, which ſays, "No, it cannot be: I am ſilenced, but not convinced."

No ſmall portion of ſagacity muſt be granted to the writer of the "Metaphyſical Catechiſm." Whilſt his deſign ſeems only to be, to repreſent the doctrines of materialiſm and neceſſity in ſo ſimple and conciſe a manner, as to make them more eaſily comprehended, he has another end, which is, to expoſe the pernicious tendency of theſe doctrines. This purpoſe is artfully and ingeniouſly conducted. On the whole controverſy we ſhall not aſſume the liberty of pronouncing. Matters of this kind have always been debated, and will continue to be debated, with very little novelty, and very little improvement of human reaſon; which, after its beſt exertions, cannot be equal to the deciſive and final determination of queſtions that enter deeply into the divine nature and conduct.

We ſhall cloſe our metaphyſical account

Account with taking notice, that the biſhop of Carliſle hath publiſhed a new impreſſion of his tranſlation of archbiſhop King's "Eſſay on the Origin of Evil, with Notes." At a time when ſubjects of this nature are much ſtudied, philoſophical men may wiſh to renew their acquaintance with ſo celebrated a treatiſe. Several corrections and improvements are made by the learned tranſlator.

Under the head of Government and Law, there have been various publications in 1782. It was not to be expected that Dean Tucker's violent attack upon Mr. Locke ſhould paſs unnoticed; and, indeed, it would have been a diſcredit to that great man's numerous friends and admirers, if none of them had riſen up in his defence. In Dr. Towers he hath found a zealous and able advocate. The doctor, in his "Vindication of the Political Principles of Mr. Locke," hath ſtrenuouſly ſupported the character of his favourite writer, and clearly expoſed the dean's falſe poſitions and reaſonings. Perhaps more could have been ſaid in confutation of Dr. Tucker's treatiſe; but our author might not think it incumbent upon him to purſue his antagoniſt through all the abſurdities and extravagancies into which he had wandered.

The writer of the "Diſquiſitions on ſeveral Subjects" could not be ſatisfied with confining his reveries to metaphyſics and theology. In an Eſſay on Government and Civil Liberty, with ſome wit, but with little wiſdom, he endeavoured to ridicule all the opinions which the enlightened lovers of mankind entertain, concerning the rights of their fellow-creatures, and ſtood up a bold advocate for political corruption and tyranny. For this he hath received a juſt chaſtiſement, in the Anſwer to his Seventh Diſquiſition; wherein his abſurd ſuppoſitions, and falſe concluſions, are expoſed and refuted with ability and ſpirit.

The "Eſſay on the Origin and Progreſs of Government," is not an anſwer to any other work, but an original tract upon the ſubject. It is the production of one who thinks for himſelf, and who does not implicitly follow any preceding ſyſtem. The author's ſentiments are liberal and juſt, and highly favourable to the intereſts of mankind. In the mode of his compoſition there is ſomething peculiar. There is a ſarcaſtic originality in it, and a native ſtrength, rather than elegance of language, which ſhew that the writer is not confined within the common trammels of ſtyle and expreſſion.

Mr. Dawes is not an author of whom we can ſpeak with peculiar approbation. In his "Eſſay on Crimes and Puniſhments, with a View of, and Commentary upon Beccaria, Rouſſeau, Voltaire, Monteſquieu, Fielding, and Blackſtone," he diſtinguiſhes himſelf by his boldneſs; but his boldneſs is not accompanied with a due degree of wiſdom and ſober reflection. In his zeal to leſſen the ſeverity of the puniſhments which have been inflicted upon crimes, he wantonly looſens the bands of morality, and endeavours to deprive crimes themſelves of their malignant nature. Suicide he abſolutely defends; and a rape is repreſented by him as too trifling an offence to excite any juſt indignation. What he hath ſaid upon both theſe heads is wholly unjuſtifiable, and, in general, he abounds with paradoxical and inconſiſtent ſentiments. An object ſo important and intereſting as that of the due proportion to be obſerved between

crimes

crimes and punishments. requires to be settled by a wiser head than Mr. Dawes is at present possessed of, or than he seems ever likely to possess.

The "Letters on Political Liberty" are written with great strength of sentiment, and great power of expression. The author's distinction between civil and political liberty is just and well stated; but it is not, we think, explained with that perspicuity and precision which Dr. Priestley has displayed upon the same subject, in his Treatise on Government. In these letters it is very properly shewn, that the Revolution did not make that provision for political which it did for civil liberty. If the ingenious writer's historical deduction had been more profound and extensive, it would not have been a disadvantage to his work. He is a warm advocate for parliamentary reformation, and for giving to the body of the people the power of election; and he has a plan of his own, which appears to be rational, and which merits, at least, a candid discussion. How far such a plan might easily be carried into execution, and, if carried into execution, how far it would be productive of all the benefits expected from it, we presume not positively to determine.

Now we are upon this topic, we shall just take notice, that a number of tracts have been published, during the year, on the question of parliamentary representation, a particular examination of which would carry us too far out of our way. We shall content ourselves, therefore, with reciting the titles of some of the more considerable among them. These are, Cartwright's "Give us our Rights;" Jebb's "Letter to Sir Robert Bernard;" Robinson's "Political Catechism;" Sinclair's "Lucubrations during a short Recess;" the "Letter to the Author of Lucubrations," "Anglia rediviva;" Horne's "Letter to Lord Ashburton;" and "A Dialogue on the Actual State of Parliament." In distinguishing the last of them from the rest, we are influenced, not by an approbation of its sentiments, but by the uncommon ingenuity with which it is written. The dialogue is carried on between a foreigner and a member of parliament, and is in defence of the present system of representation. The arguments in support of it are acute and striking; but, upon the whole, we esteem them to be more shewy than solid. We are still convinced that parliamentary election stands in need of a reform. The state of things, in that respect, is too corrupt, and too big with evils, to admit of vindication; and we hope that the voice of the public will, in time, be raised high and strong enough to demand and to produce a change for the better. We shall just add, that Mr. Horne Tooke's plan, in his Letter to Lord Ashburton, would be a very desirable one, if there were a probability that it would be attended with success. It is rather a matter of surprize to us, that a gentleman of so strong an understanding, and of so much knowledge of the world, should entertain the sanguine expectations of its practicability, which he appears to have done.

Mr. (now sir William) Jones has contrived, in his "Law of Mahometan Succession," to unite his Oriental literature with his legal studies. In the present publication, he hath given the laws in the original Arabic, with a translation annexed. The work must be esteemed rather curious than useful in this country; but the knowledge sir William Jones has acquired will be of peculiar advantage to him in the situation wherein he

he is now placed, as one of the judges of the ſupreme court of judicature at Calcutta. We cannot but regret the loſs of ſuch a man from England; and yet we do it the leſs, when we conſider what eminent ſervices he may have it in his power to render to the cauſe both of learning and of juſtice. His excellent character and principles will enſure, we doubt not, his being a great benefactor to the people of the Eaſt Indies as a magiſtrate; and it may be expected, from his admirable acquaintance with the Oriental languages, joined with his genius, application, and opportunities, that, if his life be ſpared, he will bring home with him large ſtores of curious and uſeful literary information.

The fourth edition of "A complete Collection of State Trials and Proceedings for High Treaſon, and other Crimes and Miſdemeanours," merits notice on account of the work itſelf, and the improvements it hath in ſome degree received. Theſe improvements, which have been chiefly made by Mr. Hargrave, have been moſtly confined to the eleventh and laſt volume, excepting the new preface prefixed to the whole, which is the compoſition of the ſame gentleman. Alphabetical and chronological tables, and a general index, are added by another hand. The eleventh volume conſiſts partly of trials omitted in the period to which the former editions extend, and partly of important trials that have happened ſince that time. It were to be wiſhed that Mr. Hargrave could have found leiſure to have extended his improvements to the other volumes. The work is undoubtedly of great conſequence in the conſtitutional hiſtory of this country.

Another publication, tending to promote the knowledge of the conſtitution, is Mr. Hatſell's "Precedents of Proceedings in the Houſe of Commons, under ſeparate Titles with Obſervations." In this volume will be found much curious and uſeful information, relative to parliamentary tranſactions. Mr. Hatſell is a zealous whig, but a whig of the ſtamp of king George the Second's Reign, a revolution whig; for, of late years, the word ſeems greatly to have changed its meaning. Our author, who is not of the new houſe of reformation, doth not agree with thoſe who aſſert the wiſdom and propriety of having parliaments annually elected.

Mr. Grenville's famous bill has given riſe to a new kind of law precedents, the publication of which cannot fail of being uſeful to the gentlemen who compoſe the committees for trying parliamentary elections. In works of this ſort, Mr. Douglas took the lead, and his four volumes are books of diſtinguiſhed merit and authority. He hath had followers in the ſame line of writing; and, among the reſt, Mr. Philips hath publiſhed, "Election Caſes, determined during the firſt Seſſion of the fifteenth Parliament of Great Britain." The caſes are only four, being thoſe of Ayrſhire, Sudbury, Milborne Port, and Lyme Regis.

Mr. Herbert Croft, the ingenious writer of Dr. Young's life in Johnſon's Poets, has printed and diſperſed among his friends, a Plan which he has formed of arranging and publiſhing the ſtatutes of England in a more ſcientific and philoſophical manner than hath hitherto been done. The deſign is a noble one, and, if properly executed, could not fail to be of great public utility. The time and labour which the completion of it muſt require would be immenſe; and, therefore, it cannot

not

not be undertaken without proportionable encouragement. Whether ſuch encouragement is likely to be given to Mr. Croft, as will engage him to perſiſt in his purpoſe, we are not able to ſay. As he has quitted the profeſſion of a barriſter, with a view of entering into the church, perhaps his ſcheme is laid aſide; unleſs he thinks that the leiſure of the clerical life may be more favourable to the execution of it than the buſtle of legal practice.

The Mathematical Hiſtory of the year is confined within a very narrow compaſs. The only material publications of this kind which we recollect, are Mr. Henry Clarke's "Supplement to Profeſſor Lorgna's Summation of Series, with Remarks on Mr. Landen's Obſervations on the ſame Subject;" and Mr. Landen's reply, in "An Appendix to Obſervations on converging Series." Of theſe gentlemen, and the controverſy carried on between them, we made ſome mention in our laſt volume. They ſtill maintain the diſpute, and poſſibly may continue to maintain it; for ſcientific and literary men are as pertinacious and unyielding in their conteſts as any ſet of people in the world.

Under the head of Natural Philoſophy in general, the tranſactions of the Royal Society cannot be paſſed over, which contain, as uſual, a variety of valuable papers. Out of the names that might be mentioned, by whom theſe papers have been communicated, there are two gentlemen who are entitled to particular diſtinction, Mr. Herſchel and Mr. Kirwan. Mr. Herſchel, of whom we ſpoke in our laſt volume, hath carried on his aſtronomical reſearches with amazing ſucceſs. He hath diſcovered a great number of double and triple ſtars, which are ſurpriſingly and beautifully diverſified in their appearances and their colours. The new ſtar, or comet, for the diſcovery of which he obtained the gold medal in 1781, is now, without controverſy, aſcertained by him to be a regular primary planet, beyond the orbit of Saturn. He hath given it the name of the Georgium Sidus, in honour of the king, who hath ſettled a handſome ſalary upon him, and taken him into his immediate ſervice. This inſtance of royal patronage and munificence to eminent ſcientific merit, is equally glorious to his majeſty and to Mr. Herſchel.——Mr. Kirwan diſtinguiſhed himſelf by a ſeries of obſervations and experiments on ſaline ſubſtances, which were deemed ſo ingenious and curious, that they obtained for him the higheſt reward of the ſociety, Sir Godfrey Copley's medal. Every one who reads the paper will be convinced that the reward was worthily aſſigned. Mr. Kirwan is one of the firſt men of the age, for his knowledge in chemiſtry and experimental philoſophy. He is an intimate friend of Dr. Prieſtley's, and is ardently and moſt ſucceſsfully engaged in the ſame laudable purſuits. Of this our readers in general will in ſome meaſure be able to judge from the extract we have inſerted in the philoſophical department of our work, concerning the nature of Phlogiſton.

Since the diſcoveries that have lately been made in natural philoſophy, Rowning, and other books, which were uſed in univerſities and academies for the inſtruction of youth, have loſt a conſiderable portion of their merit, being defective in ſeveral important points. It hath become, therefore, highly proper that other works of that kind ſhould be written, containing the modern im-

improvements. Two publications of this ſort have appeared in 1782. The firſt, which conſiſts only of one volume, octavo, is Dr. Elliot's "Elements of the Branches of Natural Philoſophy, connected with Medicine, &c. including the Doctrine of the Atmoſphere, Fire, Phlogiſton, Water," and other objects. It is evident, from the very title page, that the author's view hath principally been directed to matters of a chemical nature. Accordingly, the remaining parts of philoſophy, ſuch as optics, ſound, hydroſtatics, and electricity, are very briefly diſcuſſed. What Dr. Elliot more immediately intended, is executed with ability. The other publication, "Nicholſon's Introduction to Natural Philoſophy," on account of its greater extent, and more full diſcuſſion of every branch of philoſophical ſcience, is better calculated for being introduced into ſeminaries of learning, in the room of Rowning. We have the beſt authorities for ſaying, that in this reſpect it is a work of diſtinguiſhed merit. The writer not only gives a judicious abridgement of what hath been ſaid by others, but has original obſervations of his own; and there can be no doubt but that his book will meet with general acceptance.

Dr. Watſon, biſhop of Landaff, hath favoured the public with a third volume of "Chemical Eſſays." Of their value we need not ſpeak, after what was obſerved by us, in the laſt year, concerning the two former volumes. An agreeable ſpecimen of the excellence of theſe additional eſſays will be found in our collection of Philoſophical Papers. It gives us concern that the ſtate of the good biſhop's health, and his other avocations, have obliged him to lay aſide the thoughts of any farther works of this kind.

What ſhall we ſay to Dr. James Price's "Account of ſome Experiments on Mercury, Silver, and Gold, made at Guildford, in May 1782?" If credit is to be given to the author's relation of theſe experiments, and to the teſtimony of the reſpectable gentlemen who were preſent at them, the grand arcanum is revealed, the philoſopher's ſtone is diſcovered, the tranſmutation of the baſer metals into gold and ſilver is aſcertained. If the matter, however, were fully eſtabliſhed, there would be no cauſe, it ſeems, to triumph in the benefits reſulting from it. The proceſs of obtaining the powder of projection is too ſlow, troubleſome, and expenſive, and the product of gold too ſmall to anſwer any valuable purpoſe. But there are reaſons for heſitation and doubt, with regard to the fact itſelf. A few experiments, though apparently ſucceſsful, cannot eaſily be allowed deciſively to determine ſo great a point. There may ſomewhere be miſtakes or deceptions; and we could not avoid obſerving, that the perſons who attended the experiments, though eminent in rank and character, were not known to be adepts in philoſophical chemiſtry. The wonder at firſt excited by Dr. Price's publication has much ſubſided, and it is now generally underſtood that there is ſome error in the affair. We are told that the doctor himſelf has in part acknowledged it; that he hath made uſe of more cautious language in his ſecond edition; and that he deſigns, in an appendix, to lay the whole of his proceſſes before the public. This will be neceſſary to the complete elucidation of his pretenſions; and accordingly we ſhall wait till that time before we paſs our final judgment. Whilſt we were writing this paragraph, a newspaper hath announced Dr. James Price's

Price's death; an event which, we cannot but lament, as it will probably leave the matter for ever undetermined.

The prodigious application of late years to Natural Hiſtory and Botany, hath occaſioned a variety of treatiſes to be publiſhed in theſe branches of knowledge, which have great merit, and ſome of which are very elegant and expenſive. Mr. Smellie hath performed an acceptable ſervice to the philoſophical world, by tranſlating into Engliſh the celebrated Buffon's grand work. One part of the value of this publication is, that, at a reaſonable price, it preſents us with what would coſt a large ſum of money in the original. The difference between three pounds twelve ſhillings and ſixteen guineas is no ſmall matter in the pocket of many a good ſcholar. There are ſome few things omitted which are in Buffon; but then they are only ſuch things as may be omitted without any loſs to the reader; and Mr. Smellie, by his own notes, and an uſeful index, has added conſiderably to the worth of his tranſlation.

Mr. Barbut, in his "Genera Inſectorum of Linnæus, exemplified by various Specimens of Engliſh Inſects drawn from Nature," hath printed his deſcriptions and illuſtrations in the French language as well as in our own. The work, we believe, will chiefly recommend itſelf by the plates, which repreſent in lively and natural colours the objects deſcribed. The preface, we are informed, is curious; but it is farther ſaid, that, if Mr. Barbut had been more copious in other parts, it would have increaſed the inſtruction and entertainment ariſing from his valuable publication. It is the fault of ſome of the diſciples of the great Linnæus, that they are too apt to follow the dry, conciſe, and (may we not add) obſcure manner of their maſter.

Mr. Drury's "Illuſtrations of Natural Hiſtory," in three volumes, quarto, deſerve to be mentioned with particular applauſe. The third volume, which was publiſhed during the courſe of the year, completes the undertaking. The preface, deſcriptions, and remarks are given both in Engliſh and French, as was the caſe with regard to the preceding volumes. The plates are executed with the greateſt accuracy, the colours are beautiful, the inſects are particularly deſcribed, and upon the nature and properties of many of them ſuitable reflections are offered. The encouragement which is afforded to ſo elegant and expenſive a work, is a proof how much the taſte of this country is directed to proper objects, and that all our wealth is not devoted to folly and vice.

Curtis's "Short Hiſtory of the Brown Tail Moth," we only mention becauſe it relates to that caterpillar, the vaſt multitudes of which, in the trees and hedges, excited laſt ſummer ſo great and needleſs an alarm. On this account the author's pamphlet was ſeaſonable, and his deſcription of the inſect, in its various ſtates, is accurate and juſt.

Latham's "General Synopſis of Birds" is another valuable work in a different ſpecies of Natural Hiſtory. What is now publiſhed is the ſecond part of the firſt volume. The lovers of nature will be much gratified with the numerous and well executed plates, and eſpecially with thoſe copies of the book in which the plates are coloured. The author propoſes to complete this valuable undertaking in three volumes, quarto, and it will contain the birds lately diſcovered in the ſeveral voyages to the South Seas.

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In Botany, the "Syſtem of Vegetables, according to their Claſſes, Orders, Genera, and Species, with their Characters and Differences," is a work of conſequence. It is a tranſlation from the thirteenth edition (by Dr. Murray) of the Syſtema Vegetabilium of the late celebrated Linnæus, and from the Supplementum Plantarum of his ſon. The preſent volume, which is tranſlated by a botanical ſociety at Litchfield, is only the firſt number of the undertaking. We obſerve, with pleaſure, the different ſocieties which are eſtabliſhing in our own country, as well as in other parts of the world, for the advancement of uſeful knowledge. The formation of ſuch inſtitutions, in the ſeveral great towns and cities of the kingdom, cannot fail to be attended with very good effects; and, therefore, we hope that the example already begun will raiſe a laudable ſpirit of imitation. The tranſlators of the work before us have uſed every method to render their deſcriptions intelligible; and for this purpoſe they have ſometimes judiciouſly ſacrificed elegance of language to perſpicuity and preciſion.

The "Memoirs of Agriculture, and other Oeconomical Arts," by Mr. Doſſie, is the third volume of a publication by the ſame author, and with the ſame title. It conſiſts of ſuch eſſays as have been communicated to the ſociety for the encouragement of arts, manufactures, and commerce, and which have obtained the approbation of that reſpectable body. Its contents are comprized in ſixteen articles, ſome of which are curious and important. We are rather ſurpriſed at the volume's being publiſhed in the name of Mr. Doſſie, as we had an idea of this gentleman's having been dead ſeveral years ago. If ſuch be not the caſe, we rejoice in our miſtake.

Of Halyburton's "Georgics," not having ſeen the work, we can only ſpeak from the information of others. The writer promiſes great things indeed, when he concludes, that the arable of all England, brought to the height of cultivation propoſed by him, would liberally feed above forty million of inhabitants. If Dr. Halyburton be not miſled by a poetic imagination, and could realize his expectations, he would deſerve to be recorded with immortal honour, as one of the moſt illuſtrious benefactors to mankind which the world hath ever produced. But we are afraid that no ſuch glory, as that of raiſing this country to ſo aſtoniſhing a height of plenty and population, is in reſerve for any individual in the preſent age.

In reciting the Medical productions of the year, we give the firſt place to a veteran in practice, ſir Clifton Wintringham. His publication, entitled, "De Morbis quibuſdam Commentarii," is the reſult of long experience. The work, as the title indicates, is in Latin, and ſir Clifton writes in the aphoriſtical form. The inſtructions of ſo eminent and reſpectable a phyſician cannot fail to be highly uſeful, even if the author, as hath been ſuggeſted, ſhonld be rather too much attached to the ſyſtem that prevailed in his youth, which was that of Boerhaave. In the courſe of our acquaintance with mankind, we have had occaſion to remark, that no ſet of medical men have been more attentive, diligent, and ſucceſsful, more directed by obſervations and facts, and leſs governed by fancy and hypotheſis, than the diſciples of that illuſtrious profeſſor.

Arnold's "Obſervations on the Nature, Kinds, Cauſes, and Prevention of Inſanity, Lunacy, or Madneſs," preſent us with a ſingular production.

production. Dr. Arnold preſides over a receptacle for lunatics at Leiceſter, and hence he has been led to pay a very particular attention to the ſubject. That he is well acquainted with it, and that many of his remarks are equally curious and uſeful, cannot be denied. But that he hath given way greatly to his imagination, and made a number of diſtinctions with regard to the kinds of inſanity, which can ſcarcely ſtand the teſt of ſober enquiry, may, perhaps, juſtly be ſuſpected. Of this, however, we cannot abſolutely determine at preſent, as only the firſt volume of the work is now publiſhed. We ſhall wait, therefore, for the remainder; and it cannot be doubted but that new light may be expected from a writer whoſe ſituation affords him the advantage of an ample experience, and whoſe extenſive reading will enable him to avail himſelf of all which has been known before with reſpect to the nature, cauſes, and cure of inſanity.

In Dr. Milman's "Enquiry into the Source from whence the Symptoms of the Scurvy and of Putrid Fevers ariſe, and into the Seat which thoſe Affections occupy in the Animal Œconomy," we have the production of a phyſician of known ingenuity and learning, and of extenſive obſervation. If the author differs from ſeveral writers in the medical profeſſion, and eſpecially from that diſtinguiſhed man the late ſir John Pringle, he offers his reaſons for it, and aſſigns them with ability. Of the points in diſpute we acknowledge ourſelves to be incompetent judges.

Zimmerman's "Treatiſe on Experience in Phyſic," is the work of a phyſician much celebrated abroad, and whoſe name and writings are already known in this country. The tranſlator, Dr. Foart Simmons, ſuſtains a very honourable rank among the medical gentlemen and authors of the city of London. The obſervations of ſuch a man as Dr. Zimmerman muſt certainly be found worthy of notice, though all of them may not prove to be equally valuable. It is, indeed, ſaid that ſome of them are doubtful, and that the book might have been compreſſed into a ſhorter compaſs. Should theſe aſſertions be advanced with truth, they will probably not greatly affect the general merit of the publication.

Butter's "Treatiſe on the infantine remittent Fever," is by a gentleman of reputation in his profeſſion at Derby. Whoever can contribute to remove or relieve the diſorders to which children are incident is entitled to praiſe, as a benefactor to the human race.

Dr. William Saunders, by his "Obſervations on the ſuperior Efficacy of the Red Peruvian Bark, in the Cure of Agues and other Fevers," hath excited more attention than is commonly paid to medical pamphlets. The doctor imagines that this bark is taken from the trunk of the *old* tree, while the quill bark, which conſiſts of the ſmaller pieces, is the produce either of the young trees, or of the branches. He is, likewiſe, of opinion, that it was the red bark which was uſed by Sydenham and Morton, from the ſtrong encomiums they beſtow upon it, and from the deſcription of their contemporaries, who have written on the Materia Medica. It was owing to the capture of a Spaniſh ſhip, by the Huſſar frigate, that the virtues of this ſpecies of the bark have happily been diſcovered. In medicinal drugs, it is undoubtedly of the greateſt conſequence that the moſt efficacious of them ſhould be applied to the cure of diſeaſes. It is owing

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to the uſe of adulterated or weak bark, that the reputation of this admirable and powerful remedy hath ſometimes been called in queſtion.

The "Obſervations on the Prognoſtic of Acute Diſeaſes," tranſlated from the French of Dr. Le Roy, an eminent profeſſor and phyſician at Montpellier, are on a ſubject that is of importance to medical men, and from which the younger part of them may probably derive benefit. To their own ſagacity, however, much muſt be left; and it will be their wiſdom and duty to gain as much perſonal experience as can poſſibly be attained.

Mr. Potts's "Farther Remarks on the uſeleſs State of the Lower Limbs, in Conſequence of a Curvature of the Spine," come from a man of the firſt eminence in his profeſſion, and whoſe abilities and writings are too well known to ſtand in need of recommendation. The preſent publication is a ſupplement to a former treatiſe on the ſame ſubject, and by both of them the author has been of diſtinguiſhed ſervice to mankind. The public, we are informed, may hence be congratulated on the too uncommon an event, of a ſimple, eaſy, and efficacious remedy diſcovered, for a moſt afflicting, and generally deemed incurable diſeaſe.

In Dr. Jebb's "Select Caſes of the Diſorder commonly termed the Paralyſis of the Lower Extremities," and which relate to the ſubject laſt mentioned, we have his firſt production in his medical capacity. His excellent character, his reſpectable talents, his learned and valuable writings, as a divine, and his patriotic publications as a politician, are things of which few of our readers can be ignorant. As a phyſician, he appears with equal advantage. Whatever Dr. Jebb applies to, he diſtinguiſhes himſelf by his integrity, aſſiduity, and capacity; and, in theſe reſpects, he will always demand the applauſe of the wiſe and good, even with regard to points in which they may differ from him in opinion.

Dr. Elliot's "Account of the Nature and Medicinal Virtues of the principal Mineral Waters of Great Britain and Ireland, and thoſe moſt in Repute on the Continent," will be uſeful to thoſe who are intereſted in the ſubject. By the peruſal of it, perſons may be enabled, in ſome degree, to judge for themſelves what places they ſhould have recourſe to, for the relief that is ſuitable to their own particular caſes.

Several pamphlets have been printed relative to the influenza, or epidemic catarrh, with which the inhabitants of this country, and indeed, almoſt the whole of Europe, were ſo univerſally affected, in the ſpring of 1782. Theſe publications, together with the communications ſolicited by the Royal College of Phyſicians, London, will contribute to furniſh a general hiſtory of the diſeaſe; and ſuch a hiſtory, when completed, muſt be an intereſting object in the annals of medicine.

In Dr. Black's "Hiſtorical Sketch of Medicine and Surgery, from their Origin to the preſent Time; and of the principal Authors, Diſcoveries, Improvements, Imperfections, and Errors," we admire the propriety of the title. It was only a ſketch that could poſſibly be given in a thin octavo volume. The ſubject is too copious to be well treated of in ſo ſmall a compaſs; and accordingly, ſeveral important matters, that could not have juſtice done them without a conſiderable enlargement, are paſſed over in a few pages. Nor is this the only defect of the work. The want of authorities may with reaſon be complained of, though, perhaps,

perhaps, Dr. Black was wiſe in omitting them, as otherwiſe they might have detected his imperfect acquaintance with many of the topics which he has occaſionally mentioned. We ſuppoſe that the author is a young man, of promiſing abilities and of an active mind; but he is not yet equal to a thoroughly digeſted hiſtory of medicine and phyſicians. It would require little labour to point out various inſtances wherein his knowledge appears to be ſuperficial and inaccurate.

In the next Department of Literature which demands our attention, the firſt and moſt important object that preſents itſelf to view, is Dr. Gilbert Stuart's "Hiſtory of Scotland, from the Eſtabliſhment of the Reformation to the Death of Queen Mary." Of this gentleman's diſtinguiſhed abilities we have formerly had occaſion to ſpeak; and, indeed, his various conſtitutional and hiſtorical publications have frequently introduced him with peculiar advantage to the notice of the world. The praiſes we have heretofore given him, the performance before us calls upon us not to retract, but to increaſe. It is undoubtedly a work of eminent dignity and conſequence. The compoſition is conciſe, ſpirited, and energetic; the reflections diſcover a high degree of acuteneſs and penetration; the characters are drawn with a bold and maſterly hand; and the author has diſplayed abundant labour and ſkill in examining and digeſting the original materials from which his hiſtory is taken. With regard to the part which he hath ſo ſtrongly aſſumed in favour of queen Mary, perhaps we are not competent judges of the matter. Not being deeply converſant with the ſubject, and having formed our opinions from Hume, Robertſon, and the common run of writers, our prejudices, if ſuch they may be called, were not of that kind which induced us to think highly of the Scottiſh queen. Even after all that hath been alleged by Dr. Stuart in her juſtification, there are certain points in which we find it difficult entirely to concur with him in ſentiment. There is one thing, however, which we are obliged to give up, and that is, the authenticity of the letters ſaid to have been written by Mary to Bothwell; and we are ſenſible, that, from the acknowledgment of their having been forgeries, many conſequences may juſtly be deduced, to the great diſadvantage of her adverſaries and perſecutors. This hiſtory, in general, ſupplies a copious fund of inſtruction and entertainment; and we have been particularly ſtruck with the ſtrong and lively picture it affords of the depravity and profligacy, among all parties, of the times to which it relates. As to our not co-inciding with Dr. Stuart in every circumſtance of his exculpation of queen Mary, that is only a difference of private opinion; and it is not ſuch a difference as entitles us to detract, in the leaſt, from the merit of the work, which undoubtedly ranks the author among the firſt hiſtorians of the age.

We have no ſuch praiſes in ſtore for Dr. Anderſon, who hath publiſhed the fourth and fifth volumes of his Hiſtory of France. The period comprehended in theſe volumes, is from the commencement of the reign of Lewis the Thirteenth to the general peace of Munſter. Of the character of the work we have little to ſay, as the public opinion concerning the abilities of the writer has been for ſome years aſcertained. That Dr. Anderſon has been at conſiderable pains to collect information cannot be denied; but then he

he has not had acceſs to any new ſources of intelligence. The authors from whom he has derived his materials are well known, and of eaſy acquiſition. His compoſition is heavy, and his ſtyle in general is not only inelegant, but often diſgraced by low terms and provincial barbariſms. The doctor muſt be ſatisfied with ranking far beneath the illuſtrious names who have reflected ſo much honour on the preſent æra, by their beautiful hiſtorical productions.

Dr. Gaſt hath performed an acceptable ſervice to the public, by his "Hiſtory of Greece, from the Acceſſion of Alexander of Macedon, till its final Subjection to the Roman Power." The latter period of the Grecian hiſtory is neither ſo well known, nor has been ſo well written, as its earlier parts; and, therefore, a good account of it down to its concluſion is a deſirable object. Dr. Gaſt has beſtowed much time and pains upon his performance, and has drawn it up with knowledge, judgment, and perſpicuity. We have, however, ſome doubts, whether a very complete hiſtory of Greece, and eſpecialy ſuch an one as ſhall include an accurate, copious, and philoſophical view of the progreſs and effects of the Macedonian empire, and of the kingdoms and ſtates which took their riſe from it, and were afterwards ſwallowed up by the Romans, be not ſtill a deſideratum in the world of literature.

The "Memoirs of Peter Henry Bruce, Eſq. a Military Officer in the Service of Pruſſia, Ruſſia, and Great Britain," cannot be paſſed over without much commendation. In accuracy of compoſition it is defective: and the defect is rendered very pardonable by the author's peculiar ſituation. He was born in Germany, and though he was educated among his relations in Scotland, he was called ſo early abroad again, that it was not in his power to acquire a correct knowledge of the Engliſh tongue. His acquaintance with it, however, was ſo far increaſed by his reſidence in this country during the latter part of his life, that his ſtyle, notwithſtanding ſome grammatical improprieties, is eaſy and natural, and does not read unpleaſantly. In other reſpects, captain Bruce's Memoirs have many claims to our regard. They deſcribe various things which few men have had equal opportunities of knowing. His account of czar Peter the Great, of the empreſs Catherine, of the events they were concerned in, and the countries they paſſed through in the courſe of their expeditions, is equally curious and authentic. The work throughout is uncommonly entertaining, abounding with pleaſant anecdotes, on the truth of which, as we are aſſured by thoſe who knew captain Bruce, we may entirely depend. The different articles we have extracted from the book, will enable our readers to form a general idea of its contents and value.

General Lloyd's "Continuation of the Hiſtory of the War in Germany" has not fallen into our hands, and, therefore, we can ſay nothing concerning it upon our own knowledge. The former volume, we are told, has been well received, and is deemed a valuable publication. The ſecond part is probably entitled to the ſame eſtimation. If we are rightly informed, the author has entered much into diſquiſitions which promiſe to be more entertaining and uſeful to gentlemen of the military profeſſion than to the generality of readers.

We are ſorry that Mr. Orme, who is ſo completely acquainted with what relates to the Eaſt Indies, and who hath heretofore given ſuch

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ample proofs of it, could not find leiſure or inclination to extend his views, but has contented himſelf with publiſhing "Hiſtorical Fragments of the Mogul Empire; of the Morattoes, and of the Engliſh Concerns in Indoſtan, from the Year 1759." He is, however, entitled to our gratitude for the information which is here communicated. His account of Sevagi is particularly curious, and may ſerve as a freſh proof, that in all parts of the world extraordinary perſons have ariſen, many of whom have ſunk into oblivion, from the want of the pen of Hiſtory to record their exploits.

All that it is neceſſary to obſerve with regard to the "Hiſtory of the ſecond Ten Years of George the third, King of Great Britain" is, that ſuch compilations, when made with due ability and judgment, are conſiderably uſeful at preſent, by recalling important events to memory, and that they preſerve the materials which will aſſiſt future hiſtorians in compoſing thoſe more elaborate and finiſhed productions poſterity may expect. This utility belongs to the performance before us. It is drawn up with greater moderation than appeared in the preceding publication of this kind, on which account it may be ſuppoſed to come from a different writer.

Dr. Burney's "General Hiſtory of Muſic," volume the ſecond, is the continuation of a capital work, upon a very pleaſing ſubject. The Hiſtories of particular arts and ſciences, when written by men of the firſt ability in them, are eminently uſeful, and cannot fail of being highly acceptable to the world. This praiſe undoubtedly belongs to the book in queſtion. No one could be more completely qualified for his undertaking than Dr. Burney. He is entire maſter of the ſcientific part of the art he profeſſes; he hath taken immenſe pains in collecting his materials; and he has the talent of writing with perſpicuity and elegance. Beſides this, he has adorned his work with a variety of circumſtances, which will be found very entertaining and inſtructive to polite readers in general, as well as to the connoiſſeurs in muſic. The doctor has made an apology for having been obliged to extend his deſign to another volume; but for this we apprehend, he will rather receive the thanks than the cenſure of the public.

Mr. Cooke's "Medallic Hiſtory of Imperial Rome; from the firſt Triumvirate, under Pompey, Craſſus, and Cæſar, to the removal of the imperial Seat, by Conſtantine the Great," was printed in 1781, but happened to eſcape our memory, though we were by no means ſtrangers to its appearance. The ſubject is curious, and has a conſiderable degree of utility; but, perhaps, not all the utility which profeſſed connoiſſeurs are ready to imagine. Medals afford various objects of attention to the hiſtorian, to the antiquary, and even to the philoſopher. Works of this kind, therefore, and eſpecially when accompanied, as in the preſent caſe, with accurate and well-executed engravings, ought undoubtedly to be regarded as worthy of encouragement.

Biographical Knowledge hath received very valuable acceſſions in the courſe of the year. The "Biographia Dramatica", which muſt by no means be omitted, is not wholly a new work, being an enlargement of the "Companion to the Play-Houſe", written by Mr. Erſkine Baker. The original performance is greatly improved in paper, type,

and ſize, as well as in more important reſpects. It is, indeed, entitled to a large portion of praiſe, from the correction of errors, from the vaſt addition of dramatical productions, and from the number of new lives. It is now, perhaps, the completeſt book of the kind that is extant in any language. For the perfection to which it is carried, the world is indebted to Mr. Reed, who is ſo well known for his accurate and extenſive acquaintance with Engliſh literature in general, and with dramatic literature in particular.

The lovers and the writers of Biography are under no ſmall obligations to Mr. Nichols, for his "Biographical and Literary Anecdotes of William Bowyer, Printer, and of many of his learned Friends." This work, beſides giving a full account of Mr. Bowyer, contains the lives of nearly all the men of literature who have flouriſhed during the preſent century. It is, in fact, the hiſtory of learning, for a period of more than ſeventy years. So large a body of Biographical materials hath not been collected together for a long time. Mr. Nichols may be conſidered as the Anthony Wood of the age, but not in petulance and bigotry. It is only in the excellencies of Wood that the reſemblance holds; in diligence of collection, and in an ardent zeal to perpetuate the memory of our Engliſh writers.

Mr. Cumberland's "Anecdotes of eminent Painters in Spain, during the ſixteenth and ſeventeenth Centuries, with curſory Remarks upon the preſent State of Arts in that Kingdom," may be conſidered, upon the whole, as a pleaſing performance. It will afford to many readers an intelligence that is almoſt entirely new. Some, however, of the Spaniſh painters have been ſo little known in this country, and their works are ſo inacceſſible, that the account of them cannot be very intereſting. We wiſh that it were in our power to free Mr. Cumberland from the charge of affectation; but it is apparent in various inſtances, and particularly in expreſſing the names of perſons. The deſire of writing them as the Spaniards do in their own language, is carried to a ridiculous exceſs; and ſometimes, to common readers, involves in it a certain degree of obſcurity. The punctuation of the preſent work is abominable. That an univerſity man, a deſcendant of the great Cumberland and the greater Bentley, and a writer againſt two of our moſt illuſtrious prelates, ſhould not be capable of pointing his compoſitions in a better manner, is a diſgrace to his literary character.

With reſpect to ſingle lives, that of Biſhop Newton, written by himſelf, cannot fail of affording very conſiderable entertainment. This, however, will not ariſe ſo much from the circumſtances that relate to the good prelate alone, as from what he has recorded concerning other perſons. He occaſionally gives accounts of ſeveral of his learned friends; but his narration is rendered chiefly intereſting by the anecdotes he hath furniſhed concerning his grand patron, William Pulteney, afterwards earl of Bath, and concerning the direction which this eminent ſtateſman took in the change of the miniſtry, when Sir Robert Walpole was obliged to quit the helm of government. In various parts of Biſhop Newton's ſtory, there is ſomething of garrulity, and ſomething of prejudice, both civil and religious: but defects of this kind, if not wholly overlooked, will, at leaſt, be forgiven by the candid reader.

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In Dr. Gilbert Thompſon's "Memoirs of the Life, and a View of the Character of the late Dr. John Fothergill," we have another teſtimony to the remembrance of an excellent man, and an eminent phyſician. This account was drawn up at the deſire of the Medical Society of London; and, as might be expected from ſuch a circumſtance, is compoſed in ſomething of the elaborate form of the profeſſed eulogium. We do not, however, mean to intimate that the praiſes are carried to an exceſs, nor do we believe this to have been the caſe. Dr. Fothergill's memory is not likely to periſh from the want of Biographers; for a copious life of him has juſt been publiſhed by Dr. Lettſom.

The "Biographical Hiſtory of Sir William Blackſtone" is, in ſeveral reſpects, a curious publication. The author has taken his text from Mr. Clithero, but hath enriched it with a large number of notes, ſome in the ſtyle of applauſe, and others in the way of cenſure. He hath given a catalogue of Sir William Blackſtone's works, manuſcript as well as printed; and a nomenclature of Weſtminſter Hall, from 1746 to 1779; including a chronology of chancellors, keepers, and commiſſioners of the great-ſeal, maſters of the rolls, judges of both benches, barons of the exchequer, attorneys and ſolicitors general, king's ſerjeants at law, king's counſel, other ſerjeants at law, and recorders of the city of London, during that period. Two indexes are added, very copious, very formal, and certainly not without their utility, but, perhaps, too large for the occaſion. This work we imagine to have been written by ſome old barriſter, who has ſpent his life more in his ſtudy than in the world. His ſtyle is ſtrongly tinctured with the pedantry of legal antiquity. At the ſame time, he is a ſhrewd and ſarcaſtic obſerver of men and things, and, in the ſeverity of his remarks, has not ſpared ſome perſons of high ſtation and eminent ability in the magiſtracy of the law.

Mr. Nichols's "Biographical Anecdotes of William Hogarth, which we mentioned laſt year, are ſo enlarged in a ſecond edition, that the performance may be conſidered as in a great meaſure new. Every thing ſeems now to be collected together, that can ſatisfy the moſt eager appetite with regard to the life and works of this humorous, dramatic, and moral painter.

Under the Head of Antiquities, Dr. Burney, whom we have ſpoken of in the article of Hiſtory, muſt again be recorded, and with particular applauſe. His reſearches have been deep, and ſome of his diſcoveries are uncommonly curious. He hath, indeed, diſplayed a moſt laudable induſtry in bringing to light whatever related to his ſubject; and antiquaries, as well as polite ſcholars and the lovers of muſic, will deem themſelves not a little indebted to his labours.

From the Society of Antiquaries, whoſe reputation is juſtly upon the increaſe, hath appeared another volume of the Archæologia. The volume now printed is the ſixth, and it is not inferior to thoſe which preceded it. There are ſcarcely any of the articles but what convey ſome inſtruction, and ſeveral of them are curious and entertaining. The ſtudy of antiquities is now much proſecuted, and in many caſes with great advantage. When purſued with a philoſophical ſpirit, it tends to promote our acquaintance with cuſtoms and manners, and to enlarge our knowledge of human nature. Such a wiſe

a wiſe and liberal ſpirit of reſearch into paſt ages, will, we hope, more and more pervade our antiquaries; for it muſt be allowed that, in ſome inſtances, there is ſtill room for improvement.

Among the papers contained in the ſixth volume of the Archæologia, there is none which is ſo extenſive as Mr. King's Sequel to his Obſervations on Ancient Caſtles. This ſequel, and the remarks formerly publiſhed, he has now printed in a ſeparate volume, with the donation of which he has favoured a number of his friends. The whole forms the completeſt treatiſe extant of the different manner and purpoſes of building caſtles, at different periods. Nor is the work valuable alone as an antiquarian production, but as throwing much light on the character and manners of former times. The learned world is not a little obliged to Mr. King, both for the immenſe pains he has taken, and the large expence he muſt have incurred, in accompliſhing his deſign.

Of the firſt volume of Dr. Naſh's "Collections for the Hiſtory of Worceſterſhire" we have heretofore ſpoken. The ſecond volume is executed with equal diligence and ſucceſs, and deſerves equal approbation. We rejoice to ſee the gradual progreſs of county hiſtories. They comprehend ſuch a number of curious and uſeful ſubjects, that we hope they will in time be extended through all the parts of the kingdom. The manner in which they are written is a point of great conſequence. They ſhould, if poſſible, unite the talents of the antiquary, the naturaliſt, the hiſtorian, and the biographer; and it is only ſuch a junction of abilities that can raiſe them to their full perfection. The accounts which Dr. Naſh has given of George Lord Lyttelton, Mr. Shenſtone, and other ingenious and eminent men who flouriſhed in Worceſterſhire, conſtitute pleaſing ornaments to his work.

Mr. Hutton, in his "Hiſtory of Birmingham," hath endeavoured to do juſtice to a town which, in various reſpects, is worthy of notice. The manufactures of this place, and its aſtoniſhing increaſe in population, buildings, and wealth, are well known, and render it an important object in a view of the preſent ſtate of England. But we were not informed before that Birmingham had a claim to a remote antiquity. This, however, is aſſerted by Mr. Hutton, and he hath ſupported his aſſertion by a variety of arguments.

Mr. Pownal, in his "Treatiſe on the Study of Antiquities, as the Commentary to Hiſtorical Learning," aims at great things. His deſign is to throw light on the moſt early ages, to explain the origin and progreſs of nations, the principles and derivation of languages, and to trace hiſtory to its remoteſt ſources. The author's object is ſo magnificent, and, at the ſame time, ſo difficult, that, notwithſtanding his ingenuity and abilities, we muſt be permitted to expreſs our doubts whether he will be capable of accompliſhing his purpoſe. If there were leſs affectation, and more perſpicuity, in his ſtyle, it would be an advantage to the work. The book is not deſtitute of curious and uſeful information, and there are various things in it which will excite the ſpeculation both of the antiquary and the philoſopher.

Mr. Pegge's "Curialia, or an Hiſtorical Account of ſome Branches of the Royal Houſehold," will afford amuſement to the lovers of antiquity. The ſubjects he hath treated of, which are, "The obſo-

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lete Office of the Squires of the King's Body," and "The original Nature, Duty, &c. of the Gentlemen of the King's moſt honourable Privy Chamber," are not very important. The author was probably led to them by his own ſituation, which is that of groom of his majeſty's privy chamber; and he hath manifeſted great knowledge of the ancient ſtate of the Engliſh court. We apprehend that he is ſon to our old literary acquaintance, (we mean not ſo much perſonally as by his writings) the Reverend Samuel Pegge, M. A. of Whittington, Derbyſhire, who is ſo greatly diſtinguiſhed by his antiquarian purſuits; who appeared for many years in the Gentleman's Magazine, under the ſignature of Paul Gemſege; and who hath made a very reſpectable figure in the ſeveral volumes of the Archæologia.

Mr. Nichols makes a rapid progreſs with his "Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica," various numbers of which were publiſhed in the courſe of the year. Though we have read moſt of them, yet not happening to have them at hand in the moment of compoſition, we cannot exactly ſpecify the articles of 1782. If we recollect rightly, they are the "Hiſtory of Aberdeen;" "Memoirs of Sir John Hawkſwood;" "The Hiſtroy of the Royal Hoſpital and Collegiate Churchof St. Katherine near the Tower of London;" "Antiquities in Kent, hitherto undeſcribed, by John Thorpe, Eſq. of Bexley;" The Hiſtory of Hinckley in the county of Leiceſter;" and "Collections towards the Hiſtory and Antiquities of Bedfordſhire." The account of Hinckley is written by Mr. Nichols himſelf, and contains, among other things, a very conſiderable portion of biographical information. We believe that the two eminent antiquaries, Dr. Ducarel and Mr. Gough, have the principal direction of the Bibliotheca Topographica Britannica. It is certain that their names will ſtand diſtinguiſhed among the articles of 1783. From the frequency and expence of the numbers, and from the ſubjects of them not being ſuited to all kinds of readers, we have ſometimes been anxious leſt the editor ſhould be a ſufferer by the undertaking. If this be not the caſe, and we know not that it is, it will give us much pleaſure that there is a ſpirit in the public to encourage every laudable deſign.

Mr. Pennant, whom we have more than once had occaſion to mention under the Head of Travels, ſtill continues his publications of this kind. The work of 1782 is "A Journey from Cheſter to London." From ſome circumſtances, it is not quite ſo intereſting as ſeveral of the author's former tours. He hath contrived, however, to render it more entertaining than would be expected by thoſe who have travelled the ſame road. It is not inferior in compoſition to what has been heretofore publiſhed; but perhaps Mr. Pennant has carried the affair of tours and journeys to a ſufficient extent. There is a limit in things which ought not to be paſſed; and we are unwilling to believe that our author, in conſequence of the ſucceſs of his writings of this ſort, has been induced to multiply them from pecuniary views. It is to be hoped that the ſecond part of his journey to Wales will cloſe his labours as a traveller.

Ellis's "Authentic Narrative of the Voyage performed by Captain Cook and Captain Clerke," is another of the publications which have preceded the account that is expected

to come from Captain Cook's own papers, and to have all the advantage of ſplendid plates and ſpecific authority. The compoſition of Mr. Ellis's book is ſomewhat heavy; but there can be no doubt with reſpect to the authenticity of the narration, nor are the engravings badly executed. Many readers, therefore, whoſe patience cannot hold out till the capital work ſhall appear, or who may wiſh to have their curioſity gratified at a ſmaller expence, will be glad to obtain the information here communicated.

The "Travels in Europe, Aſia, and Africa," are written by a man of ability and ſpirit; and we may add that his ſtrictures are not qualified by an over-abundance of modeſty. The author propoſes his ſchemes with boldneſs, and indulges his reflections without reſtraint. He gives way, likewiſe, to many ſatirical remarks, in his accounts of things and perſons in the Eaſt Indies. His manner of writing is undoubtedly entertaining; but what degree of credit is to be given to him we are not able to ſay. It muſt be acknowledged by us, that we have read theſe Travels with ſome degree of heſitation and ſuſpicion; which diſpoſitions have been increaſed by the obſervations made upon the work by a Mr. Price, who, at the ſame time, is by no means deſtitute of prejudice and paſſion on the oppoſite ſide of the queſtion.

The "Travelling Anecdotes through various Parts of Europe," ſeem to be drawn up rather in a deſultory manner; but ſome facts are contained in them which are not void of entertainment.

Mr. Tooke's "Ruſſia" is now completed by the publication of the third and fourth volumes. This is an authentic work, and it gives a good account of the various nations and tribes which compoſe the vaſt extent of the Ruſſian empire. The author's mode of compoſition is ſomething dry and unentertaining; and he has introduced his performance nakedly into the world, without preface, or any of the cuſtomary preparations. It would not have been a diſadvantage, if he had more particularly explained the ſources of his intelligence.

Captain Bruce's Memoirs might have been mentioned under the preſent article, as well as under the head of Hiſtory; for they afford inſtructive deſcriptions of the manners and cuſtoms of the ſeveral nations and countries to which he accompanied the czar Peter in his expeditions, or to which the captain was ſent by the command of that emperor.

The moſt intereſting book of the kind we are ſpeaking of, that hath been publiſhed during the year, is "the American Farmer's Letters." Who this Thomas Hector St. John is, by whom, in the title page, the work is ſaid to have been written, hath been matter of ſedulous enquiry. That the author is a real Scotchman of that name, has been very little, if at all believed. It has been aſſerted that he is a Frenchman, of Scotch deſcent, which, perhaps, is the more probable opinion; though many have doubted whether any ſuch perſon exiſts. However the caſe may be, it does not affect the merit of the performance, which is of the firſt order, unleſs we ſhould apprehend it to be ſomewhat too diffuſe. On the whole, it exhibits a moſt intereſting view of the ſituations, manners, and cuſtoms of an American Farmer, and of the ſtate of things in that part of the world. The vivacity and earneſtneſs with which the book is drawn up are admirable; its deſcriptions are beautiful and ſtriking in the higheſt degree,

gree, and they powerfully touch the heart. Some European pen may have aſſiſted in giving poliſh to the compoſition; but the materials muſt have been derived from one who is well acquainted with the country. At the ſame time, we cannot pretend to aſcertain how far fiction and truth may have been blended together. The parts of the work which have made the greateſt impreſſion upon us, are, the letter in anſwer to the queſtion, what is an American? the hiſtory of Andrew the Hebridian; and the account of Nantucket.

We ſcarcely dare venture to launch into the Sea of Politics, as it is difficult to know how far we may be carried. It will be our endeavour not to advance widely into it, but to content ourſelves with touching at a few places. Laying aſide figurative language, it is our purpoſe only to mention ſome of the performances of this kind; and if we ſhould be found to omit others, which the authors, their friends, or the public ſhall deem equally worthy of notice, we hope to be forgiven, as our fault will be merely the reſult of accident or ignorance, and not of deſign.

The conteſt with America muſt of courſe occupy our principal attention. "The intereſt of Great Britain, with regard to her American Colonies, conſidered," is by a maſterly hand, Mr. James Anderſon, the author of Obſervations on the Means of exciting a Spirit of National Induſtry. Though we admire the ingenuity and ability of the writer, we think that ſome of his poſitions are rather problematical. It may be a matter of conſolation to us under the loſs of America, to perſuade ourſelves, with Mr. Anderſon, that the colonies have been a detriment to the parent country. He is certainly right in aſſerting, that induſtry and population, in a ſmall territory, are vaſtly preferable to the poſſeſſion of large tracts of land thinly peopled; and it is undoubtedly wiſe to excite the nation to a vigorous exertion of all the methods of internal improvement. Much yet remains to be done in this reſpect; and we cannot but wiſh for that rational policy in our rulers which may direct and encourage the Engliſh to cultivate every mode of promoting domeſtic ſtrength, riches, and proſperity.

Mr. Pownall's "Two Memorials" relate, likewiſe, to the conteſt with America. They were not intended for publication, but to be preſented to his majeſty. This, however, being declined by the adminiſtration of which lord North was at the head, the author thought proper to commit them to the preſs. Governor Pownal's views upon the American queſtion have always been wiſe and liberal.

"Fabricius's Letters," though written with ability, we do not mention with approbation, becauſe we totally diſagreed with the purpoſe of the writer. His object was to encourage the nation in ſtill carrying on an offenſive war in America, notwithſtanding the diſaſters we had ſuffered in that country. The voice of the people wiſely called for a different conduct. If we be not miſtaken, the author of theſe letters is a celebrated American refugee, whoſe conſident miſrepreſentations contributed to protract the war, and to heighten the misfortunes of Great Britain.

With the next writer to be mentioned by us we heartily concur. Mr. Day, in his "Reflections upon the preſent State of England, and the Independence of America," endeavoured to prepare the minds of his countrymen for acceding to that event,

event, and to ſhew the good effects that would ariſe from putting an end, as ſpeedily as poſſible, to a vain and fruitleſs conteſt, and from making the moſt liberal conceſſions to the Americans. Happily, though not ſo ſpeedily as could have been wiſhed, the nation in general hath, at length, adopted our author's ſentiments. Mr. Day has treated the ſubject with diſtinguiſhed ability; and the kingdom is indebted to him for his valuable labours in the cauſe of liberty and ſound policy.

The Abbé Raynal, in his "Hiſtory of the Revolution of America," committed ſeveral miſtakes in point both of reaſoning and fact. Theſe have occaſioned a letter to him, by Mr. Thomas Payne, the celebrated author of "Common Senſe," and other publications. This great American champion has controverted the Abbé's poſitions with much ſtrength of reaſon and language. Some of the facts related by Mr. Payne are ſingularly curious, and eſpecially the account he has given of the turn which affairs took in favour of America, at the time of the action at Trenton.

With reſpect to queſtions of more general policy, Mr. Chalmers's "Eſtimate of the comparative Strength of Britain during the preſent and four preceding Reigns, and of the Loſſes of her Trade from every War ſince the Revolution," muſt be mentioned with peculiar diſtinction. The author is not one of thoſe who views the ſtate of the public in a gloomy light. On the contrary, he holds out to us many topics of conſolation, and many ſources of encouragement; and, in the proſecution of his deſign, he hath ſtated a variety of important and intereſting facts. Indeed, much political and commercial knowledge is diſplayed in this treatiſe; and, without anſwering for every poſition or concluſion contained in it, we cannot avoid regarding it as a very uſeful performance. What Mr. Chalmers has advanced upon the ſubject of the population of the kingdom, in oppoſition to Dr. Price, hath ſtrengthened the arguments of Mr. Wales and Mr. Howlett, and inſpired us with a farther hope that the idea of a decreaſe in the number of our people was not ſo well founded as we were afraid there was reaſon to apprehend.

"The Second Part of the Hiſtory of Lord North's Adminiſtration," by the author of the Firſt, is chiefly valuable as it will call events to memory at preſent, and may help to furniſh authentic materials to future writers. We have made the ſame remark on a former occaſion. The compoſition of the work in queſtion is not very ſtriking; but it is written with perſpicuity, and the account it gives of the national affairs is candid and diſpaſſionate.

Two pamphlets by the Earl of Stair, entitled "Facts and their Conſequences," and the "State of the public Debts, and of the annual Intereſt and Benefits paid for them," we are principally induced to mention from a regard to the dignity of the author, and the uprightneſs of his intentions. The noble writer's zeal for the welfare of his country is highly laudable; his principles are juſt; and we entirely concur with him in his diſapprobation of the late meaſures. We could have wiſhed that his information and judgment were as eminent as his integrity; and particularly, that he had been equal to the accuracy and nicety of calculations in ſubjects ſo important as thoſe which he has diſcuſſed.

Mr. Sinclair's "Thoughts on the Naval Strength of Great Britain," in two parts, merit the attention of every

every lover of his country, not only on account of the purpoſe for which they were written, but from the important inſtruction contained in them. The whole conſtitutes a truly patriotic performance, wherein the author ſhews a very comprehenſive knowledge of the ſubject, and of the ſources from which the Britiſh navy is capable of being increaſed. Mr. Sinclair is a young member of parliament, who employs his time in a manner equally wiſe and honourable. It is his ambition to obtain as large an acquaintance as poſſible with parliamentary and national objects; and there are ſeveral inſtances in which this diſpoſition hath been laudably diſplayed by him to the public.

Sir William Jones's "Speech to the aſſembled inhabitants of the counties of Middleſex and Surrey the Cities of London and Weſtminſter," is an animated declamation in the cauſe of liberty, and in ſupport of an enlarged repreſentation of the people. In whatever concerns the rights and privileges of his fellow-ſubjects this gentleman hath always been ready to take a zealous and active part. During the courſe of the year, he wrote, for the uſe of the Conſtitutional Society, of which he is a member, a ſmall tract, under the title of "A Dialogue between a Scholar and a Peaſant," the purport of which was to ſhew, among other things, that every Engliſhman was authorized to have arms in his houſe, for his own defence, and to aid the civil power in any ſeaſon of neceſſity. There was nothing in the doctrine advanced by him but what was a juſt conſequence from the poſitions he had ſo ably, and, in our opinion, ſo unanſwerably maintained, in his celebrated pamphlet concerning the legal mode of ſuppreſſing riots. A ſet, however, of country 'ſquires in North Wales, in the plenitude of their wiſdom and loyalty, entertained a different ſentiment. The Dialogue having been reprinted by Mr. Shipley, the Dean of St. Aſaph, a bill of indictment was found againſt the Dean by the grand jury of the county of Denbighſhire, and a proſecution commenced againſt him, under the influence of the high ſheriff of the county, as the publiſher of a ſeditious libel. The trial, which is of the firſt conſequence with reſpect to the liberties of the ſubject, has not yet taken place; and, therefore, it will belong to another year to relate the progreſs and iſſue of the affair.

The tract, entitled, "Characters of Parties in the Britiſh Government," merited, in our apprehenſion, more regard than was paid to it either by the periodical critics or by the public. The writer is certainly a man of diſtinguiſhed abilities, and well acquainted with the hiſtory of this country. His delineation of the more ancient ſtate of our government is inſtructive, though, perhaps, not new to thoſe who are deeply converſant in the ſubject. In what he ſays concerning our more recent diviſions, there are many important and uſeful obſervations; but he is not in every reſpect ſtrictly accurate. The reaſon of our author's failing in ſome points we ſuppoſe muſt ariſe from his having reſided at a great diſtance from London, which circumſtance precluded him from marking thoſe little ſhades of difference with reſpect to our political diſtinctions which can only be learned in or near the metropolis.

The changes of adminiſtration in 1782, could not fail of giving occaſion to a variety of publications. Among theſe, the "Account of the Views and Principles of that Connection

nection of Whigs, commonly called the Rockingham Party," is a candid and well written pamphlet in favour of that party. The Rockinghamites, whose integrity, especially under their late noble leader, obtained much of the confidence of the nation, may be considered as the successors of the Duke of Newcastle, and those other noblemen and gentlemen by whom the administration of public affairs was chiefly directed, under the reigns of the two first princes of the Brunswic line. They may be called the party of the moderate whigs, being zealous maintainers of the principles of the Revolution, and steadily attached to the house of Hanover, but no violent advocates for any great reforms or meliorations of the constitution. Of late, indeed, they have been induced, in the ardour of opposition, to contend for restraints on the power of the crown; and they obtained two or three acts to that purpose, upon their coming into government. But they are no friends to important alterations; and, in particular, they are hostile to that grand desideratum, without which other things will be of little effect, a more equal representation of the people, and a shorter duration of parliaments.

The tract, entitled "A Defence of the Right Honourable the Earl of Shelburne, from the Reproaches of his numerous Enemies, in a Letter to Sir George Saville," is a severe ironical attack upon that nobleman. The true cause of offence undoubtedly was, his having accepted the post of first commissioner of the treasury, after the decease of the marquis of Rockingham. The malignity with which the earl of Shelburne is treated in this performance, is carried to the highest degree of wantonness. How far several of the charges may be just, or whether they be just at all, we are not able to say; but such violence of resentment has not much of the semblance of truth. The pamphlet is written with ability and spirit, though with an inequality of composition that renders some parts of it inferior to the rest, and which seems to indicate that more hands than one were concerned in its fabrication.

This piece produced a real defence of lord Shelburne, drawn up with considerable force, and which absolutely denied the facts that had been asserted in the preceding performance. We believe, however, that the tract we are now speaking of did not excite much attention; and, indeed, no extraordinary methods were used to bring it into public notice. It was not repeatedly advertised; it had not the advantage of being sold by any popular bookseller; and, more than all, panegyric and even just vindication of character are never so acceptable as satire.

Various other publications have appeared from the Foxites and the Shelburnites, some written with more and some with less ability; but we shall not take up the time of our readers in specifying them distinctly. Such things are only the produce of the day, applauded or execrated for a little while, as the sentiments, passions, and prejudices of men incline them, and then consigned to oblivion. A particular detail of them cannot deserve a place in the history of the literature of a nation.

Certain distinct objects of policy have continued to be debated during the course of the year. The question concerning the propriety of the exportation of wool, has been agitated in a few pamphlets besides those which were published in 1781. The con-

controverſy, ſince the peace, is become of little importance. That kind of wool which was affected by the war having greatly ariſen in price, the growers will no longer have a motive to ſolicit legiſlature for the permiſſion of ſending it unwrought abroad; a thing that in itſelf can never be eſteemed deſirable; though how far any reſtraints on trade in general may be right, is undoubtedly an object of ſerious enquiry.

The ſtate of things in the Eaſt Indies has been an intereſting ſubject of diſcuſſion. We ſhall mention, however, only two publications relative to the affairs of that part of the world; Mr. Haſtings's "Narrative of the late Tranſactions at Benares," and Mr. Parker's "Evidence of our Tranſactions in the Eaſt Indies." The firſt of theſe performances, as coming from Mr. Haſtings himſelf, cannot but be entitled to regard. His deſign is to vindicate his conduct in diſplacing Cheit Sing, the hereditary chief of Benares; and he ſolemnly aſſerts the integrity with which he acted in that matter. He had the full approbation of the council of Fort William in the meaſure which he purſued. From all the information that we have been able to collect, a general opinion prevails in favour of the uprightneſs of Mr. Haſtings's views; but whether he may not, in ſome inſtances, have exerciſed too large diſcretionary powers, is, perhaps, a queſtion of more difficult determination. Mr. Parker's "Evidence of our Tranſactions in the Eaſt Indies," is an elaborate Work, in which he minutely diſplays the enormous behaviour of our countrymen. He reprobates the principles which have actuated the proceedings of the ſervants of the company, and ſhews that the Engliſh in Hindoſtan have been guilty of the moſt wanton oppreſſions, and the moſt open and flagitious cruelties. It fills us with deep concern, that the truth of theſe things ſhould be ſupported by proofs of ſo convincing and powerful a nature. Even if it ſhould be ſuppoſed that the crimes of particular perſons have been ſometimes exaggerated (we do not mean in the preſent performance), ſtill there will be guilt enough left to load a number of individuals with infamy, and to bring diſhonour on the nation. The time, perhaps, may come, when we ſhall be called to a ſevere account for our avaricious and cruel policy.

The Reports of the ſelect Committee of Parliament for Eaſt Indian affairs, and the controverſy occaſioned by them, belong to the year 1783.

The diſpute concerning the rights and claims of Ireland has been productive of ſome farther publications. One of the beſt written pamphlets upon the ſubject, is "A Letter to the Firſt Belfaſt Company of Volunteers, in the Province of Ulſter," aſcribed to lord Beauchamp. This hath excited a ſevere anſwer, in a letter to his lordſhip, by an author who is hoſtile to the extenſion of the Iriſh liberties. Other tracts have appeared upon the occaſion, which have not fallen under our notice. Though the people of Ireland have obtained ſuch great advantages, we apprehend that the controverſy of England with this country is far from being yet ended.

We ſhall conclude our Hiſtory of the Political Productions of this Year, with mentioning the "Eſſay on Defenſive War, and a Conſtitutional Militia, with an Account of Queen Elizabeth's Arrangements." This work is ſaid, in the title page, to

to be written by an officer, and he is probably a young one, if we may judge from the vivacity, enthuſiaſm, and irregularity of his compoſition. His eccentricities may, however, eaſily be forgiven, in conſideration of the noble ſpirit of liberty by which he is actuated, and the many important reflections he has ſuggeſted, with regard to the methods of national defence.

Upon the Subject of Claſſical Literature, it may perhaps be thought ſtrange that we ſhould begin with Wilſon's "Elements of Hebrew Grammar;" but when it is conſidered, that the Old Teſtament contains many pieces of the fineſt poetry in the world, in different kinds of compoſition, as biſhop Lowth has ſo fully and admirably ſhewn, our conduct will not juſtly be thought liable to cenſure. Mr. Wilſon goes on a plan different from what is uſually adopted, though it is not without precedent, having been purſued by Maſclef abroad, and by Dr. Gregory Sharpe in our own country. Our author, who is profeſſor of Hebrew at the univerſity of St. Andrews, hath preſixed to his Grammar a "Diſſertation on the two Modes of Reading, with or without Points;" and to the latter mode he gives a clear and decided preference. Accordingly, his grammar is conſtructed without regard to the points. From the long poſſeſſion they have gained, and the continual uſe that is made of them in biblical learning and criticiſm, it is difficult to determine how far they ſhould be totally neglected in grammatical inſtruction. If this could be done without inconvenience, we ſhould eſteem it a deſirable object, as, in general, we concur in ſentiments with Mr. Wilſon.

Mr. Huntingford's "Introduction to the writing of Greek, after the Manner of Clarke's Introduction to Latin," has a claim to much regard, from the novelty of the attempt, as well as from the judgment with which it is executed. Henceforward in ſome of our ſchools, our youth will be taught to compoſe not only in Latin but in Greek; which, undoubtedly, will greatly facilitate their acquaintance with that language. We obſerve with pleaſure the continued and even increaſing attention of our countrymen to Grecian literature; ſo that there is no danger of England's loſing its reputation in this reſpect. Young Mr. Glaſs has obtained much applauſe by a tranſlation into Greek verſe, of Mr. Maſon's Caractacus. It has not been our happineſs to ſee this extraordinary performance, which, though printed, is only privately diſtributed to a few ſelect friends.

The preſent age is the age of tranſlations from the ancient claſſical writers, and many valuable ones have been publiſhed, which do honour to our country, and have contributed to a more general diffuſion of knowledge and good taſte. Euripides, who was ſo long a ſtranger to Engliſh readers, has found another tranſlator. The firſt volume of Mr. Potter's verſion of this admirable Grecian dramatiſt we mentioned laſt year, and the ſecond will come before us in our ſurvey of the literature of 1783. Mr. Woodhull, who has ſeveral years been engaged in the ſame deſign, hath given to the world a tranſlation of the whole of Euripides, in four volumes, octavo. We muſt acknowledge that it hath not yet been in our power to find time for examining the work with a due degree of attention; and, therefore, we can only

only add, that thoſe who have done ſo ſpeak of it in very reſpectful terms.

Another tranſlation from the ancient poets into Engliſh verſe, is the Monobiblos of Propertius, or that book of his Elegies, entitled Cynthia. The tranſlator is not equally happy in every part of his undertaking; but the notes with which it is accompanied ſhew him to be much converſant with claſſical literature.

Dr. Muſgrave, who was ſo well known by his ſkill in the Greek language, and who was very unſucceſsful in life, left behind him two diſſertations, which have been publiſhed for the benefit of his family. The titles of them are, "On the Grecian Mythology," and "An Examination of Sir Iſaac Newton's Objections to the Chronology of the Olympiads." What the doctor hath advanced with regard to the Grecian Mythology, though ingenious, curious, and learned, is liable to the doubts and difficulties which have always attended the different hypotheſes on that ſubject. In the ſecond diſſertation, he hath attacked Sir Iſaac Newton's Chronology with a conſiderable appearance of ſucceſs. Knowing, however, the nicety and obſcurity of the queſtion, we do not give our opinion without heſitation. Sir Iſaac Newton's Chronology ſeems of late years to be rather loſing ground. In ſome inſtances, we think that it hath juſtly been oppoſed; though in other points we are firmly perſuaded that it ſtill reſts on a ſure foundation.

Mr. Nares's "Eſſay on the Demon or Divination of Socrates," is an elegant, a learned, and, in our eſtimation, a judicious tract upon the ſubject. After having conſidered the matter with great nicety of attention, the author is of opinion, that Socrates, by the expreſſions uſually underſtood to refer to his demon, alluded only to ſome ſpecies of *divination* perfectly analogous to the omens of his age and country. We are entirely diſpoſed to concur in ſentiments with Mr. Nares; and we are ſure that he is right in thinking that Socrates might not wholly be free from ſuperſtition, and that, in general, he believed in the gods of his country, though he did not credit the abſurd and immoral fables of the Grecian mythology. Whilſt we allow him to have been, perhaps, the wiſeſt and beſt character of the pagan world, we cannot agree that he was a martyr for the unity and worſhip of the Supreme Being in the manner which ſome perſons have aſſerted. He acknowledged the exiſtence of ſubordinate deities, and thought that they were entitled to religious regards. We have often wondered that any men, who have converſed with the writings of Xenophon and Plato, ſhould ſpeak ſo vaguely and inaccurately concerning Socrates, and the cauſe of his death, as hath in ſeveral inſtances been done.

Dr. Steddman's "Critical Inquiry into the Conſtitution of the Roman Legion, with ſome Obſervations on the Military Art of the Romans, compared with that of the Moderns," we have not yet ſeen, and, therefore, cannot pay it the attention, which, from the learning and judgment of the author, we doubt not that it deſerves.

Mr. Combe's "Nummorum Veterum Populorum et Urbium, qui in Muſeo Gulielmi Hunter aſſervantur Deſcriptio Figuris illuſtrata," is in its kind, a very curious and valuable performance. The coins of the Greek cities have not hitherto been ſo generally known as was in itſelf deſirable. The information here conveyed cannot but be highly enter-

tertaining to the claſſic antiquary, and it is capable of affording a variety of reflections to the philoſophical enquirer. From the number and value of the coins belonging to the ſeveral ſtates and cities, we may learn not only ſome hiſtorical circumſtances concerning them, but be able to form an eſtimation of their wealth, importance, and commerce. Other remarks, not unintereſting, will occur to the man of attention and ſagacity. Mr. Combe's knowledge, accuracy, and diligence in the execution of the work are entitled to great commendation. We cannot but regret that the death of Dr. Hunter may have put a ſtop to farther publications of the ſame nature. Mr. Southgate was to have given the Saxon coins; and we ſhall be truly concerned if the literary world is to loſe the benefit of what was to be expected from ſo able a hand.

We cannot, perhaps, find a better place than the preſent to mention Mr. Sinclair's "Obſervations on the Scottiſh Dialect," and Mr. Walker's "Hints for improving in the Art of Reading." Mr. Sinclair has collected almoſt every Scotticiſm that can be met with, and the work muſt have coſt him much enquiry and labour. The great utility of it to his countrymen cannot be denied; and, therefore, it is juſtly entitled to their gratitude. We have obſerved that ſeveral of the words and phraſes, introduced by Mr. Sinclair as Scotticiſms, are provincial modes of expreſſion, uſed in the North of England as well as in Scotland. Mr. Walker's "Hints for Improvement in Reading" contain a number of curious obſervations, and lay down rules which muſt be highly uſeful. No man hath more cloſely attended to the ſubject, or is a greater maſter of it than this gentleman.

With reſpect to Polite Criticiſm, the moſt important publication of the year is Dr. Joſeph Warton's Second Volume of his "Eſſay on the Genius and Writings of Pope," which has been ſo long and ſo impatiently expected by the literary world. All the approbation and praiſe that were beſtowed upon the former volume belong to the preſent. Not only Mr. Pope's Works are accurately eſtimated, but many ingenious and uncommonly entertaining reflections are introduced upon other writers. Our author is ſometimes digreſſive; but whatever he has of that kind is particularly inſtructive and pleaſing. We cannot help regarding the Wartons as the moſt exquiſitely judicious and feeling of all our poetical critics. We are ſenſible of the great originality and force of Johnſon's obſervations, and are willing to acknowledge that, in theſe reſpects, he may have no equal; but Dr. Joſeph Warton exceeds him in the elegance and delicacy of claſſical taſte. He hath made very good uſe of his extenſive acquaintance with Italian literature. We have remarked, with pleaſure, the care which Dr. Warton hath taken, in more places than one, to do juſtice to the memory of Gray; and hence we are ſatisfied that he does not approve of Dr. Johnſon's detraction from the merit of that poet's admirable odes.

The "Obſervations on the Three Firſt Volumes of the Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry," come from a writer whoſe ingenuity and learning cannot be denied, but who has diſgraced himſelf by his petulance and ill-nature. Such a mode of compoſition, if generally followed, would intro-

introduce barbariſm among us; and, with regard to the preſent caſe, there is nothing in the nature of the ſubject that calls for ſo much acrimony. Little matters of criticiſm ought not to be contended for as *pro aris et focis*; and might ſurely be debated with candour and good temper. If there be ſome miſtakes in Mr. Thomas Warton's Hiſtory of Engliſh Poetry, they might have been liberally pointed out; and, after all, the errors he is charged with affect but in a ſlight degree the merit of his work. We envy not the obſerver his recondite knowledge, ſo long as it is accompanied with pedantry, pride, and virulence. His ſkill in Saxon literature, and his acquaintance with our old authors, will make very little atonement for a defect in the qualities of the heart.

It was not probable that Dr. Johnſon's "Remarks on the Poets," though, upon the whole, ſo excellent, ſhould paſs entirely without notice. The low point of view in which he has placed ſome of our favourite writers, could not obtain univerſal, or even general approbation. Hammond hath found an ingenious and able advocate in the Obſervations on the Doctor's Life of that elegiaſt. Gray hath had more than one vindicator; and it will be ſeen, in the next year, that other champions have ariſen to aſſert his honourable fame. A Yorkſhire Freeholder hath attacked Dr. Johnſon more generally, and expoſed the narrowneſs of his political ſentiments. It ſeems, indeed, to be an acknowledged point, that the great biographer hath ſometimes been unreaſonably ſevere; but it will, at the ſame time, be with pleaſure allowed, that his criticiſms, for the larger part of them, are in the higheſt degree judicious and maſterly.

The controverſy relative to Chatterton appears to have been brought to its final deciſion. It was eaſy to perceive, that the elaborate publications of Mr. Bryant and Dr. Milles, in favour of the exiſtence of Rowley, and of the authenticity of the poems aſcribed to him, would by no means eſcape a ſevere inveſtigation. They have been attacked both by wit and by argument. Wit may be exerciſed againſt as well as for the truth; but it is not in this reſpect only that the opponents of the Preſident of the Antiquary Society, and of the learned mythologiſt, have the advantage. Their reaſonings are, in our opinion, too cogent to admit of a ſatisfactory reply. One of the firſt pamphlets that appeared in anſwer to the Dean and Mr. Bryant, was entitled, "Curſory Obſervations on the Poems attributed to Thomas Rowley, a Prieſt of the fifteenth Century." Theſe obſervations, before they were ſeparately publiſhed, were printed in the Gentleman's Magazine, and are underſtood to have been written by Mr. Malone. This tract was followed by Mr. Thomas Warton's Enquiry into the Authenticity of the ſame Poems; and, at length, ſucceeded Mr. Tyrwhit's Vindication of the Appendix which he had added to his edition of Rowley. There were other publications, on both ſides of the queſtion, which we are obliged to paſs over without notice. The three we have mentioned contain the ſtrength of the argument in ſupport of the opinion that Chatterton was the ſole author of the poetry which has occaſioned ſo warm a conteſt. The reaſonings of Mr. Malone and Mr. Warton, which have great weight, are of a more general nature; whilſt Mr. Tyrwhit has cut up by the root Mr. Bryant's diſcuſſion of ancient words. As the debate ought now to be ended, and is no longer intereſting, we are ſorry to find that it is

likely to be carried into the next year.

The poetical world has been very productive in 1782. Our great modern bard, Mr. Hayley, has obliged the public in a very important performance, his "Eſſay on Epic Poetry, in Five Epiſtles, to the Rev. Mr. Maſon." This work, in every view, reflects upon him the higheſt honour. He has drawn the characters of the epic writers in the moſt beautiful manner, diſplaying their excellencies and peculiarities with equal genius and judgment. Some of the ſtrokes of his imagination are as new as they are truly admirable. His verſes are diſtinguiſhed by that graceful harmony of which he is ſo eminent a maſter; and there are only a few lines in which any defect can be pointed out. But Mr. Hayley ſhines not only as a poet, but as a critic and a man of learning. His notes, which conſtitute the larger part of the work, are full of valuable information. His account of the Epic authors who are leſs known, and particularly of Ercilla, a Spaniſh poet, is uncommonly curious. His biographical matter, in general, is inſtructive and entertaining. With reſpect to Ercilla, beſides giving a minute detail of the plan of his grand poem, entitled Araucana, Mr. Hayley has afforded a delightful verſion of ſome of its fineſt paſſages. He has, likewiſe, tranſlated three cantos of Dante's Inferno, in triplets, concerning the ſucceſsfulneſs of which, if he ſhould be induced to go on with the undertaking, we have ſome doubts. On the whole, this production of Mr. Hayley's demands a chearful teſtimony of gratitude to him, as a poet, a critic, and a ſcholar.

Miſs Seward has again appeared in that walk of poetry in which ſhe ſo much excels, the elegiac. The occaſion is the death of lady Miller, who had diſtinguiſhed herſelf by her travels, by her polite and amiable accompliſhments in general, and particularly by her poetical inſtitution at Bath Eaſton. We know not whether this performance of Miſs Seward's has been ſo popular as the elegies on captain Cook and major Andrè, but we are ſure that it is equally deſerving of applauſe. It is truly elegant, pathetic, and beautiful, and, with all men of taſte, will add to the reputation ſhe has already ſo juſtly acquired.

Miſs More's "Sacred Dramas" are a freſh proof of the excellence of her heart, as well as of her ingenuity. They are written for the inſtruction and amuſement of youth, but will be peruſed with pleaſure and advantage by perſons of riper age. Of the four dramas of which the volume chiefly conſiſts, the two laſt, "Belſhazzar," and "Daniel," have appeared to us the moſt ſtriking and animated. Miſs More has added a poem on Senſibility, which is a great ornament to the work, and cannot fail of being admired by every reader of taſte and feeling.

Mr. Maſon, in the ardour of his patriotic zeal, has publiſhed an "Ode to the Honourable William Pitt." We agree with the author in his political ſentiments, and in our admiration of that extraordinary young ſenator and ſtateſman. It is to be hoped that he will not, like ſo many patriots who have gone before him, diſappoint the ſanguine expectations of his country. The Ode is not, upon the whole, unworthy of Mr. Maſon's pen.

A new female poet hath been introduced into the world, in the writer of "Edwin and Eltruda; a Legendary Tale." The author is a young lady of about twenty years of age, Miſs Helen Williams. This pro-

production, though ſomewhat diffuſe, affords many demonſtrations of excellence, being highly pathetic, and abounding with ſtrokes of genuine poetry. In the language there is a happy union of ſimplicity and elegance. The genius of Miſs Williams, if properly cultivated and improved, will, in time, enable her to rank with the firſt poetic ladies of this country.

Mr. Jerningham, whoſe pathetic muſe hath diſplayed itſelf in ſo many inſtances, hath given a freſh proof of his pleaſing poetical talents, and of the elegant ſenſibility of his mind, in the publication of his "Honoria," and other pieces of ſimilar merit.

A very elegant copy of verſes has appeared on Sir Joſhua Reynolds's painted window at New College, Oxford. The verſes are ſaid to be written by one of the Wartons, whoſe character as poets does not ſtand in need of our commendations.

Mrs. Siddons's extraordinary merit, as a dramatic actreſs, could not paſs uncelebrated by the lovers of the tragic Muſe. Accordingly, Mr. Whalley has addreſſed verſes to this lady, in which he hath paid her a juſt and proper tribute of applauſe. The late depreſſion and preſent triumph of Melpomene are naturally and poetically introduced upon the occaſion.

Mr. Pinkerton's "Tales in Verſe" are partly comic, and partly ſerious. In the comic Fontaine is his model; but he by no means equals that delightful writer. In the ſerious tales Mr. Pinkerton is more ſucceſsful, and exhibits ſome inſtances of genuine poetry. The "Two Dithyrambic Odes" of the ſame gentleman, on Enthuſiaſm and to Laughter, have a turgidity in them which renders them very unſuitable to our taſte.

The "Archæological Epiſtle to the Revd. and Worſhipful Jeremiah Milles, D. D." is an admirable piece of ſatyric poetry. Its deſign is to ridicule the Dean for his bigotted attachment to the opinion of the authenticity of the poems attributed to Rowley, and for his ſuperb edition of thoſe poems. It muſt be confeſſed that the learned Preſident of the Society of Antiquaries has laid himſelf too much open to the ſhafts of wit and humour. The antique guiſe, aſſumed by Chatterton, is finely ſuſtained in the epiſtle. The author hath, likewiſe, given it a political turn, and, among other perſons, Dr. Johnſon has not eſcaped the edge of his ſatire. The concluſion, in which he quits the ancient for the modern ſtyle, is ſingularly pointed. Whoever may be the writer of this poem, he is undoubtedly one of our ableſt men in reſpect of genius and of wit.

"The Dean and Squire" is a pleaſant ſatire on Dr. Tucker and Soame Jenyns, Eſq. for their political ſentiments. Their doctrines are ridiculed with much humour in a dialogue that is repreſented to be carried on between them. This political eclogue, as it is called, is ſaid, in the title page, to be written by the author of the Heroic Epiſtle to Sir William Chambers; but it cannot be conſidered as equal to that juſtly celebrated ſatyrical poem.

"King Stephen's Watch" is, likewiſe, aſſerted to be the production of the ſame writer. It is a ſmall jeu d' eſprit, in ridicule of the political ſentiments advanced by Mr. Smelt, at a meeting of the freeholders of Yorkſhire.

The "Prophecy of Queen Emma" ſeems, at the firſt view, to relate only to the controverſy concerning Chatterton, but, in fact, it is an allegorical poem, alluding to the

diſputes between Great Britain and America. It is by no means deſtitute of poetical merit.

"Modern Manners, in a Series of Familiar Epiſtles," may lay a juſt claim to our notice, as being far ſuperior to any thing of the kind that hath appeared ſince the Bath Guide. In this performance we meet with much pleaſantneſs, humour, and good-natured ſatire; and accordingly, it hath been well received in the world.

Several poetical publications muſt be paſſed over by us, not becauſe we kwow of any reaſon for conſidering them as unworthy of regard, but becauſe we have not had an opportunity of reading them; and we do not chooſe to give our opinion ſolely on the teſtimony of others, however reſpectable that teſtimony may be in its own nature. The works we refer to are, Ridley's "Melampus," "Enoch," "Velina," "Ierne, Rediviva," Walter's "Tranſlated Specimens of Welſh Poetry in Engliſh Verſe," and "Cowper's Poems."

Mr. Scott of Amwell, well known by his former ſeparate productions, hath collected them together in a handſome and elegant volume with the addition of eclogues, odes, epiſtles, ſonnets, and miſcellaneous pieces. We are obliged to this elegant poet for ſo much new and agreeable entertainment, and are particularly pleaſed with the goodneſs of heart which always accompanies the exertions of his genius.

Mr. Nichols has completed his "Select Collection of Poems," in four additional volumes. There muſt certainly be a number of pieces in this publication which the poetical reader will be glad to ſee brought to light. The editor, as is uſual with him, hath enriched the work with many biographical anecdotes. Perſons of a very delicate taſte in poetry, will probably think that it would not have been of much detriment to the world, if ſome of the poems in the preſent collection had been left in the oblivion into which they had fallen.

The dramatic productions of the year, of the tragic kind, which were brought upon the ſtage, were "Philodamus;" the "Fatal Curioſity," altered by Mr. Colman, from Mr. Lillo; and the "Fatal Interview," a tragedy in proſe. Philodamus, which was publiſhed ſome years ſince, and written by Mr. Bentley, was condemned the firſt night. The Fatal Interview had not a much better reception, being ſoon brought to its diſſolution. The comedies that entertained the town, were, "Which is the Man?" by Mrs. Cowley; "Variety," by a lady; the "Walloons," by Mr. Cumberland; the "Eaſt Indian," by a female pen; and the "Wiſhes," by Mr. Bentley. The laſt comedy, if we recollect aright, was not wholly new. The comic operas were "Vertumnus and Pomona;" the "Fair American," by Mr. Pillon; and the "Caſtle of Andaluſia," by Mr. O'Keefe. To theſe muſt be added, "Roſina," a paſtoral opera, by Mrs. Brooke; and "None ſo blind as thoſe who won't ſee," a muſical piece, by Mr. Dibdin. The farces were, "The Poſitive Man," by Mr. O'Keefe; "Retaliation," by Mr. Mac-Nally; the "Candidate," and the "Two Civil by Half," by Mr. Dent; and the "Beſt Bidder," by Mr. Andrews. As to the pantomimes of the year, we ſhall hope to be excuſed, though we do not make them the objects of particular recital.

It is impoſſible, on this occaſion, to avoid mentioning the new and extraordinary phenomenon in dramatic action, Mrs. Siddons. We ſhall not, however, attempt to draw

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a particular character of her, as her excellencies have been ſo much the ſubject of diſcuſſion, and are ſo deeply impreſſed on the mind of every man of ſenſe and judgment. With no models, or, what is worſe, with perhaps only bad models before her, ſhe is peculiarly the child of Nature, which hath endued her with feeling, expreſſion, and grace in the higheſt degree. She has given quite another turn to the taſte of the public, and her appearance muſt be regarded as an illuſtrious epocha in the hiſtory of the ſtage.

We cloſe our Hiſtory of the Domeſtic Literature of the Year with certain Miſcellaneous Publications, which could not well be introduced under the articles already mentioned. With reſpect to Ayſcough's "Catalogue of the Manuſcripts preſerved in the Britiſh Muſeum, hitherto undeſcribed, conſiſting of five thouſand volumes," the title page beſpeaks its utility. The work is executed with great attention and labour, and the index is very complete. Biographers, in particular, are highly obliged to the compiler for the eaſy acceſs he has afforded them to many things which they muſt greatly ſtand in need of, in the courſe of their enquiries.

Baron Dillon's "Political Survey of the Sacred Roman Empire," is a performance which cannot well fail of being generally acceptable. Almoſt every man wants to have a book of this kind at hand, which he may be able to conſult on any occaſion; and the preſent author was well qualified for his undertaking, by his extenſive acquaintance with the courts, cuſtoms, and hiſtory of Germany.

Algarotti's "Letters, Military and Political," are written by a man whoſe abilities and character have long been known among the learned in Europe. Though the work, now tranſlated from the Italian original, is ingenious and entertaining, and treats on ſome intereſting topics, it is more confined to queſtions relative to the art of war than we ſhould naturally have expected from this author. His connection with the king of Pruſſia has probably turned his mind to theſe ſubjects; and, perhaps, he has been aided, in ſeveral of his determinations, by the knowledge of his royal patron and friend.

The ſecond volume of the "Letters aſcribed to Thomas Lord Lyttelton," is entitled nearly to the ſame character which we gave of the firſt. They are, in general, lively, and ſometimes inſtructive; though, upon the whole, the preſent is ſomewhat inferior to the former volume. There is great reaſon to doubt of the authenticity of theſe Letters; and, if they be not authentic, we entirely diſapprove of ſuch a kind of literary impoſition. It is eſpecially to be condemned, when it comes in ſo naked and ſimple a form as to afford no proper key for the diſcovery of the truth.

Ignatius Sancho, the Negro who formerly lived in the family of the preſent duke of Montagu, and afterwards kept a grocer's ſhop in Weſtminſter, has heretofore been made known to the public, by an excellent letter or two, relative to his unhappy countrymen, written to Mr. Sterne. Sancho was a moſt amiable and worthy man, with a degree of underſtanding far ſuperior to the common run of Africans. His epiſtolary correſpondence, which was extenſive, has been collected together, and publiſhed for the benefit of his family, with a ſhort account of his life. The ſubſcription to the work does honour to humanity. The letters are a kind of imitation of Sterne's manner, interſperſed

with long ſtrokes, or daſhes. They diſplay an excellent heart, and will be entertaining to a great number of readers.

Mrs. Griffith's "Eſſays addreſſed to young married Women" are worthy of the ingenious and accompliſhed lady from whom they proceed. The advices contained in them are dictated by piety, virtue, good ſenſe, elegance, and delicacy. If theſe advices were carefully regarded by the generality of the fair ſex, upon their entrance into the matrimonial relation, and during the continuance of it, unſpeakable advantages would reſult both to themſelves and to their huſbands.

Mr. Knox has publiſhed a freſh edition of his "Eſſays moral and literary," in which he hath inſerted a large number of new papers, equally well written with the former ones, and upon ſubjects equally intereſting. On the merit of this elegant and ſenſible eſſayiſt it is needleſs to enlarge, as the general approbation hath already ſealed his character.

Mr. Knox, in his "Treatiſe on Liberal Education," which was noticed laſt year, having given the preference to public ſchools, Mr. Stockdale has aſſumed the other ſide of the queſtion, and contended for the advantages of private tuition. This is a point that has often been debated, and which is not eaſy to be finally determined. Large ſchools ſeem beſt calculated to fit young men for the world.

There have been a number of publications this year, which we mention not as of any importance in a literary view, but as affording a ſlight trait of the faſhion of the times. We refer to the collections publiſhed under the name of the Beauties of Johnſon, Watts, Sterne, Hume, Fielding, and others. This ſpecies of compilations we by no means think entitled to applauſe. They are injurious to the proprietors of the original works, and do not add to the reputation of the authors from whom they are taken. Paſſages, thus detached from their proper connection, loſe much of their native elegance and ſpirit.

The pamphlet, entitled "Deformities of Dr. Samuel Johnſon," being printed at Edinburgh, moſt probably comes from an angry North Briton. But whether the author be a Scotchman or an Engliſhman, his ſeverity is united with ability and acuteneſs. His attack on the doctor's Dictionary is very formidable; and he hath certainly pointed out a variety of errors and defects in it, which it would do well to be corrected in a future impreſſion. It ought, however, to be remembered, that ſo large and multifarious a work will neceſſarily lie open to ſtrictures, though its merit, on the whole, may be of the higheſt nature.

The "Obſervations on the rapid Decline of the Clerical Credit and Character," appeared with a pomp of dignity and an apparent zeal for the honour of the church, that at firſt view ſeemed to promiſe ſomething conſiderable. It ended, however, chiefly in reſentment for a ſingle promotion; a promotion too, which as we afterwards learned, was offenſive to the author's private connections.

Dr. Andrews's "Inquiry into the Manners, Taſte, and Amuſements, of the two laſt Centuries in England," is intended to contraſt preſent with former times, and to expoſe the degeneracy of the age. Every rational attempt to correct the prevailing vices, and to bring back the nation to reflection and virtue, has a claim to approbation and encouragement.

The "Advice to the Officers of the Britiſh Army" is, perhaps, the

fineſt piece of irony which has appeared ſince "Swift's Directions to Servants." It is, at the ſame time, written with greater delicacy than that celebrated performance could admit. The tendency of the preſent work is as good as the wit is ingenious and entertaining. The inſtructions ironically conveyed are admirable, and cannot fail to have a conſiderable influence in inſpiring military men with right principles of conduct. It gives us pleaſure that this agreeable ſatire has been ſo well received as already to have gone through ſeveral editions.

With regard to the Romances of the year, we ſhall mention the only three which have excited our attention. If there be others which deſerved it, they have not fallen within the compaſs of our reading.

"George Bateman" is the production of a young lady who cannot have had much experience in life, and who, therefore, writes a good deal from the imitation of former celebrated novelliſts. There are, however, delineations of character which indicate genius and a turn for obſervation. Upon the whole, the work is much ſuperior to the common run of romances which iſſue in ſuch ſwarms from the circulating libraries.

The author of the "Philoſophical Quixote, or Memoirs of Mr. David Wilkins, in a Series of Letters," is happy enough in the choice of his ſubject, if he could have conducted it in ſuch a manner as to make it generally intereſting and entertaining. This, indeed, is rendered not a little difficult from the very nature of the deſign, which neceſſarily holds out objects ſomewhat remote from common apprehenſion. The writer is ſufficiently acquainted with the late diſcoveries and experiments in philoſophy, to pitch upon the proper topics of ridicule in the principal character deſcribed by him, Mr. David Wilkins, a country apothecary. Nor is the humour in ſome caſes badly carried on, though there are many defects in the work, and much room for improvement in the future volumes. We were ſorry to ſee the author make his performance the vehicle of ſevere perſonal ſatire on a phyſician of note in London. Such an indulgence of private rancour does not reflect credit on any compoſition.

The glory of the Novels of the year is "Cecilia, or Memoirs of an Heireſs," well known to have been written by Miſs Burney. This romance hath been ſo univerſally read and admired, and its excellencies are ſo fully eſtabliſhed, that it is needleſs to attempt giving a diſtinct account of its merit. We have no occaſion to ſay, that it is a capital production of its kind; that the characters are ſtrongly marked, and finely contraſted; that ſome of them are equally ſingular and juſt; that the hiſtory of the family ruined by diſſipation, extravagance, and gaming, is admirably conducted, and eminently inſtructive; that the work abounds with ſtrokes of nature, humour, and pathos; that ſtrength and elegance are united in its ſtyle; and that the ſtory throughout is intereſting in the higheſt degree. If there be a few faults in the performance, we have not leiſure or inclination to point them out. They are almoſt entirely loſt in the blaze of glory with which they are ſurrounded; and we can only expreſs our gratitude to Miſs Burney, for providing the public with ſo copious a fund of real inſtruction and rational entertainment.

FOREIGN LITERATURE,

Of the Year 1782.

THE limits of our work will not permit us to enter into a very elaborate view of the foreign literature of the year; it is only ſome of the more remarkable and diſtinguiſhed performances of ingenious and learned foreigners, that can be noticed by us, and theſe only in a compendious manner; but even this may not be unproductive either of pleaſure or inſtruction, to thoſe who have not ready acceſs to more copious ſources of information.

The great weight and importance which Ruſſia has lately obtained in the ſcale of empire, has rendered its hiſtory more intereſting, and occaſioned it to be more cultivated, and to become a more general object of attention. M. L'Eveſque has publiſhed in French, in five volumes, 8vo. the *Hiſtory of Ruſſia*, compiled from original chronicles, authentic documents, and the beſt hiſtories of that nation. This gentleman has ſpent many years of his life in Ruſſia, in order to collect materials on the ſpot, with a view of communicating to the public a genuine deſcription and hiſtory of that immenſe country. He obſerves, that it is only within the laſt fifteen years, that the Ruſſians have poſſeſſed any thing like a regular hiſtory of their own country; and that their only ſources of information were locked up in the cabinets of archives, or in the manuſcripts conſigned to certain libraries. The chronicles of this empire reach no higher than the ninth century; but they have recorded a tradition that Kiovia and Novogorod were founded by Kii, in 430. This Kii is by ſome conſidered as an ancient prince, while others mention him as a ſimple boatman, who was accuſtomed to tranſport goods and paſſengers acroſs the Neiper. The ſecond volume of this work begins with the year 1218, and carries down the hiſtory to 1583. At the commencement of this period, Ruſſia was divided into a multitude of rival ſovereignties, that opened an eaſy conqueſt to the Tartars, by whom they were enſlaved for more than 200 years; when they, in their turn, were as much enſlaved by the czar Ivan IV. The third volume exhibits the conqueſt of Siberia, by a ſimple chief among the Coſſacks; the reign of Boris Godounof, the uſurper, whoſe crimes ſullied the brilliancy of his talents; the different impoſtors known by the name of the falſe Demetriuſes; the troubles of Ruſſia, occaſioned by its inteſtine diviſions, and the inroads of rapacious neighbours; the ſucceſsful efforts of Michael Romanof, who aſcended the throne; and the attempts of his ſucceſſors in matters of civilization. The fourth volume

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gives us the reign of the immortal Peter; and the laſt contains a critical hiſtory of the latter reigns, with an account of the navigation of the Ruſſians in the Frozen and Oriental Oceans, and of the ſtate of their commerce and literature.

Mr. John Muller has publiſhed the firſt volume, in octavo, in the German language, of the *Hiſtory of the Swiſs*, which is a work of great merit. The preface contains a ſhort, but comprehenſive view of the progreſs of civilization, in the northern and weſtern parts of Europe. The work itſelf exhibits the pleaſing picture of a ſtate riſing, under a variety of difficulties, from the nobleſt exertions of human nature, to dignity and freedom; and the author obſerves, that, "it will not be eaſy to find a people, which, like this, has, by one uniform conduct, maintained an abſolute independence from the earlieſt period of their hiſtory to the preſent time." It is a curious and intereſting production, and the author appears to have imitated the beſt hiſtorical models among the ancients.

The *Hiſtorical Memoirs of the French Refugees* in the dominions of the king of Pruſſia, the firſt volume of which was publiſhed at Berlin, in 1782, in 8vo, in the French language, by Meſſ. Erman and Reclam, exhibit a juſt and candid view of the ſufferings of the French Proteſtants under the reigns of Lewis XIII. and his ſucceſſor; and alſo relate the generous inſtances of protection, which thoſe unfortunate exiles met with from the houſe of Brandenburg. In conſequence of the infamous revocation of the edict of Nantes, by Lewis XIV. France loſt near a million of ſubjects; and it appears from this work, which abounds with much curious information, that the Proteſtant miniſters, beſides being baniſhed the kingdom, were obliged to leave behind them not only their fortunes, friends, and relations, but even ſuch of their children as were ſeven years old, and upwards. As to the Proteſtants in general, all poſſible obſtacles were oppoſed to their quitting the kingdom. The frontiers were lined with troops; and the peaſants were armed and excited to hunt them in their paſſage like beaſts of prey. A barbarous carnage was the conſequence of thoſe ſanguinary orders. Multitudes were robbed and aſſaſſinated; the priſons and the galleys were filled with theſe innocent victims; and many of them were ſent to the American colonies, where they were employed in the labours, and reduced to the ſervile condition of the Negroes. At this period of diabolical perſecution, Frederic William of Brandenburg, commonly called the Great Elector, publiſhed a declaration, which opened his dominions and his treaſure to theſe unfortunate exiles. It contained orders to his envoys and reſidents, in the different parts of Germany, Flanders, and Holland, to facilitate their paſſage, to ſupply them with all the neceſſaries of life, with money, carriages, and every kind of aſſiſtance; it exempted any remains of their ſhattered fortunes, which they could carry along with them, from all taxes, duties, and impoſitions; and it gave them the choice of the places where they ſhould reſide, for the purpoſes of carrying on commerce, or erecting manufactures, and all the rights and privileges of ſubjects. The conduct of Frederic William on this occaſion reflects great honour on his memory; while that of Lewis XIV. and his miniſters, was in the higheſt degree barbarous and ſavage.

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It muſt not be forgotten, that theſe barbarities were zealouſly promoted and encouraged by the famous Boſſuet, biſhop of Meaux. Upon the whole, this work contains many important hiſtorical facts, and is juſtly entitled to the attention and approbation of the public.

The *Ancient Hiſtory of Mexico* has been lately publiſhed at Ceſena, in the Italian language, in two volumes, 4to. by the abbate Franceſco Saverio Clavigero. This writer is a native of Mexico, has reſided thirty-ſix years in ſeveral provinces of that kingdom, has learned the Mexican language, ſtudied the hiſtorical pictures of the Mexicans, and availed himſelf of their manuſcripts, and of the inſtructions of ſkilful natives. His work was originally written in Spaniſh, but as he now lives at Bologna, he has, at the deſire of his learned friends in Italy, tranſlated it into Italian. He has dedicated his work to the academy of Mexico, whom he adviſes, ſince the profeſſorſhip of Mexican antiquities has been aboliſhed, and the antient paintings are become nearly unintelligible, to eſtabliſh a muſeum for Mexican antiquities, and to collect into it all the ancient ſtatues, arms, paintings, moſaics, the manuſcripts of the firſt miſſionaries and other Spaniards, and thoſe of the Indians themſelves, which are yet diſperſed in the libraries of ſome convents. In the courſe of his work, the abbate Clavigero treats copiouſly not only of the hiſtory, but of the political, military, and oeconomical conſtitution of the Mexican empire; and alſo gives a deſcription of the climate, mountains, rivers, lakes, minerals, plants, animals, and people of the kingdom of Mexico. He ſays, that their language is rich, poliſhed, and emphatical; that it has every word neceſſary for expreſſing abſtract ideas, and has numerals to denote any number as far as forty-eight millions. The Mexican pictures exhibited hiſtorical, mythological, chronological, and aſtronomical accounts, laws, cuſtoms, and taxes. According to our author, the ancient Mexicans had a clear notion of the creation, of the deluge, and of the confuſion of tongues, all which were repreſented in their pictures.

A very conſiderable and important work, relative to the natural hiſtory of France, has lately been publiſhed in that kingdom, which has been examined by the expreſs order of the miniſtry, and has obtained the approbation of the Royal Academy of Sciences. It is entitled, *Hiſtoire Naturelle de la France Meridionale*, &c. being a natural hiſtory of the ſouthern parts of France, or reſearches concerning the mineralogy of the provinces or diſtricts of Vivarais, Vienne, Valentinois, Forez, Auvergne, Uſegeois, Venaiſſin, Provence, Niſmes, Montpelier, &c. as alſo concerning the natural ſtate of the Mediterranean ſea, and the meteors, trees, and animals of thoſe provinces, enriched with engravings, and a geographical chart. Three volumes of this work are printed in 8vo. and the whole of the natural hiſtory is to be comprehended in ſix volumes. It is a performance which exhibits great penetration and genius; and it is ſuppoſed, that the ingenious author, M. Giraud de Solavie, will extend his inſtructive reſearches throughout every part of France.

A military officer, in the Sardinian ſervice, has publiſhed at Leipſic, in the German language, in one volume, 8vo. Thirteen Letters, containing

taining a geographical deſcription of Sardinia, and an hiſtorical account of the antiquities, the political, eccleſiaſtical, literary, and commercial ſtate of that iſland; and alſo of its climate and productions, and the manners of its inhabitants. It appears from this book, that the population of the iſland is far from being proportioned to its ſize, or natural fertility. In 1758, the ſeven cities and towns of the iſland contained no more than 53,451 people, and the whole iſland not above 326,445. That number is now riſen to 376,000, of which the capital, Cagliari, is ſaid to contain from 25 to 26,000. The king never reſides in it, the power of the viceroy is very confined, and the nobility are inveſted with privileges extremely prejudicial to the general intereſts of the people. The clergy are rich, luxurious, indolent, and ignorant; and much of the iſland is wholly uncultivated.

A very elegant and accurate edition of Iſocrates, with a French tranſlation, has been publiſhed at Paris, both in 4to. and 8vo. by the abbé Auger, member of the Royal Academy of Inſcriptions. And at Vienna has been publiſhed, in folio, the firſt volume of a new edition of the valuable Arabic, Perſian, and Turkiſh Dictionary, by F. Meninſki. This edition has been corrected, and is enriched with conſiderable additions, for which the public is indebted to ſeveral members of the Imperial Academy of Oriental Languages, erected at Vienna.

They who are attentive to the hiſtory of Navigation, will peruſe with pleaſure *La Vie de l'Infant Don Henri de Portugal*, author of the firſt diſcoveries which directed the navigation of the Europeans to the Indies, which has been publiſhed at Paris, in two volumes, 12mo. It was originally written in the Portugueſe language by F. Freire, a prieſt of the Oratory in Portugal, and has been tranſlated into French by the abbé Cournand, who has prefixed a valuable preliminary diſcourſe, exhibiting a view of the ſtate of Europe, civil and military, and of the ſtate of the arts and ſciences, of navigation and commerce, when the prince of Portugal engaged in thoſe enterprizes by which he ſo greatly diſtinguiſhed himſelf. Don Henry began his career when the Italian republics were the ſole poſſeſſors of commerce. They were ſupplied with the precious commodities of the Eaſt, at Conſtantinople, Tripoli, Aleppo, and other ports on the coaſt of Syria, and alſo traded with the ſoldans of Egypt, who had renewed the commerce with India in its ancient channel by the Red-Sea. But the prince of Portugal diſplayed a bolder ſpirit of navigation, and nobler plans of diſcovery. He had early applied himſelf to the arts and ſciences, and more eſpecially to the ſtudy of geography, and being deſirous of enriching his country with commercial opulence, he turned his views to the ocean, and conceived the hopes of finding new and wealthy regions by ſailing along the coaſt of Africa. By this plan he avoided the obſtacles that might have obſtructed any commercial attempts in the Mediterranean, ariſing from the jealouſy of the Italian ſtates, or the enmity of the Moors, who inhabited the coaſts of Spain and Africa. The moral qualities of Don Henry were equal to his intellectual; and, from the whole of his conduct, he may juſtly be conſidered as a very illuſtrious character.

A *Hiſ-*

A *History of Discoveries*, relative to civil and natural history, rural œconomy, commerce, &c. made by various learned travellers, in several parts of Russia and Persia, has been published at Bern, in the French language, in four volumes, adorned with cuts. These discoveries were made by Messr. Gmelin, Pallas, Gulderstedt, and their associates, whom the Academy of Petersburg had appointed, and furnished with instruments for that purpose. It was particularly given in charge to these learned travellers, to make curious and useful plants an object of their researches; to rectify the situation of places; to make geographical and meteorological observations; and to note down, with accuracy, whatever they found remarkable in manners, customs, languages, traditions, and antiquities. The laudable purposes of the Academy have been very ably accomplished by these learned men; and the result of their researches has been a large German work, the quintessence of which is contained in this instructive and entertaining French publication.

The chevalier de Beaurain has published at Paris, in folio, in French, *The History of the Campaigns of Henry de la Tour d'Auvergne, Viscount of Turenne, in the Years* 1672, 1673, 1674, *and* 1675, drawn from the original papers of the marshal de Turenne, the correspondence of Lewis XIV. that of his ministers, and several other authentic memoirs; enriched with a great number of charts and plans, necessary for the explication of the marches, encampments, battles, sieges, &c. The splendid military talents of marshal Turenne are well known; and those campaigns of his of which an account is here given, are those in which he had Montecuculi to contend with, who had the most distinguished merit in the same line. This is a very capital work of the kind, and is printed in a most magnificent manner.

The *History of the Philosophy of the Ancients, as it is found in the Writings of Cicero, digested and illustrated by Passages from other Authors*, published this year, in 8vo. at Berlin, by Fred. Gedike, director of the Royal Gymnasium in that city, is a very valuable work. The illustrations of that account of the ancient philosophy which has been left us by Cicero, have been drawn from seventy other writers; and the whole work is executed with taste and judgment.

Mr. Hirschel Lewin, chief rabbi at Berlin, and Mr. Moses Mendelsohn, have published, at Berlin, in the German language, in 8vo. *The Ritual Laws of the Jews concerning Inheritances, Guardianship, Wills, and Matrimonial Affairs, so far as they regard Property.* This work is drawn up with a view to assist judges and courts of law in deciding law-suits between Jewish parties; and as it contains very accurate information on the subjects concerning which it treats, may be extremely useful for the purpose for which it is intended.

A publication which has been printed this year at Paris, in 12mo. consisting of 400 pages, will be an acceptable present to all men of letters, and especially to those who intend to visit Paris. This is, *An Historical Essay on the King of France's Library, of the various Collections of which it is composed, and of the most curious Objects contained in each Collection. To which is added, an Historical List of the public*

public and private Libraries at Paris. This royal library contains above 50,000 manuſcripts, and more than 200,000 printed books, beſides a vaſt number of prints, medals, antiques, charts, maps, genealogies, and charters. It is open to the public certain days of the week, and the librarians are extremely attentive, and ſolicitous to facilitate the reſearches of thoſe who have recourſe to it in the proſecution of any branch of ſcience.

Dr. Fontana, a phyſician of Cremona, has publiſhed at Leghorn, in 8vo. in Italian, *Obſervations on the Diſeaſes to which Europeans are ſubject in warm Climates, as alſo in the Courſe of a long Navigation, made during a Voyage to the Eaſt Indies, from the Year* 1776 *to* 1781. It is a work of merit, and is preceded by a judicious preface, and a meteorological journal of the voyage. It may be inferred from this publication, that the diſorders peculiarly and excluſively incident to ſea-faring men, are few in number; and that the Italians are better able to ſupport long voyages, and warm climates, than other Europeans, on account of their gaiety, their temperance in the uſe of animal food, their cleanlineſs, and the climate of their native country.

Five volumes have been printed in 4to. at Neufchatel, of a new edition of the works of that celebrated Chriſtian Naturaliſt and Metaphyſician, M. Bonnet of Geneva. As it is publiſhed under his own inſpection, large additions are made to ſeveral of his pieces. An edition has alſo been publiſhed in 8vo.

A *Dictionnaire de Phyſique*, or Dictionary of Natural Philoſophy, in four volumes, 8vo. has been publiſhed at Paris, by M. Sigaud de la Fond. It is a performance of great merit, and contains an account of all the recent diſcoveries in natural philoſophy, delivered with much perſpicuity, preciſion, and ſagacity.

The abbé Leonardo Ximenes, mathematician to the grand-duke of Tuſcany, has publiſhed at Florence, in 4to. in the Italian language, a very ingenious *Theoretical and Practical Treatiſe concerning the Reſiſtance of Solids*, conſidered with reſpect to attrition or friction.

The lovers of Natural Hiſtory will be much pleaſed with a work publiſhed this year at Paris, in French, in three volumes, folio, by M. du Hamel. It is a general treatiſe concerning fiſheries, and a hiſtory of the various kinds of fiſh, and is adorned with a great number of well-engraved plates. It contains an account of all the different methods of taking fiſh, and alſo a circumſtantial hiſtory of all theſe inhabitants of the waters, of their manner of living in freſh and in ſalt water, their peregrinations, and a multitude of circumſtances peculiar to their different kinds.

M. de Barthez, firſt phyſician to the duke of Orleans, chancellor of the Univerſity of Medicine at Montpelier, and member of the Royal Academies of Paris and Berlin, has publiſhed an eſſay in 4to. in the French language, in which he has endeavoured to exhibit a new mechanical explication of the progreſſive motions of men and animals. The various poſitions and exertions of the parts of the body in man, and other animals, ſtanding, running, walking, or leaping, are deſcribed in this publication in a very accurate and circumſtantial manner.

The

The celebrated abbé Friſi has publiſhed at Milan, in 8vo. in Latin, Philoſophical Treatiſes on the following Subjects: 1. On Meteorological Influences of the Moon. 2. On Electrical Conductors. 3. On the Action of Oil on Water. 4. On the Heat at the Surface and Centre of the Earth. 5. On Subterraneous Rivers.

At Paris have been publiſhed, the Hiſtory and Memoirs of the Royal Academy of that city for the year 1778; and at Berlin, New Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences and Belles Lettres of Berlin, for the year 1780; with the hiſtory relative to that year. At Rotterdam has alſo appeared, the fifth volume, in 4to. of the Memoirs of the Batavian Society of Experimental Philoſophy, eſtabliſhed at Rotterdam; and at Toulouſe, the firſt volume, in 4to. of the Hiſtory and Memoirs of the Royal Academy of Sciences, Inſcriptions, and Belles Letters of Toulouſe. The Hiſtory of the Royal Society of Medicine at Paris, for the years 1777, 1778, and 1779, together with the medical and philoſophical memoirs of thoſe years, have likewiſe been publiſhed at Paris, in 4to.

The friends of religious liberty will peruſe with much ſatisfaction a *Politico-Theological Treatiſe concerning Liberty of Conſcience, and alſo concerning the civil and theological Toleration of the different Religions which are profeſſed in the German Empire*, publiſhed at Vienna, in 1782, in Latin, 8vo. by M. John Nep. Barthalotti, profeſſor of divinity in the univerſity of Vienna. It is written with a truly Chriſtian ſpirit, is calculated to promote the benevolent views of the preſent emperor of Germany, and ſeems chiefly deſigned for ſtudents of theology in the Roman Catholic univerſities. The learned author ſhews the ſignal advantages which muſt attend a ſpirit of toleration in civil rulers and ſovereigns; and gives a ſhort ſummary of the hiſtory of perſecution. He draws, from the nature of religion, and from the principles of natural law, unanſwerable arguments in favour of toleration, and removes the difficulties that may be alleged againſt it. He concludes his work with an account of the Greek churches, who ſeparated themſelves from the juriſdiction of the church of Rome, deſcribing their ſtate before the council of Florence, their preſent ſtate, and the principal reaſons of their ſeparation, and pointing out the means of reſtoring the union that ſubſiſted, in ancient times, between the Greek and the Latin churches.

The *Diſſertations on Natural and Revealed Religion*, publiſhed by Teyler's Theological Society at Haerlem, have great merit; and this inſtitution is excellently adapted for promoting the intereſts of truth, and of genuine and rational religion.

A very ingenious and ſingular work has been publiſhed in the German language, in four volumes, 4to. by Mr. John Gaſpard Lavater, citizen and paſtor of Zurich. It is *An Eſſay on Phyſiognomy, or the Art of Reading Faces, deſigned to promote the Knowledge and Love of Mankind*; and it has been well tranſlated into the French language, by M. Renfner, ſecretary to the Pruſſian miniſter at the Hague. The author points out very elaborately the principles of phyſiognomy, and endeavours to anſwer the various objections againſt it, conſidered as a ſcience. He maintains the great utility

lity of acquiring a habit of obſerving the cloſe connexion between moral and phyſical beauty; and of learning the moſt beautiful, moſt eloquent, moſt uniform, and moſt forcible of all languages, the language of wiſdom, truth, and ſimplicity, the internal language of the heart. It is impoſſible, Mr. Lavater ſays, to expreſs the pleaſure that he feels, when he ſees a ſtranger come into a room, who is a being of a higher order, with the ſeal of the divine approbation upon him, his face reflecting integrity, and every feature in it announcing the triumph of honour and reaſon. In the courſe of the work, our author treats of the liberty of man, and its limits. Man, he ſays, is free, juſt as the bird is in its cage; that is, he has a certain ſphere of activity and ſenſibility, beyond which he cannot go. This ſphere is determined, though we know not its preciſe bounds. Each phyſiognomy, every character, is, indeed, ſuſceptible of great alterations and various aſpects, but theſe have their determination from the eſſential nature of each individual. Every man has a large ſphere of activity, and is at full liberty to cultivate his field according to the nature of the ſoil: but he can only ſow the ſeed that has been given him, and cultivate the ground on which he is placed. Phyſiognomy, our author farther obſerves, is the art of diſcerning the interior of man by his exterior, or of perceiving, by certain natural indications and characteriſtics, qualities and objects which are inacceſſible to the external ſenſes. In a general ſenſe, the whole body, its ſurface, lines, and contours, whether in a ſtate of reſt or activity, come within the ſphere of this ſcience; in a more limited ſenſe, the countenance alone is the ſubject of its deciſions. All faces, forms, and created beings, differ from each other, not only in their claſſes, kinds, and ſpecies, but alſo in their individuality. Every individual differs from every other individual, even of his own ſpecies; and notwithſtanding the analogy between a roſe and a roſe, one man and another, and the ſtriking appearances of ſimilarity that often take place between individual perſons or beings of the ſame ſpecies, this ſimilarity is never perfect. This truth, Mr. Lavater conſiders as the baſis of phyſiognomical ſcience, as it regards man; and he thinks it evident from hence alone, that there muſt neceſſarily be a certain relation, a natural analogy and affinity between this external diverſity of countenance and figure, and the internal diverſity of intellectual and moral character, that avowedly diſtinguiſhes every individual of the human ſpecies one from another. When our author comes to treat of the harmony between natural and moral beauty, beauty of mind and beauty of body, he maintains, and indeed ſufficiently proves, that it is the tendency of virtuous and benevolent ſentiments and habits to embelliſh the air of a face, by imprinting upon it pleaſing lines, which become permanent through repetition, and form, at length, an agreeable caſt of countenance; while vicious and malevolent affections produce the contrary effects. The author diſplays great ingenuity, and much goodneſs of heart in this work; but he is often fanciful; and when he ſuppoſes, that the powers and faculties of the mind may be certainly determined by the ſtructure and ſituation of the bones of the head, by the configuration of the ſolid parts of the countenance, by the contours of the ear, noſe, upper lip, &c. or that the ſame ſhape and dimenſions

of

of a face always indicate the ſame lines and degrees of intellectual and moral character, we cannot but conſider his principles as erroneous. This performance is adorned and illuſtrated by a great number of fine plates.

The *Confeſſions of Rouſſeau*, with *the Reveries of a ſolitary Walker*, publiſhed in French, in two volumes, 12mo. are a very extraordinary performance, and contains many particulars unfit for the public eye. The reader will find, indeed, ſome fine paſſages, and juſt and intereſting reflexions, but attended with the ſtrongeſt evidence of the great mental weakneſs, which this moſt ſingular man occaſionally exhibited.

They who are attentive to Dramatic criticiſm, and to the hiſtory of theatres, will find both entertainment and inſtruction in the *Storia Critica de Teatri Antiqui e Moderni*, or Critical Hiſtory of ancient and modern Theatres, publiſhed in one volume, 8vo. by Dr. Pietro Napoli Signorelli. The author has pointed out the diſtinctive merits of the Greek tragedians, and exhibited ſpecimens of their principal plays. He has given a good account of the Spaniſh and Italian theatres, from the revival of letters; but his account of the Engliſh and French theatres is more ſuperficial, and frequently inaccurate.

M. de Haller has publiſhed at Berne, in two volumes, 8vo. in the German language, an accurate account of all ſorts of Swiſs coins, with their reſpective intrinſic and nominal value, and alſo accounts of the cabinets and works in which they are found, with ſhort hiſtorical illuſtrations, adorned with plates.

A work, which will at leaſt afford ſome amuſement, has been publiſhed at Paris, by M. Le Grand d'Auſſy, in three volumes, 8vo. under the title of *Hiſtoire de la Vie privée des François*, &c. or Hiſtory of the Private Life of the French, from the origin of that people to the preſent time. In this publication we have an account of the vegetables, animal food, and liquors, of the ancient and modern French; of their eating furniture, ornaments of the table, feaſts and banquets, and particular cuſtoms and amuſements at meals; together with ſeveral curious diſſertations on the articles of fiſhing, hunting, gardening, and other objects relative to rural oeconomy. Three other volumes of this work are intended by the author.

Two volumes, in 8vo. have been publiſhed at Amſterdam of the Letters of the late learned Winckelmann, which abound with anecdotes and information relative to the arts, the artiſts, and ancient monuments diſcovered in his long reſidence in Rome. They alſo contain a variety of curious details concerning his life, and the means by which he acquired that knowledge in the works of antiquity for which he was ſo much celebrated.

FINIS.